

HARIJAN

— — EDITOR: MANANATH MENON

Editor for Andhra of The Madras South Weekly

Vol. VI No. 1.]

POOHA — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1946

[ONE ANNA]

Notes

Gandhi's Health.

I will not say that there has been a setback in Gandhi's health, but the Working Committee consultations have served to indicate, so to say, the Pilsnelli line. Before the meeting of the Working Committee he had been giving interviews not exceeding an hour or a little more every day, but they did not appreciably disturb the equilibrium to which his blood pressure seemed to be settling down. The Working Committee meetings evidently meant longer consultations. Not that the members did not make a serious endeavour to spare him. They did not go to Nagpur except when it was very necessary, and they took care not to tax his patience with discussion or argument. But the same over-zealous effort when it came beyond a certain point, as enough to unseat the balance, no matter how pleasant or unpleasant, low arched or high, a conversation is and it would seem that for some time at least or perhaps less at the most during the day will have to be observed as the Pilsnelli line, and Sardar Vallabhbhai will have a hard time of it at Nagpur, keeping a check on visitors and workers and leaders seeking interviews with Gandhi.

Meanwhile health, recovery, rest, and everything else of the nature of treatment continues and will continue even at Nagpur. The school to which Gandhi can stand the strain at Nagpur — the strain of being surrounded by crowds of people, apart from talks and discussions — will determine when he can leave the Bengal and after that for the Frontier Province. The hospital-stroke has been giving him as much time. He has more than once inspired them to be patient and to give him a chance, unfortunately partially delayed by his ill health. But some of them evidently could not exercise patience, and thought that they would make his work more difficult. In Coonoor, where the deplorable tragedy of Mr. Haradonath Menon's death occurred, the hospital-stroke has been along, done, and it is to be hoped that before this issue of HARIJAN is out, it will have been abandoned in other parts also. Let the political processes know that their question is not even far a moment out of his mind.

Interpretation of the Wardha Educational Scheme

Dr. John De Rosa, who is in charge of an educational institution in South India, was on a visit to Wardha before starting on a tour far South. He has made a careful study of the Wardha Educational Scheme and had therefore useful discussions with Shri. Acharya and Shri. Kulkarni. He was keen on having a few minutes with Gandhi too. He said the scheme had appealed to him most strongly, because at the back of it was non-violence. His difficulty was why non-violence figured so little on the syllabus.

"The reason why it has appealed to you is quite all right," said Gandhi. "But the whole syllabus must centre round non-violence. It is enough to remember that it emerges from a non-violent brain. But it does not presuppose the acceptance of non-violence by those who accept it. Thus, for instance, all the members of the Committee do not accept non-violence as a creed. Just as a vegetarian need not necessarily be a believer in non-violence — he may be a vegetarian for reasons of health — even so those who accept the scheme need not be all believers in non-violence."

"I know," said Dr. De Rosa, "some educationists who will have nothing to do with the system because it is based on a non-radical philosophy of life."

"I know it. But in that matter I know some leading men who would not accept that because it is based on my philosophy of life. But how can I help it? Non-violence is certainly in the heart of the scheme, and I can easily demonstrate it, but I know that there will be little enthusiasm for it when I do so. But those who accept the scheme accept the fact that in a land full of millions of hungry people you cannot teach their children by any other method, and that if you can get the thing going the result will be a new economic order. That is quite enough for me, as it is enough for me that Congressmen accept non-violence as a method for obtaining independence, but not as a way of life. If the whole of India accepted non-violence as a creed and a way of life, we should be able to establish a republic immediately."

"I see," said Dr. Rosa. "There is one thing new which I do not understand. I am a social-

but, and whilst as a believer in non-violence the extreme appeals to me most, I feel as a socialist that the extreme would cut India adrift from the world, whereas we have to integrate with the whole world, and socialism does it as nothing else does."

"I have no difficulty," said Gandhi, "We do not want to cut adrift from the whole world. We will have a free interchange with all nations, but the present forced interchange has to go. We do not want to be exploited, neither do we want to exploit any other nation. Through the scheme we look forward to making all children producers, and so to change the face of the whole nation, for it will permeate the whole of our social being. But that does not mean that we cut adrift from the whole world. There will be nations that will want to interchange with others because they cannot produce certain things. They will certainly depend on other nations for them, but the nations that will provide for them should not exploit them."

"But if you simplify your life to an extent that you need nothing from other countries, you will isolate yourselves from them, whereas I want you to be responsible for America also."

"It is by aiming to exploit and to be exploited that we can be responsible for America. For America will then follow our example and there will be no difficulty in a free interchange between us."

"But you want to simplify life and cut out industrialisation."

"If I could produce all my country's wants by means of the labour of 20,000 people instead of 20 millions I should not mind it, provided that the thirty millions are not rendered idle and unemployed. I know that socialism would introduce industrialisation to the extent of reducing working hours to one or two in a day, but I do not want it."

"They would have leisure."

"Leisure to play hockey?"

"Not only for that but for creative handicrafts for instance."

"Creative handicrafts I am asking them to engage in. But they will produce with their hands by working eight hours a day."

"You do not of course look forward to a state of society when every house will have a radio and everyone a car. That was President Hoover's formula. He wanted not one but two radios and two cars."

"If we had so many cars there would be very little room left for walking," said Gandhi.

"I agree. We have about 20,000 deaths by accidents every year and thrice as many cases of people being maimed."

"At any rate I am not going to live to see the day when all villages in India will have radio."

"Pandit Jawaharlal seems to think in terms of the economy of abundance."

"I know. But what is abundance? Not the capacity to destroy millions of tons of wheat as you do in America?"

"Yes, that's the essence of Capitalism. They do not destroy now, but they are being paid for 2000 producers wheat. People indulged in the practice of throwing eggs at one another because the prices of the eggs had gone down."

"That is what we do not want. If by abundance you mean everyone having plenty to eat and drink and to clothe himself with, enough to keep his mind broad and educated, I should be satisfied. But I should not like to peak more stuff in my belly than I can digest and more things than I can ever usefully use. But neither do I want poverty, penury, misery, dirt and dirt in India."

"But Pandit Jawaharlal says in his Autobiography you worship Dattatreya and still poverty for his own sake."

"I know," said Gandhi, with a laugh.

M. D.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

(Continued from p. 2)

2. Imperialism in China

The Congress has shared with previous sessions the apprehension of heated imperialism in China and the horrors of imperialism that have accompanied it. In the opinion of the Congress the imperialist invasion is fraught with the greatest consequences for the future of world peace and freedom in Asia. The Congress sends its deepest sympathy to the people of China in their great effort, and expresses its admiration for the heroic struggle they are conducting to maintain their freedom and integrity. It congratulates them on achieving national unity and coordination in the face of danger, and assures them of the solidarity of the Indian people with them in the common task of combating imperialism and achieving freedom. As a mark of India's sympathy with the Chinese people, the Congress calls upon the people of India to refrain from purchasing Japanese goods.

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Manager, Harijan

SMALL BUT NECESSARY REFORMS

That small reforms are the enemy of big reforms was not said of small reforms which were a necessary step to big reforms. The two Bills—the Harpur Temple Worship Bill, and the South Holkar's Relief Bill—which are now in the Madras House of the Madras Province are each small but very necessary measures, on the passing of both of which the Madras Government and especially Mr. Muzil the Home Minister are to be congratulated.

The Statement of Oppen and Benson in both cases was the briefest possible, and made it absolutely clear that the ultimate relief which has to come was not given but that it was being hastened by the Bills in question. The Madras Temple Bill, which safeguards the land and water rights of the small holders—classified as those holding land not exceeding five acres of irrigated land or fifteen acres of other land—from encroachment of accumulated debts, is by way of temporary relief before the larger measure of Debt Relief can be given. The Madras Government has proceeded in a different way. It tackled the larger question of debt relief and created the same opposition of vested interests. It has yet to take up the question of untouchability.

The Harpur Temple Worship Bill met with a certain amount of opposition from those who call themselves Hindustanis. There was also the criticism that it did not go far enough. Thus we have today a letter from a well-known worker in the cause who says,

"It is ineffective and therefore disappointing."

The temple trustees are generally the last person to give up their authority. If the demands of the millions of the untouchables are to hang in the portals of these temples, the day of their entrance may never come. 50 per cent of the temple-gate may be for the reform, and if the trustee is not willing, his temple will remain by and about, and yet you call it "enabling legislation." Cannot the Government introduce a measure on the lines of Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill introduced some time ago in the Central Assembly?

Mr. Muzil answered this criticism in the course of his speech.

"Many legal difficulties were found to be coming in the way. In some cases the worshippers wanted the trustees to be removed and the trustees would not agree, in some cases the trustees wanted to remove the trustees and some worshippers did not agree. Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill did not seek to remove the second of the two difficulties, but only the first. Worshippers at a temple were provided with a machinery by which they could get a temple opened to the Harijans if they so chose. That measure had two defects. The first was that the manner in which the worshippers were ascertained was far from satisfactory. It is not the final way in which the temple is opened which generally works in the temple, and to take the case

of the residents of that locality much uncertainty the right way of deciding as to what the opinion of the worshippers is. The worshippers are not only local residents but people from all parts of India. Therefore the basis of the Bill was not as satisfactory as one could have wished. The real way is to make the trustees the bearers of the confidence of the worshippers. After all the trustees or the managers of a temple are chosen from the most active worshippers. They have at least the regular worshippers, they know their feelings, and know they would be the right men to give decisions whether the worshippers' confidence will permit the temple to be thrown open to the Harijans or not. Therefore the Bill in the first instance, went to make the trustees the deciding factor in opening temples. Then again the scheme is that trustees elected at elections and responsible machinery, as provided by Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill, could by a majority declare that a temple shall be opened."

It is unfair to call the measure ineffective when it enables willing trustees to open a temple without any elaborate machinery. The measure meets a contingency that has long existed, viz., the existing law stood in the way even when the bulk of the worshippers and the bulk of the trustees wanted a temple to be opened. There have been numerous cases where trustees have expressed their willingness but pleaded the legal difficulty. They are no longer to do. We are not quite prepared to describe the trustees as "the bearers of the confidence of the worshippers". In the midst of a number of reform-worshippers there may exist a dishonest trustee or two. But the fact is that a handful of dishonest will have to yield to the force of public opinion where the bulk of the worshippers are ready. Where, for instance, there are 50 per cent of temple-gates ready for the reform one may presume that they would compel the trustees to declare the temple open, or that there would not be an enough number of trustees to maintain the reform.

But even if we take the extreme case contemplated by the article, viz., a trustee or trustees standing in the way of 50 per cent reform-worshippers, it would then not be difficult to bring in legislation of the character of Mr. Ranga Iyer's Bill. The need is for the reformers to prepare public opinion to that extent. The solution will affect the worshippers and the trustees simultaneously, and too to one it will be likely that where the atmosphere is thoroughly prepared even unwilling trustees will yield to the overwhelming force of public opinion. The Bill which has now become an Act removes a legal difficulty. Its result should determine the next step. It will be time, when public opinion demands it and the trustees in spite of the existing law decline to open the temples in their charge, to bring in fresh legislation.

HARRIAN

Vol. 12

1938

QUESTION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

We returned to our business in jail who were convicted of violent crimes the Working Committee's resolution for their real and earnest consideration. The news has been received, whilst this is being written, that the newspaper in Dacca Jail has been already discontinued, and we hope that wise counsel will also prevail in other jails. Sri Minendra Nath Mukherjee's death after only a few days' observation cannot be too greatly deplored and makes the question of the treatment of political prisoners one of overwhelming importance. The Hon. Mr. Nazimuddin in his long statement to the Bengal Assembly admitted that Sri Mukherjee had not a weak heart, that he was being terribly fed, and stated that his death was due not to forcible feeding but to insufficient feeding. Dr. Ansari once told the writer of this article that forcible feeding is a most ill-advised thing and requires careful and expert handling. If a normal man can last without food for forty days and more, there is no point in saying that Sri Mukherjee died of insufficient feeding. There must be something radically wrong about the methods of forcible feeding employed in the Dacca Jail.

Having said this we shall offer a few points for the consideration of the political prisoners which, in our opinion, make it imperative for them to take the advice of the Working Committee to heart. The first point is that of the propriety or otherwise of the method of hunger-strikes for securing release. There is no doubt that those who have been in jail for years and have suffered the agonies, in some cases of inhuman treatment, in some of solitary confinement, should feel aggrieved and provoked and eager to resort to the seemingly short-cut of securing release. But the shortest cut is not always the wisest or the justest. Does anyone doubt that those who adopted the method of violence for the emancipation of the country did so in the conviction that they would in the ordinary course of things have to forgo their lives, as some of them have indeed done? Did not that their lives have been sacrificed to them, would it not be proper to wait a little longer in order that they might be able to make a fuller use of their lives for the cause of their country?

They should also realize that hunger-strikes to secure release detract from their determination to suffer even lifelong imprisonment for what they regard as a principle. Hunger-strikes

is a weapon that should not be resorted to except under the gravest provocation, e. g. when one's moral fibre or honour is sought to be deliberately injured or insulted.

Then there is another very important consideration. Do they for a moment believe that the question of their release has been out of the minds of the leaders of the country and of the Ministers wherever we have Congress Ministers? Let us consider them of one or two facts which they either do not know or have forgotten in their impatience. They must remember that Gandhi gave the latest serious consideration to the question of the release of such prisoners at the time of the Irwin-Gandhi Settlement. But he felt that in the very interests of the prisoners themselves the Truce ought not to be perpetuated. This is what Gandhi said on the morning the Truce was signed, and he still stands by that statement.

"Fundamentally, I do not believe in imprisonment by way of punishment even those who commit violence. I know that those who have done violence through political motives are entitled to claim, if not the same status, certainly the same spirit of love and self-sacrifice that I would claim for myself. And, therefore, if I could have really secured their liberty in prison, in my own, or that of fellow countrymen, I should doubtless have secured it. But I trust that they will realize that I could not so justly ask for their discharge. Not that does not mean that I as the members of the Working Committee have not them in mind. The Congress has conducted differently, though predominantly, on a basis of co-operation. If Congressmen honestly and fully implement the conditions applicable to them of the Settlement, the Congress will show an irreconcilable protest and would have secured Government self-satisfaction as to ability to secure peace, as I think it has proved its ability to conduct discrimination. And if the people in general will abide the Congress with discipline and protest, I promise that it will not be long before every one of these political prisoners is discharged unconditionally. But then (the political prisoners) will get a little. Let them preserve their protest hence for the names of the individuals to which all will be presently added, and let them put to the Congress an opportunity of securing the release of all the other political prisoners and maybe even emerging from the gallows those who are condemned to them as being guilty of murder."

The co-operation mentioned in this statement did not last long and we had to wander in the wilderness for another six years. We are puffed from having secured the failure of power, and yet we have in seven provinces built up a certain amount of power and prestige. All that the prisoners have to do is to enable the Congress to increase that power and prestige, not only in the Congress provinces but also in non-Congress provinces, and to enable the Government to feel confidence in their ability to secure peace. Let

There really did not a moment have been lost since the acceptance of offer by the Congress. The Congress Ministers took up the question in their own provinces, and Gandhi went to Bengal, severely risking his health, just in order to settle the question of the prisoners.

If we were in enjoyment of Complete Independence, the question of the political prisoners would not take a moment to be solved. Pledged as we are to non-violence, the Ministers have got to feel the confidence that they would be able to secure peace after a release of all the political prisoners. It is for the prisoners to inspire the Ministers with that confidence and not to entrench them with hanger-onship. We would appeal to them even more deliberately to abandon their hanger-onship and then seek negotiation with the Ministers on the one essential condition of peace. Once they have all inspired them with confidence in their co-operation in the cause of peace, their release becomes easy, say a certainty. If after having inspired them with that confidence the release cannot be secured, they may expect the Ministers to hand in their resignations to Government. Until that stage has arrived we would appeal to them with all the earnestness at our command to "preserve that precious time for the service of the Motherland", and to "give to the Congress the opportunity of securing their release".

M D

AHIMSA AND INDUSTRIALISATION

(By A. C. Karmacharya)

Continually we hear that the only panacea for all the economic ills that India has become how to a industrialisation by which a sound method of mass production. There is no doubt that material goods can be increased by such industrialisation and centralisation, but is this the be-all and end-all of existence? Are there no limits to the means we employ to attain our end? If such industrialisation runs contrary to any of our basic principles, we have to see if such drawbacks are inherent in the system itself. If it is, then we shall have no option but to reject the remedy as worse than the disease.

Centralisation is often resorted to when large amounts of accumulated capital seek investment. Under such circumstances the owner of the capital demands a close control over the working. This needs natural laws to co-ordinate the efforts of labour and capital and arrive at an equitable distribution of the gains. Most of the disturbances to industrial peace arise out of this.

Where centralisation is the result of the need to implement the labour force to produce to a central plan, again we come to the necessity of violence to make everyone work to plan.

Apart from these stated features in the economic organisation itself, we shall find that violence is the means of centralised production. There is a

definite pressure to produce more within by the nature of the system owing to creation of finance, technique and equipment.

Financially, we find, it would be necessary to produce as rapidly as possible, because large amounts have been invested in the plant and machinery, and that constant overhead, if spread over a large production, lowers the cost per unit, and therefore there is a pressure from within to produce rapidly.

In all machinery there is such a thing as economic speed. If you work under that speed, raw overhead will become heavy; and if you work at higher speed, your running expenses will swallow up all margins of profit. So the speed at which a machine has to produce is also determined by this factor.

Commercially, the producer who gets to the market first, gets the advantage. Every producer attempts to capture the market for himself, so competition urges him to produce as fast as he can. Here, again, we notice the material pressure to produce goods as fast as possible.

All these features bring into existence supplies without reference to the demand.

As the machine has to be worked at an economic speed the machine-owner should obtain, at a relative speed controlled by his needs, the needed raw material to feed the machine. If these raw materials are not locally available, political pressure has to be exerted to procure in a steady stream at the pace at which the requirements of the machine demands. This required supply leads to warlike and hatred amongst nations.

Similarly, at the other end, the finished goods appear in a steady stream regulated by the above-mentioned centralisation without regard to the existing market. So the demands politically controlled markets to dispose of the goods produced. So the virtue of "orchestrating the backward stages" arises out of the economic necessity of finding markets. This again is the true demands violence.

Centralised production also at a low labour cost, that is the cost of every article made should represent as low proportion of labour as possible. As labour is the main source of wealth distribution, it becomes very shallow so that the purchasing power obtained by centralised production does not give satisfaction to the demand. This ultimately leads to a relative overproduction. This needs an artificial outlet for the products, and industries drift towards armament-making to keep them going, and this also leads to warfare as a blood-letting process.

Thus from every point of approach we get back to the need for violence in centralised production and if we are deliberately steering at non-violence as the end of human progress, it leaves us with no other alternative but to reject this as a desirable means of national reconstruction.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

[The following are the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee at Wando, in its sittings from the 1st to the 5th last. The first is a resolution by the Committee, and the rest are draft resolutions to be moved at the forthcoming session of the Congress at Harjiana.]

1. Political Prisoners

The Working Committee have heard with profound grief of the death of Sri. Haradra Munshi, a political prisoner in the Deora Jail. The Committee convey their heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family of Sri. Haradra Munshi.

In view of repeated hangings which have occurred in recent months, the Working Committee feel it imperative to define their attitude on this question. The Committee definitely disapprove of the policy of executing to hang-convicts on the part of political prisoners in order to obtain their release, and believe that such a step on the contrary stands in the way. The Committee strongly condemn the appeal recently made by Mahatma Gandhi to the hang-convicts in the Deora Jail and urge the hang-convicts in all jails in India to give up hang-convicts.

The Committee desire to point out that the Congress ministries and this Committee have had constantly before them the question of the release of defense and political prisoners, and the former have by now released a very large number and are taking active steps for the release of the remainder so far as the provinces with non-Congress ministries are concerned, the Committee feel that this question has not been approached by them in the same spirit as by the Congress ministries, and that the release in those provinces have consequently been inadequate and unsatisfactory.

The Committee deplore the conditions in the Deora Jail and other jails in Bengal, and call upon the Government of Bengal to immediately remove the inhuman provisions of the political prisoners in that jail as well as in other jails in that province.

The Committee trust that with the strenuous and unceasing efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and the vigilance of public opinion, the question of release will be satisfactorily solved at an early date, and hope that all defense and political prisoners will co-operate to this end by unswerving patience and self-restraint and that the public will do likewise by maintaining an atmosphere of non-violence.

2. Federation

The Congress has rejected the new Constitution and declared that a constitution for India which can be accepted by the people must be based on independence and can only be framed by the people themselves by means of a Constituent Assembly without interference by any foreign authority.

Adhering to this policy of rejection, the Congress has, however, permitted the formation in the provinces of Congress Ministries with a view to strengthening the nation in its struggle for independence.

In regard to the proposed Federation, no such consideration applies even permissively, or for a period, and the importance of this Federation will do grave injuries to India and threaten the bonds which hold her under the subjection of an imperialist domination. This scheme of Federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility the vital functions of a Government.

The Congress is not opposed to the idea of Federation, but a real Federation must, apart from the question of responsibility, consist of free units enjoying more or less the same measure of freedom and civil liberty and representation by democratic process of election. Indian States participating in the Federation should approximate to the provinces in the establishment of representative institutions, responsible government, civil liberties, and the method of election to the Federal House. Otherwise Federation, as it is now contemplated, will, instead of building India up, encourage separatist tendencies and involve the State in internal and external conflict.

The Congress therefore reiterates its condemnation of the proposed scheme, and calls upon provincial and local Congress committees and the people generally, as well as provincial Governments and Ministries, to prevent its implementation.

In the event of an attempt being made to impose a despite the declared will of the people, such an attempt must be combated in every way, and the provincial Governments and Ministries must refuse to co-operate with it.

In case such a contingency arises, the A. I. C. C. is authorized and directed to determine the line of action to be pursued in this regard.

3. Congress Ministries

The Congress welcomes the formation of Congress Ministries in seven provinces and appreciates the work done by them in the face of difficulties inherent in the situation. The Congress fully appreciates that, under the present Constitution, direct cooperation is introduced and preserved and popular Ministries are restricted and circumscribed and unable to tackle effectively the grave problems that demand a solution. For a proper solution of these problems, the present Constitution must be removed and replaced by a Constitution of an independent India, framed by the Indian people and allowing full scope for their advancement.

Meanwhile, the Congress Ministries must make every effort to give effect to the Congress programme as given in the election manifesto. The Congress has permitted the formation of Ministries by Congressmen with a view to strengthening the people and hastening their march to the goal of independence. This objective must, there-

fore, always be kept in view in all action inside the legislatures as well as outside, and it must further be remembered that work outside the legislatures is a vital part of the Congress programme.

The Congress trusts that there will be full co-operation between the Congress Ministers and the Congress organisation and the people generally, so that the national movement may be consolidated in all its phases and may gain in strength. For the success of work inside as well as outside the legislatures, discipline and an atmosphere of non-violence are essential.

4. Indian States

In view of the fact that owing to the growth of public life and the demand for freedom in the Indian States, new problems are arising and new conflicts are taking place, the Congress lays down abroad its policy in regard to the States.

The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which cannot be separated. The *Purna Swami* or complete independence, which is the objective of the Congress, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection. The only kind of Federalism that can be acceptable to the Congress is one in which the States participate as free units, enjoying the same measure of democratic freedom as the rest of India. The Congress therefore stands for full responsible government and the guarantee of civil liberty in the States, and deplains the present backward conditions and other lack of freedom and suppression of civil liberties in many of these States.

The Congress considers it its right and privilege to work for the attainment of this objective in the States. But, under existing circumstances, the Congress is not in a position to work effectively to this end within the States, and numerous restrictions and prohibitions, imposed by the rulers, or by British authority working through them, hamper its activities. The hope and assurance which the mass and great prestige make in the minds of the people of the States find no immediate fulfilment, and definite results. It is not in accordance with the dignity of the Congress to have local committees which cannot function effectively, or to tolerate indignity to the National Flag. The inability of the Congress to give protection or effective help, when hopes have been raised, produces helplessness in the people of the States and hinders the development of their movement for freedom.

In view of the different conditions prevailing in the States and the rest of India, the general policy of the Congress is often modified in the States and may result in preventing or hampering the natural growth of a freedom movement

in a State. Such movements are likely to develop more rapidly and to have a broader basis, if they draw their strength from the people of the State, produce self-reliance in them, and are in tune with the conditions prevailing there, and do not rely on extensive help and assistance or on the prestige of the Congress name. The Congress welcomes such movements, but, in the nature of things and under present conditions, the burden of carrying on the struggle for freedom must fall on the people of the States. The Congress will always extend its goodwill and support to such struggles needed as in a peaceful and legitimate manner, but that organisational help will inevitably be, under existing conditions, moral support and sympathetic individual Congressmen, however, will be free to render further assistance in their personal capacities. In this way the struggle can develop without committing the Congress organisation, and thus uncoloured by external considerations.

The Congress therefore directs that, for the present no Congress Committee be established in an Indian State and that internal struggles of the people of the States be not undertaken in the name of the Congress. For this purpose independent committees should be started, as continued where they exist already, within the States. The people of the States may, however, become Congress primary or associate members, but the Committee of which they are members must be situated outside the States.

The Congress desires to ensure the people of the States of its solidarity with them, and of its active and violent interest in and sympathy with their movement for freedom. It trusts that the day of their deliverance is not far distant.

5. Foreign Policy and War Danger

In view of the great danger of widespread and devastating war which overshadows the world, the Congress desires to state abroad the policy of the Indian people in regard to foreign relations and war.

The people of India, desire to live in peace and friendship with their neighbours and with all other countries, and for this purpose wish to remove all causes of conflict between them. Striving for their own freedom and independence as a nation, they desire to respect the freedom of others, and to build up their strength on the basis of international co-operation and goodwill. Such co-operation must be founded on a world order, and a free India will gladly associate itself with such an order and stand for disarmament and collective security. But world co-operation is impossible as long as the cause of international conflict remains and as nations dominate over another and imperialism holds sway. In order, therefore, to establish world peace on an enduring basis, imperialism and the exploitation of one people by another must end.

During the past few years there has been a rapid and dramatic deterioration in international relations, fascist aggression has increased, and an unbridled balance of international obligations has become the avowed policy of fascist powers. British foreign policy, in spite of its evasions and inflexions, has consistently supported the fascist powers in Germany, Spain and the Far East, and must therefore largely shoulder the responsibility for the progressive deterioration of the world situation. That policy will make an arrangement with Nazi Germany and has developed closer relations with rebel Spain. It is helping in the drift to imperialist world war.

India can be no party to such an imperialist war and will not permit her manpower and resources to be exploited in the interests of British imperialism. Nor can India join any war without the express consent of her people. The Congress therefore entirely disapproves of war preparations being made in India and large scale manoeuvres and strategic preparations by which it has been sought to spread an atmosphere of approaching war in India. In the event of an attempt being made to involve India in a war, this will be resisted.

6. Indians in Ceylon

The Congress is deeply concerned over the threatened estrangement of feelings between the people of Ceylon and the Indian population in the island, consequent on certain legislation in regard to local administration and appointments as to the discriminatory measures that may be further undertaken. The Congress urges on the Government of Ceylon and her people not to adopt any policy directly or indirectly aimed at discrimination or against Indians living and working on their territories in Ceylon.

In particular, the Congress notes with regret that laws have been recently framed as to deny the Indian labourers, who have helped and are helping in the development of the resources of the island, franchise in local administration to make the Indian residents approach further restrictions on their civil rights, and to feel that they were to be relegated to an inferior political status.

The Congress hopes that such measures will not be undertaken and that any legislation that has created such a feeling will be so modified as to make India feel that, in spite of being separate Governments, Ceylon and India are one and inseparable, so far as the people are concerned.

7. Report of Cloves

The Congress expresses its appreciation of the response of the Indian people to the appeal made on behalf of the Congress to refrain from the use of cloves, and that the boycott of trade in

cloves of Zanzibar by Indian merchants has been completely satisfactory.

The Congress congratulates Indians in Zanzibar and the clove merchants in India on the manner in which they have maintained this boycott. The Congress, however, repeats that the question of the rights of Indians in Zanzibar in internal and export trade has not yet been satisfactorily solved. The Congress repeats its appeal to the Indian people to continue not to use cloves, and press upon the attention of merchants the desirability of withdrawing the boycott of trade in cloves, and trade that by these measures the Zanzibar Government would be compelled to resist the objectionable duties.

8. Indians' Rights in Kenya

The Congress has latest with regret that the Government of East Africa once again are making aggressive attacks on the rights of Indians settled in Kenya, and protests against this policy of continuous injustice to Indians in East Africa.

While realising that full justice and equality of rights and citizenship will not be acquired until India attains complete independence, this Congress protests against inoperative legislation relating to the reservation of the Highlands in Kenya as a monopoly of the white population of Kenya.

The Congress trusts that the British Government will recognise even now that it is not too late to call upon the Government of Kenya not to embark on such a course of wasteful expenditure and dispensing discriminatory legislation and orders by which the rights of Indians are being restricted.

(Continued on p. 8)

The Report on Education

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CONTENTS		
Small but Necessary Expenses	M. D.	1
Question of Political Franchise	M. D.	4
Justice and Discrimination	J. D. Desai	8
The Working Committee's Resolution		8
Notes		
Garfield Evans	M. D.	1
Interviewer of the Times		
Education Survey	M. D.	1

Printed and Published by Abani Tivraj, Proprietor at the Aryabhata Press,

Room No. 214/1, Pargana Village Road, Poona 4



HARIJAN

(Editor: MURRAY DEAN)

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

Vol. VI No. 2

POONA — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1935

[ONE ANNA]

"GOVERNMENT MUST UNDO MISCHIEF"

Mahatma Gandhi has issued the following statement about the Ministerial crisis—

"The Governor-General's interference with the proposal of the Bihar Ministers seems to be the most unfortunate and uncalled for I have read and re-read section 124 (1) of the Government of India Act. It authorises interference when there is a grave menace to peace and tranquillity in any part of India through any action proposed by Ministers. Surely the discharge of a few prisoners, even though they were convicted of acts involving violence for what they no doubt sincerely believed to be the country's cause, so far as I could see, could not endanger peace and tranquillity. The Governor-General's interference would seem properly if there was disorder consequent upon such release.

In the case which has brought about the interference, I understood the Bihar Prime Minister had been accused by the prisoners that they had changed their mentality and that they wanted to live, if they were discharged, as peaceful citizens.

The action of the Governor-General troubles me and makes me suspect whether the proposal to discharge the prisoners in question was merely the last straw and that the Congress Ministers generally had resigned the British authority. I hope that my suspicion is groundless, but, if it is so, I fail to understand the interference unless there are good grounds of which the public have no knowledge. How I wish it was possible for the Governor-General to retract his step and avert a crisis whose consequences nobody can forestall."

II

Gandhi gave the following message to the Daily Herald, London, regarding the situation arising from the resignation of the Bihar and U P Ministers on the question of release of political prisoners—

"The fear that I had entertained about the unwarranted interference by Governors or the Viceroy with the due course of peaceful autonomy has been justified in an unexpected manner. I can only hope that what I regard as a grievous error may be amended or else rectified. I hope that there is nothing to warrant another one that has preceded one, namely, that the

British authority has been getting tired, perhaps also alarmed, over the tardy Congress and Congress Ministers are making along constructive lines. And yet it is most difficult for me to realise that the Viceroy would allow a grave crisis to be created over what must be in his estimation a policy matter. I have read and pondered over Section 124 (1) of the Government of India Act. The Governor-General is authorised by that Section to use his discretion "for the purpose of preventing any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of India or any part thereof." Many prisoners convicted for crimes of violence in pursuit of a political motive have been discharged before now and during the period of office of the Congress Ministers. I do not know that any serious grave or other has been thereby created in respect of peace or tranquillity in any single part of India. Congress Ministers throughout the seven Provinces have given ample testimony of their readiness and ability to cope with issues of disorder. The Congress stands more to lose than Government if during its regime in any Province disorders take place. I understand that the Ministers in the Provinces concerned, have positively to asking for discharge of prisoners against themselves of the change of mentality of the prisoners. Surely, it is they who according to law are in the first instance responsible for law and order. The Governor and the whole weight of British might is always to reserve, if impeded by the efforts of the Congress Ministers disorder take place, with its well known efficiency in suppressing disorders when they actually take place. Surely, there was no warrant whatsoever for interference with the deliberate decision of the Congress Ministers in the matter under discussion. I cannot help thinking that the Ministers who have resigned, have taken, under instruction from the Working Committee, the only honourable course open to them."

III

Interviewed by The London Times correspondent, in connection with the resignation of the Bihar Ministry, Gandhiji said that he could not understand the steps taken by the Governor-General. He said that it was just the kind of interference which he had decided on Congress acceptance of office and which fear had become justified by the recent event. He Gandhiji later from the interference that possibly British

activity is claimed over the rapid progress the Congress is making in its constructive policy, and in the fact it is strengthening our people. Intensely that was only to be expected. He hopes, however, that that interference is wholly unneeded and that though the crisis has been precipitated by the Governor-General's action, somehow or other the mischief done will be undone. But it is of British making and the undoing has also to come from the British side. By the moral-law manner in which Congress Ministers have embarked upon social and economic legislation, the Congress has given ample proof of its desire to seriously work its office programme.

Notes

Gandhi's Health

As I indicated in my last week's health bulletin, it was no use worrying over the steady progress that Gandhi seemed to be making. Whether it was due to the severe cold at Elmore, or to the stroke of the night journey, which certainly was as useful as it could be, the progress shot up to an alarming point after about three weeks of being in the neighbourhood of normal. Since returned at Haripura, it has shown a tendency to recover its equilibrium, but the circumstances cannot in the nature of things be wholly favourable. He has, for instance, to make his rule of silence during messages and other nature-cure treatment and silence during walks. The rule of silence had been found to be very beneficial and might, one would think, have been continued. But with the best will in the world Gandhi has found it impossible to adhere to the rule strictly.

What, however, can be done in the absence of restraint by those wanting to be near him and to talk to him? They have to realize that if he has rejected the rule it is obviously at the risk of retarding complete recovery. They should, therefore, impose upon themselves a self-denying ordinance and deliberately forgo the pleasure of making him talk, and cultivate the habit of not giving him an opportunity of talking. Let our people feel that because he undertook the journey to Haripura, he is in a fit state of health to stand long journeys or to stand the heat of sun-drenched verandas. If the habit of leaving railway stations for his strolls, making all kinds of noise and disturbing him at all hours of the day and night is not deliberately abandoned, he would have to abandon these journeys altogether and shut himself up in the isolation of Segun. In fact, but for the problem of polluted prisons and the visit to the North West Frontier, he would have taken this step long ago. This warning, therefore, cannot be too often repeated.

On the other hand, it is impossible to overdo the pleasure. A further improvement in health is within. Provided there are no noises, no dirt and heat and sun and dust, he can, as the

fact days at Haripura have shown, work the middle-class, make brief speeches through the microphones, and meet workers and organizers and make suggestions at every step.

A Sacred Memory

The very last speech that Gandhi made after months of public silence was on the occasion of opening the All India Village Industries and Khadi Exhibition at Haripura. He began by making a touching reference to the untimely death of Pandit Khare, who died in harness at Haripura on the 9th of this month. His death is of course a great personal loss to Gandhi and all the inmates of the old Ashram, as he had been a member almost ever since its inception. But the loss was more keenly felt inasmuch as he was speaking at it irreparable. He came to the Ashram with the offering of a life dedicated to cause, but he came with the deliberate conviction that the Ashram made were above everything that he held dear, and his life was an untimely sacrifice. He was to live those ideals. Without any exaggeration I may say that he tried to spiritualize much in the sense that Gandhi is trying to spiritualize politics. He gave credit to the ban-dash-dash Gopani and made it creative to music. He kept ahead of all the activities that the Congress has undertaken, was one of the Dandi March organizers, and had now arrived a keen interest in making music take its share in the Warlike Education Scheme. The reference to him by Gandhi in his last speech at Haripura will all the better be appreciated for these select features of a dedicated life.

"When I met the late Maharaja Gandhi to Pandit Vishnu Dhanraj," said Gandhi, "for giving to the newly established Satyagrahshala a good music teacher, the old Pandit knew what man he had to recommend. Pandit Khare justified his choice and filled the position to which he was called to go one who could have done. His death is likely to leave an irreplaceable gap. Few people who have devoted themselves to art are known to have achieved a unique blending of devoted to art and pure and beautiful life. We have somehow accustomed ourselves to the belief that art is independent of the purity of private life. I can say with all the experience at my command that nothing could be more wrong. As I am nearing the end of my earthly life I can say that purity of life is the highest and truest art. The art of producing good music from a cultivated voice can be achieved by many, but the art of producing that music from the harmony of a pure life is achieved very rarely. Pandit Khare was one of those rare people who had achieved it. In a full measure. There has been no occasion when I had the slightest doubt about the purity of his life."

"Let Gopani continue to take the interest in music awakened by the late Pandit. I am

hoping that his two children will be worthy of him and I have no doubt that his brave wife will give an example of what a dedicated life an Indian widow's can be. As for Gandhiji, though he died in the prime of life, anyone would envy his death which came to him whilst he was working in a sacred place like Swa, whilst he was fully conscious that his words were running out and as such with Rama-rama on his lips and with the vision of the sacred name about him. May Gopal treasure his sweet memory."

An Annual Training School

I will not attempt to describe in this space either the Villagehouse or the Exhibition, or even to give my impressions. I shall do so after I have had time for a close and detailed study I propose, in the meanwhile, to collect here all that Gandhiji has said, in order that it may help to some slight extent to give guidance to future workers.

In the course of his speech before opening the Exhibition, he said: "When an exhibition of this kind was first opened in Lucknow I said that our exhibitions should be schools of important things that we have been progressing successfully towards the ideal and the activities I have just now been through and am declaring open is such an annual training school, it is not, an exhibition of old used to be, a place of entertainment. It is a place of instruction for the hundreds of thousands of those who will be visiting it during the week or two that it will be on. It provides to the poor man who visits it a kind of provision for the next year's journey. It comes like with knowledge of an occupation which can carry him and his family through for the next year by working at it for eight hours. It answers the training he needs as honest livelihood to every one who will use his or her hands and feet, no matter how ignorant or different he or she may be.

"I have spent an hour this morning at the Exhibition. Please don't think for a moment that there should be nothing new in it for one who is the President of the All India Spinning Association and who is guiding the All India Village Industries Association. Even if you think so, I am not such a simpleton as to mistake the ideal. I would like to spend not one hour, but hours there learning something new every moment. But I confess that I should not be able to earn my livelihood from an occupation that I might pick up there. At the present moment I am leaving my livelihood, which perhaps is negligible for me like me, that I am sure that it is possible for any able-bodied man or woman to pick up one of the many problems exhibited here as a means of honest livelihood."

The Solar System

At Lucknow Gandhiji said in 1920 a statement that he used this year with greater effect. He showed the spinning wheel then to the Sun wheel which all the other handicrafts revolved. At Marjapur he completed the details of the study. "I have often said," he said, "that if even ladies of the villages of India were to be kept alive, and if power that is at the root of all civilisation is to be achieved, we have to make the spinning wheel the centre of all handicrafts. Thus my faith is the spinning wheel is growing every day and I see it more and more clearly that the Sun of the wheel will show likewise the planets of other handicrafts. But I go a step further and say that just as we go on discovering new stars and planets in the vast solar system, even so we should go on discovering fresh handicrafts every day. But for the sake of this thing we have to make the spinning wheel the really life-giving Sun. I made the spinning wheel in every house a necessary condition for the inauguration of Satyagraha in Bardoli in 1920, and though I know that the condition was far from being satisfied, I yielded to the importance of the late Vithaldas and inaugurated the Satyagraha, with what followed you know very well. Well, I would even today ask the people of Bardoli to fill that condition of one wheel in every house. That will help you to do out your small means and make you self-sufficient."

As he was being shown the various stands in the exhibition, he was taken to where some of the children in some of the national schools and districts in Gujarat were shown to be earning from spinning three to four annas a day. "That is better," said Gandhiji. "As far as the schools are concerned, you have to concentrate on showing that we can teach every thing through the handicrafts e.g. that of spinning. Literary education plus training is a handicraft in an equal conception. The novel conception is that of making the handicraft the principal means of imparting literary training." Then as regards the wage, he said, "You are really mischievous if you think that you have answered the ideal. The ideal is one anna per hour, and when poor Mahatmas has been able to achieve the average wage of three to four annas per day, rich Gopals cannot not satisfied with giving the spinners that wage. You have to think in terms of the wage obtainable in your province and should not be satisfied unless you have reached eight annas as the minimum wage."

"But then the price of Khadi will be prohibitive," said a worker.

"That is no answer. You must make up your mind that eight annas has to be made

(Continued on p. 12)

H A R I J A N

Feb. 19

1936

"ENDS AND MEANS"

Prof Aldous Huxley has given a subtle look to the pacifist world, a look which has come into our heads appropriately during this Congress week. Prof Huxley's is a sober and carefully detailed inquiry into the nature of our ideals and into the methods employed for their realisation. He has called his inquiry "*Ends and Means*"—a most appropriate title—and has ably and fully proved that pure and noble ends make it imperative to employ pure and noble means. Almost in the language of the Gita—the author says that non-attachment is the only ideal, and "the practice of non-attachment entails the practice of all the virtues. It entails the practice of charity, for example;... it entails the practice of courage;... it entails the cultivation of intelligence;... it entails the practice of generosity and *disinterestedness*,"—almost all the virtues to be practised by the man of the godly temperament described by the Gita in the thirteenth discourse.

From this point of view he has examined the existing methods of the organisation of our society, of government, of the administration of justice, of education, of religious practice, and of sobering social and political reform. "Real progress," he says, quoting the words of Dr. R. B. Marzani, "is progress in charity, all other advances being secondary virtues," and he would correlate even the well-known virtues to the sovereign virtue of charity. The thorough-going way with which Prof. Huxley has gone into the subject will be apparent from his observations on Charity as a virtue.

"Charity is one of the major virtues, as without charity neither luck energy and self-efforts are condemned to perpetual unconsciousness, attachment and animosity. In another sense, however, charity can reach only as a *minor* virtue, for, along with such other minor virtues as courage, prudence, temperance and the like, it can be used solely as a means for increasing the efficiency of willing. Unless they are dominated by the major virtues of love and intelligence, the minor virtues are not virtues at all, but aids to wickedness. Charity is not necessarily correlated with charity; on the contrary, the human organism is so constituted that there would seem to be a natural correlation between compulsory co-operation and energy that is independent of love as often as it is loveless."

So far as we are concerned, we have chosen the ends and we have determined the means. But there is a million constraint on that would re-examine the means and even after that, they

themselves do not show that their ends are different from ours. Lenin who lived an ascetic life of self-effacement made not only the ends but even the means to look almost the same as ours. The mentioned violent means no doubt, but he looked forward to a state of society which would be free from "every organised and systematic violence against man is proved," i.e. not only of exploitation of the masses by the classes but also of the exploitation of any single man by another. If that indeed is the goal, can it be achieved by any means other than those that make for peace? Prof Huxley leaves no measure of doubt on the question. He takes as the text of one of his Chapters R. B. Laity's dictum, "the more violence, the less revolution," and says:

"To be regarded as successful, a revolution must be the achievement of something new. But violence and the effects of violence—terrorism, violence, repression and movement on the part of the victims and the reaction, among the perpetrators, of a tendency to too great violence—are things only too familiar, too hopelessly unrevolutionary. A violent revolution cannot achieve anything except the inevitable results of violence, which are as old as the hills. We must find some other way before we can put any means which we know quite certainly to be absolutely, we go on believing, against all the evidence, that there had never can achieve the goal ends we desire. The extent to which even highly intelligent people can deceive themselves on this matter is well illustrated by the following words from Prof Laity's little book on Communism. 'It is a pity,' he writes, 'that without the iron Government of the Jacobins, the republic would have been destroyed.' To express this casually implies the facts is some even more points that it was precisely because of the Jacobins that the republic was destroyed."

But why not neutralise the results of violence, says some, by compensatory acts of non-violence, i.e. of justice and goodwill, as Lenin apparently agreed. No, says Prof Huxley, "it is in the nature of the case impossible—psychologically impossible, in other words."

For "a tradition of violence is formed, men come to accept a code of values according to which acts of violence are rational kinds and virtues. Violence, as we have seen, can produce only the effects of violence; these effects can be undone only by the compensatory non-violence after the event, where violence has been used for a long period, a habit of violence is formed and it becomes exceedingly difficult for the perpetrators of violence to reverse their policy. Moreover, the results of violence are far-reaching beyond the widest domain of the other well-constituted people who react to it. The 'iron dictatorship' of the Jacobins resulted, as we have seen, in military tyranny, twenty years of war, conscription in perpetuity for the whole of Europe, the use of nationalism. History in our era runs the long-drawn violence of the World War produced the

'non-violentness' of the Buddhists. The threat of world-wide revolutionary violence kept Pacson, Pacson professed non-violence, maintained his faith in the progressive deliberation of the democratic countries. What the further results of Pacson's 'non-violentness' will be, none dare tell now. At the present moment (June 1937) the outlook is, to say the least of it, exceedingly gloomy."

Paul Huxley's book should serve as a warning to us, though we really should have been told of its warning in the West where Paul Huxley has shown that violence has had its terrible results of violence, the warning is badly needed. We have, in a world of violence, seen at least some results of non-violence. That is so much the more reason why we should clear clear of violence and make a noble effort to obtain our goal through the non-violent method.

H D

NOTES

(Continued from p. 11)

the unknown wage, and have no other answer until you have answered it. Out on the western charges, make the count fair and then, but see that you reach the goal. That Khadi will not be sold to a representative. The same fact was expressed when we introduced the new spinning wage and we know how that fact has been believed."

"What a tragedy it is," he said with a sigh, to Harlan Vahidshid as we were returning from the Exhibition, "that we are far behind other provinces in the matter of Khadi, and yet we have no money. We produce the best cotton in India, and there is no reason why we should not be able to pay the highest reasonable wage and serve Gujarat with Khadi."

Real Congress Work

One of the least features of the Harjore Congress is the low level of Gandhian Vahidshid. It has collected under the leadership of Harjore Vahidshid and Jangam Dora, both Gandhians and both of whom have dedicated themselves to the task of participating the down and out in Gujarat. There are about 1200—I should be giving the precise figure later on—young men and women engaged in the task and in order that they may do it with undoubted vigor and enthusiasm Gandhiji was forced one day to see and say a few words to them. "You know," he said, "that you are engaged in a work that I like most. The Khadi has been the most deplorable of the Harjore, because his work has been regarded as the most deplorable. But we forget that our mothers did that very work which we were taking moment of all Gandhian. If that work was against the Khadi's would be terrible, but if it was noble the Khadi's work is also noble. But our mothers cleaned our skin because we were their babies, because they could not do other-

wise, because they were wrapped up in us and shared their own skins in us. Their work was their skin. The volunteer Khadi's work is useful and no nobler than that of mothers. And if I receive my mother and therefore the whole of womanhood, is it not clear that I should share the volunteer Khadi even more?"

"I am, therefore, happy that you have taken upon yourselves this noble work. But you must know how to do it. The work has to be done lovingly and intelligently. Lovingly because those who are responsible for the skin and skin know not what they do, and intelligently because we have to help them to reform their habits and improve their health. An ideal Khadi is one who knows the principles of nutrition and can trace the quality of the crops to the land of health that is possessed by the owner. Then only can you enable the producers. I say this because I am an expert Khadi, I have been doing this work for over thirty five years and I have done it in the proper spirit. I would, therefore, ask you to approach everyone with kindness and respect, especially because you will come across ignorant people ignorant of the principles of nutrition. You will speak to them gently and explain to them that cleanliness demands that they should observe the sanitation rules of the Congress. If you have achieved this aim, I shall regard you as better than Congress delegates. This is not to disparage the delegates, but to tell you what exactly is Congress work. It was not for nothing that I retired from the Congress. I saw that I needed not to be a delegate of the Congress so much as I needed to do Congress work. And I hope to continue to do so, as long as my chief service will be accepted by the people. For me to leave the Khadi, to be engaged in other handicrafts, to be unengaged and unengaged work in the Congress spirit is to do Congress work and I should be content to busy myself in a village doing this work as long as God wants me to live on this earth."

"The next requires no literary training, no degree. It requires a pure and tender heart, as it requires clean and short hands. If you have both, and address yourselves to this task, 1200 villages like you will be enough to win Swaraj. I said this years ago and I do not hesitate to repeat it now. But have you the required pure heart?"

True Co-operation

The present Congress represents a serious effort on the part of all the workers in Gujarat, from Harlan Vahidshid to the smallest volunteer, to see that Gandhiji's dream is fulfilled. Now that they have succeeded we shall see after the termination of the Congress. But no one will doubt that the conscious endeavor was there, as is evident in the sanitation brigade I have just mentioned, and in the elaborate arrangements they have made for combining thousands of volunteers to the use of cow's milk

and its products for catering to the needs of the many thousands of visitors to the Congress. Just now when 500 cows have been lodged, a little exhibition pertaining to cattle-breeding and dairy-keeping has been arranged, and it was declared open by Sardar Vallabhbhai on the 15th. Sardarji who has made a point of visiting every part of the Congress grounds attended the function, went to every stall, and gave expressions to his views on cow protection once again. "Deshahi—cow protection," he said, "is not the proper word. Ganes—the service of the cow is our ideal, at the back of the present unfortunate state of things is our ignorance which in the turn is due to our lethargy. If we try to go to the root of the pure science of what making, we find that the spinning wheel is the one question. In the same way if you study the science of milk, you will find in India at any rate the service of the cow to be the one one cow. My study of the science as well as my consultations with experts have shown to me that it is impossible to serve both the cow and the buffalo. It is likely that after the cow has been saved the buffalo may also remain to a certain extent. But if you allow the buffalo to compete with the cow both the buffalo and the cow will be extinct. What is necessary is to realize that the cow is really the more economic proposition as our own forefathers realized when they styled their kings as the protectors of the cow and the Brahmins. But mark that they mentioned the cow first, because even the existence of the Brahmins—i.e., the spiritual leaders of the community—depends on that of the cow. You in India have believed under the superstition that the cow cannot be equimale and that the buffalo alone is your industry. I tell you that it is a myth and that if you believe on the cow the cow that you do on the buffalo and try to understand the real economics of the cow you will find in the long run that it is more economic than the buffalo.

"We have wasted our energies so far in saving the cow from the butcher's hands. Why should we try to wrest it from the butcher's hands? The butcher has to provide his products. To blame the butcher is like blaming the doctor for your fever. We have allowed it to go into the butcher's hands because of our gross neglect, and we are wholly responsible for his slaughter. It is for us to make it economically unnecessary and as impossible to sell the cow to the butcher. This exhibition and the lecture you will see on the latter exhibition will show you that it is possible to do so."

M. B.

UNEMPLOYMENT

[By J. C. Menonappa]

Economic Conference Suggestions

Only the press report of the proceedings of the first session of the Economic Conference is before us now. The problem of unemployment was taken up by several eminent scholars from all over India. Many learned discussions were given as to what unemployment means and how we can classify it and what are the contributing causes. A few suggestions were thrown out as to how the problem may be met.

I do not propose to deal with the theoretical part of it as without these few definitions and descriptions most people know what unemployment is to their own sorrow.

Some of the suggestions are very illuminating and worth considering. If for nothing else then to show what our able knowledge can lead to:

Here are some—1. The age of retirement from Government service should be lowered from 55 to 50. 2. Compulsory primary education should be introduced to absorb unemployed multitudes. 3. Government public works should be started. 4. Bonuses to private concerns may be given. 5. Working hours may be reduced. 6. Workers should start co-op. funds. 7. Services and industries should be Indianized, and many other suggestions which do not lead to production of wealth but deal only with the symptoms of the disease. There was one or two halfhearted suggestions like industrializing India. All of them go to show how much within the corner of the tent look all the discussions was. Even the suggestions put forward by Dr. Granddahl, the President-elect of the next Conference, that the standard of living should be raised, shows to what extent Western test looks disconcerting our thoughts and how far we are removed from the realities of the situation. The only original and refreshing idea came from Dr. Anthony Sankar. He suggests "taking up of an intense social programme as a practical solution of the problem of unemployment." His ten year plan is a four-fold programme of military, commercial, university and civil service. He schemes for financing this programme in the laydown of the structure. He would start a national loan with residential grants met by means of a defense tax, restricted on exchange of income and savings resulting from economy schemes in various departments. The discussion was as abridged as Dr. Sankar's scheme was novel.

Rebel by Dake

The relief schemes dealing with the symptoms and no movement from its. Millions may have the cow but it cannot take the place of wholesome, normal food. A nation cannot exist on dhol and public works. The place for such schemes is where the society is level and tranquil as in the case of milk failures and famines. The problem facing India is not cow such but a

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nation-wide phenomenon which promises to become a normal feature. Therefore any scheme calculated to meet the problem before us has to take into consideration the causes leading to the present situation as well as the most possible cure. It should have the roots deep down in the permanent national life of the people.

Higher Standard of Living

Raising the standard of life is almost a slogan in capitalist Western countries. There it is like the carrot tied before the donkey. The national tries to reach the overreaching cart and the capitalist's cart goes the faster. By increasing the labourer's standard of living the labourer's bargaining power is reduced. Because he has become accustomed to many wants he finds it difficult to shift work or to go on strike. Thus he is tied down fast to his job and as the capitalist benefits, by a more permanent labour force.

Besides, in other words, increasing the standard of life means extension of the market for consumable goods. A market does not mean any locality but it is made up of individuals with wants. You can increase such a market extensively with additional individuals with the same amount of wants, or intensively with the same number of individuals with additional wants. When we capture China or Abyssinia we are adding at an extensive market, when we raise the standard of living we get an intensive market. These two methods are severely in the interests of the capitalist and not necessarily helpful to the employee.

When consumable goods are manufactured locally—as in the case of U. S. of America with its enormous internal market—when the increase in demand will call for an increased local production, it may help the unemployed by bringing work within their reach, but only under certain definite conditions. If the standard of living of the employees of Henry Ford be increased so that every employee feels a car is necessary, then the demand for his cars will enable Ford to employ more. The circulation must be within a known area from within which the employees draw their purchasing power and their supplies also come. If the purchasing power comes from one locality and the increased standard of living calls for the goods from another place, then the effect will be to transfer more employment to the supplying area and deplete the purchasing power of the demanding area.

Let us now see which of these three apply to our country. As we are not in favour of capitalism the first objective of forming a new industrial labour class does not interest us. Neither does the second objective of creating an intensive market.

This leaves only the third to be considered. The poverty of our people is such that few are able to reach the very necessities of life. Increas-

ing the standard of life means, in simple words, increasing their wants. When a person is hungry, to increase his wants is to intensify his grasp of hunger. When he has no purchasing power, how will he obtain the wherewithal to satisfy his needs? From this it is clear that increasing the standard of living is a device that can only apply to comforts and luxuries. A casual glance at any house will tell you that most of such articles in our country are imported. Therefore increasing demand for such articles will only result in more employment in the countries from which they are imported, until such time when our own people are in a position to cater to the increased demand. At present our country is one that exports raw materials and imports finished goods. Such a country cannot solve the unemployment problem by the device of increasing the standard of living of its people. Any attempt to do so can only result in greater transfer of purchasing power to foreign countries and in increased misery and unemployment in our own country.

Cause of Unemployment

A few months back I was passing through a village in Travancore where beautiful saris were being made. I stopped to see the industry. The heads of the workmen bitterly complained about the decline in the trade. When some years ago there were dozens of families living on this sariing industry, there was now hardly 4 or 5 families eking out a precarious existence. After I had seen the looms where the work was still going on, this leader of that women invited me to take the sariing road with him. There were two friends with me. We agreed and accordingly repaired to the house of our host. On the way he was imploring us to find out the reason for the fall in the trade and help to rebuild it. When we arrived at the house I found the two friends had saris on their backs pinned for them and I was shown to the central place. Immediately I remarked to the host, "I have found the reason for the decline in the trade". Our host brightened up and asked what it was. I said, "You yourself," and, pointing to the Japanese mat with a big tiger printed on it on which I was standing, continued, "Intending to become me more, you have given me this foreign mat while you have given your own saris on mats to my companions. If you yourself value the Japanese mat more than your own, how can you blame others who do so? If people buy Japanese mats by preference, it means unemployment in this trade and in this village." Suddenly every one of us who has a yen to spend was so afraid it was either to create unemployment or more employment according to what goods we patronized. No pious hopes nor highly paid vicarages nor the weight of the British Empire can create employment. Nobody can help us. We have to help ourselves. Each one who buys direct industry is the channel in which he wants industry to develop. Let us

— each one of us — realize our responsibility and direct our consumption in the right time. If we are unemployed, it is because we have given all available employment to foreigners. Every foreign article we buy creates unemployment here. After having brought about this situation it does not lie to us to pray to ourselves to dream ways and means of finding employment. The lay is in our own hands.

The Remedy

Having found the cause of unemployment in our country and knowing that the remedy lies in using locally made articles, we have to go further and see which method of producing goods provides the best solution. There are two main methods — centralized and decentralized. Centralized method lies in its very nature concentration — either of wealth or of power. But a proper system should be its very working distribute wealth equitably. Under centralized methods even though we may produce more standardized articles yet distribution has to be made artificially. Under decentralized methods the very act of producing itself distributes wealth and functions automatically.

Industrialization

When people advocate centralized methods — industrialization — they forget the repeated experience of other nations. There is no industrialized nation of any standing which has not succumbed to unemployment. Russia is yet too recent an experiment to provide an argument. Within a century U. S. of America is facing the present, and half a century of it has made it necessary for Japan to control China. When we declare our sympathy for China let us not forget the fall of Japan consequent on its industrialization. May this tragedy be a warning lesson. There was when all Chinese looked to Japan with pride believing that industrialization was advancing that country. But where has it led to? Do we want India to follow in her footsteps? The very basic idea of centralized production is to subsume work of men. How can it solve unemployment when it is the creator of it? Once industrialization takes of men slavery to the machine. What we want is that machine should be slave — tools and instruments — in the control of men. That can only be under decentralization. Centralization of Locomotive industry has brought about unemployment in India and has created a few millionaires in England. It has also brought about the political downfall of our country. We are at the present moment standing round the death bed of many a small handicraft. If we allow them to die, our nation will die with them. If we resurrect them, we shall bring employment, prosperity and happiness to millions.

Conclusion

This is not a programme to which only big people, millionaires, and Mahatma Gandhi can

help, but as we have already stated every person with a pen in his hand to spend even more effectively help than those who the Government machinery and influential people can do. This seems to me to be the only solution on a practical basis.

Some agree that as we are situated this will work, but they have their doubts as to the future. Let the future take care of itself. Everyone who feels that during even the transitional period this will work should give the idea full support purely on economic grounds.

It is not necessary here to go into the ethical and moral reasons on which the solution of unemployment by using village and cottage industries rests. It is based. We may merely mention that any other solution while working injustice on the masses will also entail use of violence at some stage or another.

The master key to unemployment lies in the hands of women who naturally control the household. They are the greatest consumers. By discriminate buying they can help the nation. The present deplorable condition of our nation — both economically and politically — is in no small measure due to the utter darkness of ignorance in which our wonderful women. Only an enlightened womanhood can create a self-respecting independent nation. The great responsibility of directing economic activity of the nation cannot be shouldered by having the better half of the nation steeped in ignorance. An inefficient hand at the helm cannot rule the world but has spell domination in our country.

Therefore we come to the conclusion that the unemployment problem can only be solved when we realize that we create unemployment by using imported articles and Indian goods of centralized production. The solution lies not in idles and public works but by a widespread attempt to produce all we need by decentralized methods and by the consumers restricting themselves to produce of such industries only as far as possible.

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CONTENTS		Page
Government Must Take Measures		1
Home and Handicraft	M. D.	14
UNEMPLOYMENT	L. C. Shrivastava	24
NOTES		
Government Measures	M. D.	36
A RATHER MISERY	M. D.	38
AN AGRICAL CHAIRMAN SPEECH	M. D.	40
THE SOLAR SYSTEM	M. D.	42
REAL CHAIRMAN SPEECH	M. D.	44
THE NEW PASTORAL	M. D.	46



HARIVAN

Editor: HARIVAN DEVI

Under the Auspices of The Harivani Society, Bangalore

Vol. VI, No. 2

(17)

14/4

Vol. VI No. 2

POONA - SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1935

[ONE ANNA]

HARIVAN NOTES

II

Gandhi's Health

Speaking at Palapur in December 1934 Gandhiji said "Let me yield up the real secret of my health, which is that my body happens to be where I had set my heart." Well, the remark would be as true today as it was a year ago, if the conditions were fulfilled, his body remained for the best part of the year in a village, but it could not be given the care-free surroundings enjoyed by an ordinary villager. Thus on the bank of the Tapal at Harigani his body is apparently in surroundings where he has set his heart, but it is really far from being so. Set in hostile surroundings, his bed is a bamboo village hut. But the hut, though surrounded by a moat, is situated in an artificial city of which the officials cannot give him rest, no matter how much they try to do so. The situation was made more difficult by what is described as the Manchester crisis, and the lack of golding and advertising the Working Committee for which he is an Harigani became unavoidable. At Palapur the Working Committee left him practically free and untroubled for the whole of the session. At Harigani this became impossible and from the rank of villager, some of whom had not seen him for long and were eager for even a few minutes' talk, made the task of maintaining his health and his particularly others. The result was that at the end of four or five days he felt himself thoroughly wasted out, anxious to do the share of work that came to him and yet pining for rest. The worried weather and dust storms gave him a bad cold and cough, sleepless nights, a headache, and every day increased his longing to get back to Begum.

Am I exaggerating? Three or four better visitors, who look through all barriers by pushing all the mild and hard-worked volunteers, had no irritating argument with me. "We were as much for Gandhiji's health as any one of you, but why do you think a few minutes' talk with him would make him worse?"

"Multiply the few minutes by the number of people waiting them and you will realize what a terrible strain it would be," I said.

"But how in his condition were there those who are dying by inches in jail? He is a

great man, and as you make from his small almost great. But what about the small men whose misery is greater than you can conceive?"

"Will you believe me when I say that every minute of his life is being given to account for all those who live from their misery?"

"Why does he not then announce a visit to our province?"

"Do you want him to walk it alive or dead?"

They were mollified to a certain extent, but I know that they left me in disgust, that alone knows whether I was exaggerating the seriousness of Gandhiji's condition.

For Whom All This?

When Sri Khandekar Dasa and Sri. Gokul and Mahesh created a village city out of bamboo at Palapur, the correspondent of the Times or India took like having some fun out of what he called the "villages" of Palapur. The Times are changed and even the Times or India correspondent has moved camped on the beauty and the dignity and the discipline that "has earned universal tribute for the Bamboo Garden." Even before the bamboo city had come into being, newspapers were filled with columns describing the wonderful lay-out of Villahagar, of the elaborate arrangements made for water supply and lighting and for catering to the needs of hundreds of thousands of human beings. The idea that the Congress should be held in the heart of rural surroundings had ceased to be ludicrous. It was not only welcomed but welcomed, and many even believed that it had been fulfilled beyond all expectation.

Has it been fulfilled? No Gandhiji idea of a village cannot be considered primarily to enable the Congress to penetrate the countryside," writes the Times or India correspondent. "That has been gone than achieved by the method adopted. But Mr. Gandhi also wished to demonstrate the domestic side of the Congress sessions to enable him a few hundreds of delegates to meet and transact work in a house-like manner. This part of his scheme, it must be confessed, has failed badly. From the point of view of saving grounds who are not for the time or process, the present session is no better than many a past one adding to the troubles of the management. Today for instance, the Sunday spent amongst the entire urban population of Bombay and



Children and tens of thousands of people poured in. They were not just on a holiday. Any number of special trains were run from Soviet. Hundreds of buses plied between Vishniograd and Barstoli and Modri. Ten thousands were stranded at the railway station and thousands were left to spend the night at the Congress camp for want of conveniences. This problem may not repeat itself during the week, but next weekend it is bound to recur."

Well it did not recur, and therefore one may say that the management stood the test admirably well. But was that the test for the fulfillment of which the idea of a village Congress was conceived? The magnificent traffic arrangements, the admirable sanitation arrangements, the excellent water-supply, the tireless hand of volunteers—men and women, young and old—made the Congress an unprecedented triumph of organization and management. The thousands of workers who settled down for weeks working out all the details preparing, as though against a fortnight's work, made all this possible.

But was it all necessary? Seven lakhs and more will have been spent in order to make the Congress a success. Seven lakhs is a great undertaking. Why don't we distribute the lakhs of rupees which will be spent in the aggregate by those who looked to Haripura? Was all that necessary?

Was the penetration of the countryside by the Congress the only idea with which a village meeting was conceived? It was not the only idea, it was one of the objects. The only idea was to make the Congressmen village-minded, to make him feel one with the villagers, to enable him to identify himself, for some days at least in the year, with the brothers and sisters who spend their lives in the villages, and to make him alive to the duties he owes to them. Have we succeeded in this great objective? We have to a very small extent, but we have largely failed. One of the seven lakhs gone lakhs will have gone into the pockets of the poor villagers who laboured hard in bringing the business city into being. That is a considerable gain. Thousands of young men from the villages got an education in combined effort, corporate life and discipline which they would not have otherwise gained. Many of them, I expect, got their first glimpse of patriotic fire which will not be easily extinguished.

But have we not also done the villagers a certain amount of disservice? Rather than to liberate them and of them, we donated them with our electric lights, with our cars and water-taps, with our city habits, with our helplessness and with our artificialities.

This is not to disparage in any manner and to any extent the work of those who built the castle of both ends in making the meeting a success in the accepted sense of the term. Judged by ordinary accepted standards Haripura was

an unprecedented triumph. But we are engaged in an extraordinary task and we have to judge ourselves by extraordinary standards. The Haripura meeting will have fully justified itself if it makes us more self-reflective, makes us turn the burning electric lights inward and more alive to the task ahead of us.

The Implications of Kishu

It was in that spirit of self-reflectiveness that Gandhi posed himself out at the exhibition on the morning of the fifth. The value had not the pitch and tumble that his voice had on the day he delivered himself of a spiritual oration at Raipur on the fifth of December 1938, but it had the same solemnity, the same spiritual fervour, the same appeal made more irresistible by the foreboding that it may be stifled in a near future than a remote future.

"The U. P. and the Bihar Ministers are here having gathered their representatives," he said. "There is nothing very extraordinary about that. They accepted their offices as full knowledge of the fact that the Government is a hostile. What has happened in Bihar and U. P. may happen tomorrow in Madras and the day after in Madras. But I am going to tell you today why exactly the thing has happened. It is an ill-considered it is within my power to release prisoners, no matter whether they are three or thirty. What might the Government be interested? I am Minister because I have the majority of votes, and so long as I hold the office, there is no one to question my authority to release the prisoners. But the Government of two provinces have quarrelled. Let me tell you why. First what the Socialist friends may say, I hold that the Government should be interested because we have not realized the implications of Kishu.

Kishu has been conceived as the foundation and the image of ahimsa. A real ahimsa-ness will not arise as a result. A real ahimsa-ness will involve no violence, no deceit, no impurity. To those who will say, 'It is Kishu, we will not wear it,' I will say, 'You are not come to do what you like, but that you must forget to win freedom by means of truth and non-violence. You may I compel you to observe truth and non-violence, but may I compel you to win freedom after my method.

Seven and a half lakhs have gone into the making of Vishniograd. There are many things here I have liked, but it lacks the spirit of Kishu. The leaders and I are close to each other, we are in fact, we work side and we think alike, but it may be that even the leaders have not fully grasped the secret of Kishu. When there is the smallest reluctance to follow the spirit of Kishu, there is no place for the expenditure of seven and a half lakhs. I said that we should be able to hold a village meeting at the annual expense of Rs. 5,000. Before the Pabpur Congress I told Das that he would be forced to resign as my estimate of his failed to materialize. It

with Rs. 1,000. Well the idea has still not left my mind. If we cannot do this, we are not too different of luxury, we have not income and villages. Communism and the total Elimination go all together. No, here under our feet under leaves any place there. They took me to Pungur and they brought me to Harpur in a car. They would not allow me to leave it and. They would not even take me in a bullet coat. That was covered for Indian Police. If they had brought me in a bullet coat, it would have meant some loss of time. But how does that matter? We have all human power, and I am told some palatinate, myhill and and threatened myhill and if they were not given care. The great lake would not have been spent here, if we were threatened. How there are police and all things and weapons, even and electricity, most of the modern ship-builders' machines, including the boat parts and the boat break and wanted here. The village is or should be stopped by these things. The boat in the front total night and the power in salt and channel. You were blind, but what about the other things that covered you and are out of keeping with blind?

Because we have not succeeded and lived the means of blind, some British friends are impatient with us and say that Gandhi's days are gone and a new age is upon us. I do not mind that, as long as I believe in plain speaking. If you think that what I say deserves to be reported, do by all means report it. Do what you do for the sake of India, not for my sake. I am not an enemy of day, which is sure to be referred to again. If you wear blind for my sake, you will lose blind on the day you lose my dead body. But if you have fully understood the message of blind, if you have thoroughly understood it, blind will long follow me. Blind is not a blind thing to be worshipped secretly. Proper worship is not made worship, it is the worship of God in the temple. If we make the quest of blind and make only a fetish of it, we are no better than great scholars.

For twenty years I have preached the cult of blind in my countrymen. I wish to preach the same cult today when I am at death's door. Blind is no longer the old blind eye it looked like when it was here. It has all the health and beauty and vigor of youth, and I can therefore preach the cult of blind with confidence and vigor. Something within me tells me that hence I am not wrong. In blind has beauty — independence."

Other Impositions

I began with a query and in a spirit of self-interrogation. I began the independence of the reader for nothing in the same sense a little longer. On the very day Gandhi arrived and was taken out by the British to inspect the layout of Yeholung, Gandhi said: "Why this specially prepared lot for me? Why this palatial roofing and the blind roofing?" And he

smoked and discussed with the same smile eye all the other arrangements. Of course the primary consideration before the British was Gandhi's health. He knew that in visiting him in Harpur he was taking a great risk and he wanted to insure against it as far as it was humanly possible. But how would the British anticipate the value of such a thing tonight? In three or four days when there was terrible drought, there was something better in our past.

"We are sharing every, what you are early noted in your beautiful pictures but we get more than that food, we eat, we give, while you 'blind' are enjoying paradise. In the same kitchen food is being kept at us, whereas such dishes are being served you by gilly-did meals. The cook about in order our whole blind in and about as with that. Every day is being taken of you blind but we worried to be one at the day. I had power, I was stopped in the hospital, but I did not even get my money's worth of food and milk, and as soon as I felt a little better I left the hospital in despair. You are all heartless and hypocrites. The only one man who is the soul of service, a real man at last, is Parthivlal Meharshi who is giving daylong service in the hospital."

Thank God, there was one Parthivlal who captured even this critic's heart. He did not know that there are other Parthivlals too of whom I shall have occasion to speak in my future articles. But who will say that the rest of his criticism is wholly unparried? If blind is the symbol of science, blind is the synonym for wisdom. Why then a blind camp and a deluged camp, a virtue's camp and a distinguished virtue's camp, a general camp and a leader's camp, a general kitchen and a leader's kitchen? Leaders are leaders and even several leaders. But why should we suffer from leadership to be recalled at by distinctions we introduce, no doubt with the noble motive of doing them justice, but which produce only the contrary result?

"No city sanctities or sanctities, but everything that poor villages could provide," said Gandhi at Pungur. "The place is a place of pilgrimages for us all, our Kashi and our Meera, where we have come in order to offer our prayers for freedom and to dedicate ourselves to the nation's service. You have not come here to lead it over the poor peasants but to learn how to get off their backs by participating in their daily toil, by doing the messenger's job, by waiting for permission, by giving your own share."

Leaders are leaders because they are the leading streams of their causes, and they will be all the wealthier of the masses' esteem if we do not make them look noted on the masses' backs. If the Congress comes to a place of pilgrimages, all become one and partake of the same peace that Agastya, the Lord of the World, provides. Our religious faith like

Kamala Mehta have numerous ugly aspects, but one thing bright about them is that the so-called great staff their greatness for a few days, not shoulder with the commoner and the spoiled lowest of us, and eat and live pretty nearly in the same way.

Nothing I have written is in a spirit of sweeping criticism. It is more in self-criticism than anything else, for I am after all a Gujarati. There were things at Vallabhbhai worthy of the highest admiration. But they had better follow after these few notes of self-criticism.

M D

H A R I J A N

Vol. 26

1938

THE OLIVE BRANCH

The Harijans Congress will long be remembered as the Congress which resolved differences to a minimum and which actively promoted co-operation between the different political schools of thought in the country based on a vast spirit of give and take, as to put it briefly, as the Congress political creed of non-violence. When the idea of the Congress was about some months ago Sardar Vallabhbhai took Gandhiji to several possible sites in Baroda. The pros and cons of each were considered and Baroda was finally fixed upon, on the natural beauty of the surroundings appealed to Gandhiji, but equally with the beauty of surroundings the name 'Harijans' appealed to Gandhiji most, and he said as to the workers who wanted to have professions for another place 'Harijans' means a City of God, and Gandhiji's emphasis on the name might well prove prophetic of the march of the Congress towards the City of God.

For look at the Resolutions. Some of them were of a highly controversial nature, and there was enough room therein for heated and wide differences of opinion — I mean the resolution about the Federation about the Congress policy with regard to Indian States, about the Riga Scheme, and last but not the least the resolution regarding the situation arising out of the widespread resignations in U. P. and Bihar. But a remarkable spirit of co-operation prevailed all parties. Even the resolution regarding National Education accepting the principle of the Wardha Scheme of Education found ready acceptance.

We propose to confine ourselves to a small section of that resolution which is still most to be regarded as a special achievement of the Congress presided over by Bal Gangadhar Tilak. It deserves to be studied, shared and digested as much by the Government as by

the people. With remarkable moderation it points out the grave error into which the Government-General has allowed himself to be betrayed. "In those deliberations it was definitely stated," says the resolution, "that there would be no interference with the day-to-day administration of provincial affairs by responsible Ministers. The responsibility of affairs by Congress Ministers in the Provinces has shown that at least in two provinces, the United Provinces and Bihar, there has in fact been interference in the day-to-day administration of provincial affairs as shown hereafter." The last statement of fact proved of special interest was substantiated by argument which must carry conviction to everyone who approaches the subject in an impartial manner.

It next explains how the Government action is a misapplication of Section 136 (3) of the Government of India Act. Here again is language which even without comment might have been made stronger. For it is outrageous in the extreme to talk of a "grave menace to peace and tranquillity" when firstly the Ministers have actually stood on the side of patience, when secondly they had made themselves sure of their ground, and when thirdly they had taken responsibility on their shoulders. The paragraph concludes with solemn words of warning:—"Indeed it is the Government-General's interference which has undoubtedly created a situation that may easily, in spite of the Congress effort to the contrary, become such a grave menace."

Since the resignations there have been heard two statements in defence of the action of the U. P. and the Bihar Governments. The Congress has referred to one of the statements which had the appearance of being plausible, and corrected some glaring errors in the statement which in fact go to show that if there was a basis on those erroneous statements they must admit their error and withdraw their steps. Not only, says the resolution, were the demonstrations and speeches immediately denounced by Gandhiji and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but they were taken serious notice of by the Ministers, with the result that "when six prisoners, one of whom was a prominent member of the Kshatri group, were released subsequently, about two months after the release of the Kshatri prisoners, no demonstrations were held in their honour nor any receipt was accorded to them." This fact not mentioned in the U. P. Statement deprives of the argument of "a grave menace to peace and tranquillity", which coming as it does four months after these last releases, compels one to read a chapter meaning in the Government action. To see Gandhiji's words it would appear that "the Congress Ministers in general had rejected British authority."

The resolution lays down in unmistakable language the attitude of the Congress regarding the functioning of the Ministers, so that the Government may consider better before they

make up their minds to reverse their steps. "The responsibility for the maintenance of law and order is that of the Ministers, and they are entitled to perform their functions in such manner as they deem proper. It is their business to weigh all relevant factors in the light of prevailing circumstances, but their decisions must before being accepted and enforced. Any interference with them in the exercise of their powers in the normal day-to-day administration is bound to undermine and weaken their position. The Congress Ministers have more than once declared their determination to take adequate action in the matter of violent acts, and the fact was an adequate promise especially when they have aligned the path of violence as altogether imaginary."

Then follows the assurance that the Congress does not desire "to precipitate a crisis which may involve non-violent non-cooperation and direct action consistent with the Congress policy of truth and non-violence," and refrains from advising the Ministers in other directions from yielding to their suggestions by way of protest against His Excellency the Governor-General's action. And with this the Congress INVENTS HIM "to consider his decision, so that the Government may act constitutionally and accept the advice of their Ministers in the matter of the release of political prisoners."

This offer of the olive branch couched in courteous and conciliatory language should make it irresistible and help Government, to make the mistake for which they are wholly responsible. They will be wrong before the whole world if they offer for averting what might prove to be a disastrous crisis, to not grouped by them in the spirit in which it is made.

It is made doubly irresistible by the Congress emphatically reiterating its need of non-violence and its desire to "take serious notice of indiscipline and breach of the code of non-violence", and by its declaration of the Congressmen's intention to do this "that indiscipline in speech and action calculated to promote or lead violence, retards the progress of the country towards its cherished goal."

Of course with this declaration is the strong disapproval of hangover-drunken law-abuse, which becomes a species of violence and which takes away from the party of suffering for the sake of one's cherished goal.

The Congress thus declares to the world that it desires to achieve its goal by no other means than that of non violence, and invites us to say the Government to co-operate in a task which would make not only India an exemplar in the art of winning freedom by non-violence but may make even the British Government acquire a name for having co-operated in a noble endeavor.

HOW CRISIS CAN BE AVOIDED

The following is the text of Gandhi's statement issued on the 13th inst. in reply to the Governor-General's statement.

"I have read the Governor-General's statement with the respect and attention it deserves I had hoped that it would give some satisfaction as was given at least to me and, if I may say so, a large number of Congressmen when he made a pronouncement upon the Congress demand for definite assurance as a condition precedent to the acceptance of Ministerial responsibility by Congress members of the Provincial Legislatures. It reads like a special pleading unworthy of a sovereign possessing valour-of powers.

No one has questioned the propriety of maintaining the mass of prisoners to be discharged, but what I have questioned, and the Congress most emphatically questions, is the propriety of such exonerations by Provincial Governments, its provinces said to be enjoying complete provincial autonomy. That duty and the right of exonerations belong solely to responsible Ministers as I understand the Government of India Act and the constitution of responsibly governed Colonies. The Governor's duty and right are to advise their Ministers as the question of broad policy and warn them of danger in their exercise of certain powers, but leaving them to have their Ministers free to exercise their unfettered judgment. If such were not the case, the responsibility would become a perfectly meaningless term, and the Ministers responsible to their electors would have as their share nothing but advice and danger, if their responsibility had to be shared with Governors in the daily administration of affairs by him entrusted to them. It is hardly grateful for His Excellency to make against the poor Ministers their consciousness of their exonerated powers to prevent Government from examining individual cases. The Congress Resolution demands their instructions as exemplary pattern. I would venture to add that probably it was also the responsibility of the Ministers who were totally new to their task. I am afraid, therefore, that unless this crucial question is checked in favour of the Ministers, it will be difficult for them to shoulder the great responsibility that the Congress has presented them to take over.

I am glad that His Excellency has shown public attention to the method I adopted in Bengal. He might have noted also the difference between Bengal on the one hand and the U P and Bihar on the other. In Bengal I was dealing with a Government which was not bound by the Congress manifesto in any shape or form. The Ministers were rightly or wrongly would not listen to a wholesale discharge of convicted prisoners. I was dealing upon my delicate ground as promoter of my promise to the prisoners. My method was purely humanitarian, and the only weapon that I had of my channel.

was an appeal to the justice in the Bengal Mission. And I am glad to be able to testify that I was not speaking to hearts of stone. The other story in the U. P. and Bihar is totally different. The Hindus there are bound by the conditions which gave them victory at the polls. They had not only examined the cases of all prisoners whose release they were seeking, but having fully aware of their responsibility for the preservation of peace in their Provinces, had personally secured assurances from the prisoners in question that they no longer believed in the evil of violence.

One thing in His Excellency's statement gives me hope that the impending crisis might be prevented. He has still left the door open for negotiations between the Government and the Mission. I recognize that the mission were useless because of the nature of things they had to be in. All the parties have now had enough time for considering the situation.

In my opinion the crisis can be avoided if the Government are left free to give an assurance that their examination of cases was not intended to be usurpation of the powers of the Ministers, and that since they had armed themselves with assurances from prisoners they were free to release them on their own responsibility. And I think that the Working Committee will leave the Mission free, if they are encouraged by the Government, to judge for themselves whether they are satisfied by the assurances they may receive.

One thing I must say in connection with the statement by His Excellency of his power under section 133 (3) in the light of his repeated justifying the use of sub-section 1 of section 133. I have read the whole of R. R. is entitled "Control of the Police from over-Prerogative in certain cases." Unless the sub-sections have no connection with one another, they are to be read independently of one another. My reading is that on the present state the exercise of power under sub-section 3 of section 133 is a manifest usurpation. But here I am treating an dangerous ground. Let me say, decide the point. My purpose in making this long statement is to meet a possible solution of the crisis that has suddenly appeared.

CHROMATE INDIAN EDITION

The Power of Non-violence

(By Richard D. Gregg)

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PRINCIPAL BHARIPURA CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

1. Ministerial Resignation in U. P. and Bihar

In accordance with the direction of the United Congress, the All India Congress Committee, decided in March, 1935, the issue of acceptance of office in provinces and permitted Congressmen to form Ministries, provided certain conditions were given by or on behalf of the British Government. These conditions not being forthcoming, the Leaders of Congress Parties in the Provincial Assemblies decided at first to form Ministries. Thereafter there was a considerable argument for some months regarding these conditions and various deliberations were made by the Secretary of State for India, the Viceroy and the Government of the Province. In these days, when it was definitely stated, among other things, that there would be no interference with the day-to-day administration of provincial affairs by responsible Ministers.

The resignation of office by Congress Ministers in the Provinces has shown that, at least in two Provinces, the United Provinces and Bihar, there has in fact been interference in the day-to-day administration of Provincial affairs as shown herewith. The Congress, when they in what Congress members to form Ministries, knew that the Congress Ministers had accepted the release of political prisoners as one of the major items of the Congress policy. In pursuance thereof the Ministers began the release of political prisoners and they were experienced delay, which was sometimes months, before the Government would release the system of release, the way release have been repeatedly delayed in violation of the necessary policies of Ministers. In the opinion of the Congress, release of prisoners is a matter coming essentially within the purview of day-to-day administration, which does not admit of precluded discussion with Government. The function of the Government is to guide and advise Ministers, and not to interfere with the free exercise of their judgment in the discharge of their day-to-day duty. It was only when the time came for the Working Committee to give an answer to the Congress delegates and to the masses of people looking them, that the Committee had to instruct Ministers, who were themselves sure of their ground to order release of the political prisoners in their charge and to resign if their orders were unaccompanied. The Congress approved of and welcomed the action taken by the Ministers of the United Provinces and Bihar and congratulated them on it.

In the opinion of the Congress, the interference of the Government-General with the deliberative action of the respective Police Ministers is not merely a violation of the assurance given referred to, but it is also a usurpation of Section 133 (4) of the Government of India Act. There was no question of great success

to peace and tranquillity involved. The Prime Minister had, besides, in both cases enlisted themselves from assistance from the prisoners concerned and otherwise of their change of mentality and acceptance of the Congress policy of non-violence. Indeed it is the Governor-General's interference which has undoubtedly created a situation that may easily, in spite of the Congress effort to the contrary, become such a grievous mistake.

The Congress has, during the short period that Congressmen have held office, given sufficient evidence of their self-reliance, administrative capacity and constructive ability in the matter of creating legislation for the amelioration of economic and social evils. The Congress clearly admits that a measure of co-operation was extended by the Government to the Ministers. It has been the strenuous effort on the part of the Congress to extract what is possible from the Act for the public good and to strengthen the people in the pursuit of their goal of complete independence and the ending of imperialistic exploitation of the masses of India.

The Congress does not desire to predetermine a course which may involve unqualified non-cooperation and direct action consistent with the Congress policy of truth and non-violence. The Congress is therefore at present reluctant to instruct Ministers in other provinces to send in their resignations by way of protest against the Governor-General's action, and wishes the Executive the Governor-General to reconsider his decision so that the Government may act constitutionally and accept the advice of their Ministers in the matter of the release of the political prisoners.

The Congress regards the formation of lawless, profligate Ministries as a way of degrading the sacred role of the elected. The formation of such Ministries is calculated to raise serious suspicions, internal quarrels, and further deepen the commitment against the British Government. When the Congress approved of acceptance of office, with great reluctance and hesitations, legislation, it had no misgivings about its own estimate of the real nature of the Government of India Act. The latest action of the Governor-General justifies that estimate, and not only exposes the utter ineffectiveness of the Act to bring real liberty to the people, but also shows the intention of the British Government to use and misinterpret it not for the expansion of liberty but for its restriction. Whatever, therefore, may be the ultimate result of the present crisis, the people of India should realize that there can be no true freedom for the country so long as this Act is not ended and a new constitution, framed by a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of adult franchise, takes its place. The aim of all Congressmen, whether in office or not of office, as legislators or out of legislatures, can only be to push that ideal, even though it may mean, as it often must mean, sacrifice of many

a present advantage, however beneficial and vast it might be for the time being.

On behalf of the U. P. Government it has been stated that the demonstrations organized to welcome the Kailash prisoners and the speeches delivered by some of them had interfered with the policy of gradual release of political prisoners. The Congress has always discouraged unreasonably demonstrations and other objectionable activities. The demonstrations and speeches referred to by the U. P. Government were strongly disapproved by Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the Congress, had similarly taken immediate notice of the indiscretions which was thus betrayed. Nor were they ignored by the Ministers as a result of these concerted steps public opinion rapidly changed and even the persons concerned came to realize their mistake. And when the prisoners, one of whom was a prominent member of the Kailash group, were released subsequently, about two months after the release of the Kailash prisoners, no demonstrations were held in their honour nor any reception was accorded to them. Nearly four more months have since elapsed, and any delay in releasing the remaining three prisoners, only on account of the demonstrations or the speeches connected with the prisoners who were released in August, is now utterly unjustified. The responsibility for the maintenance of law and order is that of the Ministers and they are entitled to perform their functions in such manner as they deem proper. It is their business to weigh all relevant factors in the light of prevailing circumstances, but their decisions once taken ought to be accepted and enforced. Any interference with them in the exercise of their powers in the normal day-to-day administration is bound to undermine and weaken their position. The Congress Ministers have more than once declared their determination to take adequate action on the matter of violent crime, and the right man in releasing prisoners especially when they have abjured the path of violence, is altogether indisputable.

The Congress has given during the past few months ample evidence of its course to take across notions of intolerance and breach of the rule of non-violence that the Congress has laid down for itself. Nevertheless the Congress realizes the intention of Congressmen to the fact that intolerance in speech and action, calculated to promote or breed violence, retards the progress of the country towards its cherished goal.

In pursuit of the programme of release of political prisoners, the Congress has not hesitated to sacrifice office and the opportunity of passing constructive measures. But the Congress wishes to make it clear that it strongly disapproves of hunger-strikes for release. Hunger-strikes embarrass the Congress in pursuit of the policy of securing release of political prisoners. The Con-

gress, therefore, urges those who are still considering their inoperability in the Punjab to give up their strike, and assures them that whether in provinces where Congressmen have ministerial offices or in other provinces, Congressmen will continue their efforts to secure the release of detainees and political prisoners by all legitimate and peaceful means.

In view of the situation that has arisen in the country, the Congress authorises the Working Committee to take such action as it may consider necessary and to take the direction of the All India Congress Committee in dealing with the trade wherever necessary arises for it.

2 Federation

The Congress has rejected the new Constitution and declared that a Constitution for India, which can be accepted by the people, must be based on independence and can only be framed by the people themselves by means of a Constituent Assembly, without interference by any foreign authority. Adhering to this policy of rejection, the Congress has, however, permitted the formation in provinces of Congress Ministries with a view to strengthening the nation in its struggle for independence. In regard to the proposed Federation, no such considerations apply even provisionally or for a period, and the imposition of this Federation will do grave injury to India and tighten the bonds which hold her in subjection to imperialist domination. The scheme of Federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility vital functions of government.

The Congress is not opposed to the idea of Federation, but a real Federation must even apart from the question of responsibility, consist of free units enjoying more or less the same measure of freedom and civil liberty, and representation by the democratic process of election. The Indian States participating in the Federation should approximate to the procedure in the establishment of representative institutions and responsible government, civil liberties and method of election to the Federal House. Otherwise the Federation as it is now contemplated will, instead of building up Indian unity, encourage separatist tendencies and involve the State in internal and external conflict.

The Congress therefore categorically renews its condemnation of the proposed Federal Scheme and calls upon the Provincial and Local Congress Committees and the people generally, as well as the Provincial Governments and Ministers, to prevent its implementation. In the event of an attempt being made to impose it, despite the declared will of the people, such an attempt must be resisted in every way, and the Provincial Governments and Ministers must refuse to co-operate with it. In case such a contingency arises, the All India Congress Committee is authorised and directed to deter-

mine the line of action to be pursued in this regard.

3 Minority Rights

The Congress welcomes the growth of anti-imperialist feeling among the Muslims and other minorities in India and the growing unity of all classes and communities in India in the struggle for India's independence which is essentially one and indivisible, and can only be based on an effectively one unified national basis. In particular the Congress welcomes the large numbers of members of the minority communities who have joined the Congress during the past year and given their mass support to the struggle for freedom and the ending of the exploitation of India's masses.

The Congress approves of and condones the resolution of the Working Committee on Minority Rights passed in Calcutta in October 1935, and declares affirm that it regards it as its primary duty and fundamental policy to protect the religious, linguistic, cultural and other rights of the minorities in India so as to ensure for them, in any scheme of government to which the Congress is a party, the widest scope for their development and their participation in the fullest measure in the political, economic and cultural life of the nation.

4 Indian States

In view of the fact that owing to the growth of public life and the demand for freedom in Indian States, new problems are arising and new questions are being placed, the Congress lays down clearly its policy in regard to the States.

The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as integral parts of India which cannot be separated. The *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence, which is the objective of the Congress, is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection. The only kind of Federation that can be acceptable to the Congress is one in which the States participate as free units, enjoying the same measure of democratic freedom as the rest of India. The Congress, therefore, stands for full responsible government and the guarantee of civil liberty in the States, and deplains the present backward conditions and other lack of freedom and suppression of civil liberties in many of these States.

The Congress considers it its right and privilege to work for the attainment of this objective in the States. But, under existing circumstances, the Congress is not in a position to work effectively in and within the States, and numerous limitations and restrictions, imposed by the rulers, as to British authority working through them, hamper its

activities. The hope and assurance which the name and great prestige takes in the minds of the people of the States find no immediate fulfillment, and disillusion results. It is not in consonance with the dignity of the Congress to have local committees which cannot function effectively, or to tolerate indigence to the National Flag. The inability of the Congress to give protection or effective help, when hopes have been raised, produces helplessness in the people of the States and hinders the development of their movement for freedom.

In view of the different conditions prevailing in the States and the rest of India, the general policy of the Congress is often modified in the States and may result in preventing or hampering the natural growth of a freedom movement in a State. Such movements are likely to develop more rapidly and to have a broader basis, if they draw their strength from the people of the State, produce self-reliance in them, and are in tune with the conditions prevailing there, and do not rely on extraneous help and assistance or on the prestige of the Congress name. The Congress welcomes such movements, but, in the nature of things and under present conditions, the burden of carrying on the struggle for freedom must fall on the people of the States. The Congress will always extend its goodwill and support to such struggles carried on in a peaceful and legitimate manner, but that organizational help will necessarily be, under existing conditions, moral support and sympathy. Individual Congressmen, however, will be free to render further assistance in their personal capacities. In this way the struggle can develop without committing the Congress organization, and thus unhindered by external considerations.

The Congress therefore desires that, for the present, Congress Committees in the States shall function under the direction and control of the Congress Working Committee and shall not engage in parliamentary activity or branch or direct action in the name and under the auspices of the Congress. Internal struggles of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. For the purpose indicated organizations should be started and conducted where they were already working for the State.

The Congress desires to secure the people of the States of its solidarity with them and of its active and vigilant interest in and sympathy with their movement for freedom. It trusts that the day of their deliverance is not far distant.

3. *Khas Sahib*

In view of certain difficulties that have arisen in regard to the Khas Sahib and other organizations in some parts of India, the Congress desires to clarify the position and state its attitude in regard to them. The Congress has already fully recognized the right of Khas to organize themselves in peaceful unions. Never-

theless it must be remembered that the Congress itself is in the main a Khas organization and as its contacts with the masses have increased vast numbers of Khas have joined it and influenced its policy. The Congress must, and has in fact, stood for those Khas masses and championed their claims, and has worked for the independence of India, which must be based on the freedom from exploitation of all our people. In order to achieve this independence and strengthen the Khas and realize their demands, it is essential that the Congress be strengthened and that Khas should be invited to join it in ever larger numbers and organized to carry on their struggle under its banner. It is thus the duty of every Congressman to work for the spread of the Congress organization in every village in India and not to do anything which weakens this organization in any way.

While fully recognizing the right of the Khas to organize Khas Sahibs, the Congress cannot associate itself with any activities which are incompatible with the basic principles of the Congress and will not countenance any of the activities of those Congressmen who as members of the Khas Sahibs help in creating an atmosphere hostile to Congress principles and policy. The Congress, therefore, calls upon Provincial Congress Committees to bear the above in mind and to pronounce of it their suitable action whenever called for.

6. *Indians in Zanzibar*

The Congress expresses its appreciation of the response of the Indian people to the appeal made on behalf of the Congress to refrain from the use of slaves, and that the import of trade in slaves in Zanzibar by the Indian merchants has been completely and satisfactorily stopped. The Congress congratulates the Indians in Zanzibar and the slave merchants in India on the manner in which they maintained this boycott.

The Congress, however, regrets that the question of the rights of Indians in Zanzibar for internal and export trade has not yet been satisfactorily solved. The Congress repeats its request to the Indian people to continue the closure of slaves and press upon the attention of the merchants the desirability of continuing the boycott of trade in slaves, and trusts that by these measures the Zanzibar Government would be compelled in the end before to do justice to the Indian traders in Zanzibar by revoking the objectionable decrees.

7. *China*

The Congress has viewed with anxious concern the aggression of a brutal imperialism in China and the horror and frightfulness that have accompanied it. In the opinion of the Congress this imperialist aggression is fraught with the gravest consequences for the future of world peace and of freedom in Asia. The Congress sends its deepest sympathy to the

people of China in their great ordeal and express the admiration for the heroic struggle they are conducting to maintain their freedom and integrity. It congratulates them on achieving national unity and co-ordination in the face of danger, and assures them of the solidarity of the Indian people with them in the common task of combating imperialism and achieving freedom.

As a mark of India's sympathy with the Chinese people, the Congress calls upon the people of India to refrain from purchasing Japanese goods.

8. National Education

The Congress has emphasized the importance of national education ever since 1916, and during the non-co-operation period many national educational institutions were started under its auspices. The Congress attaches the utmost importance to a proper organization of mass education and holds that all national progress ultimately depends on the method and content and objective of the education that is provided for the people. The existing system of education in India is admitted to have failed its objective. There have been anti-national and anti-educational methods have been anticipated, and it has been confined to a small number of people and has left the vast majority of our people illiterate. It is essential, therefore, to build up national education on a new foundation and on a nation-wide scale. As the Congress is having new opportunities of service and of influencing and controlling State education, it is necessary to lay down the basic principles which should guide such education and to take other necessary steps to give effect to them. The Congress is of opinion that for the primary and secondary stages a basic education should be imparted in accordance with the following principles:

1 Free and compulsory education should be provided for seven years on a nation-wide scale.

2 The medium of instruction must be the mother tongue.

3 Throughout this period education should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and all other activities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central livelihood chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

Accordingly the Congress is of opinion that an All India Education Board to deal with this basic part of education be established, and further propose requests and authorizes Dr Zakir Husain and Shri E. Arjunaiah to take immediate steps, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji, to bring such a Board into existence, in order to work out in a consolidated manner a programme of basic national education and to

recommend it for acceptance to those who are in control of State or private education.

The said Board shall have power to draw its own Constitution, to raise funds and perform all such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects.

Peace Education

The other day we wrote an article on training for peace and indicated the lines on which the training may be given. Richard Gregg, as we remarked then, has worked it out in detail. The Warlike Education Scheme may be used as to be a training for peace, and we do hope that no educationalists want a system of education that does not make for peace. It is interesting to note in this connection that Dr. Kailash Nath Dargwadia made out a strong plan for the training of training women as Peace Teachers at the South International Montessori Congress recently held at Copenhagen. "I hope," he said, "in the near future every woman will be a peace teacher and then the world will be a better place for human to live in." And then he moved the following resolution which was carried unanimously and "with great enthusiasm."

"Be it Resolved that the South International Montessori Congress, assembled in Copenhagen, from the 28th day of August, 1937, recommend that, Madame Dr. Maria Montessori establish special classes in which Mothers and Women Teachers to give peace education to children, and that she is requested to take the initiative in such a movement, and to be empowered to formulate and direct the programme and to work out each detail by the appointment of Committees or otherwise as she may deem wise for the success."

It is said that Dr. Maria Montessori observed that the plan was very practicable, and she agreed to prepare a series of lectures on the subject of educating children for World Peace. She is a great educator and a mighty force and can do great things. But if she be a believer in Mussolini's programme — and Mussolini supports numerous Montessori schools — then we might say that Balilla and the teaching of little children in the arts of war (that is the main function of Balilla) and this new idea of training women for educating children for world peace would go all together.

H D

A Correction

In the last issue, on p. 12, instead of the heading "Notes" please read "HARIJAN NOTES—I".

CONTENTS	Page
HARIJAN NOTES—II	H D 11
THE GANDI PRIZE	H D 12
HOW CHINA CAN BE AVOIDED	M. K. Gandhi 13
PARLIAMENTARY HARIJAN SOCIETY RESOLUTIONS	14
FOOD	
PEACE EDUCATION	H D 15



HARIJAN

Editor: BHAGWAT PRASAD

Under the Patronage of The Hon'ble Sardar Bhaug

Vol. VI No. 4

PUNJA — SATURDAY, MARCH 3, 1934

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HARIPURA NOTES

III

Income

Everything at Haripura was on an immense scale. The programme lay-out of about two and a half miles, the vast number of huts for visitors and delegates, the huge kitchen and the water-works, the grand painted and magnificent exhibition grounds, and last but not the least, the huge herd of cows that contributed to the needs of the human population, were all a piece with the enormous scale on which everything was planned and executed. I have been waiting for figures from the different departments and would say nothing off-hand. But this I know that on the first day Rs. 11,000 worth of tickets were sold for the Congress people and Rs. 4,000 worth on the second day. There were besides thousands of spectators outside the painted area, thanks to the microphone arrangements, listened to the speakers. The gate-money at the Exhibition amounted to Rs. 11,000-10-0, thus showing that HARIPUR people saw the Exhibition (apart from the several thousand workers and volunteers who saw it free on the last day). Total value of food consumed to Rs. 10,000-00-0 and wholesale value to Rs. 11,000. All these figures exceed perhaps the figures for any other previous year and are an indication of the wonderful help that the Congress has obtained on the mass scale.

The Artists' Hand

Not in single yet most beautiful surroundings Villahimagar revealed the story of the artists' skill in every detail. Srs. Nandlal Bax and Gopal had created a bamboo city at Patpur which was the admiration of all. The same two friends were at Haripura advised by Srs. Bhabubhakar Bax and Kama Das and by a number of other artistically inclined workers. These combined to create exclusively out of bamboo something of elaborate beauty which captivated the eye of every spectator. There were fifty-two gates named after fifty-two leaders. These were structures of bamboo and wood, but to give them an artistic effect various pieces of bamboo had been expertly stained and they were vertically, diagonally and horizontally so arranged as to produce a thing of art. On the top were attached various bowls of various shapes

and also turned upside down. Nandlal must have gone into the Kachhi villages and seen at the entrance of each village collected under a tree some earthen pots and bowls. His artist's eye picked the thing up and made it serve his purpose. The Exhibition gates named after Gopalaji and the late Mahatma Gopal were the most magnificent in Villahimagar, and this year the beauty of these structures was heightened by square panel pictures which adorned the sides and the tops of these gates and some of the leaders' huts. The structure was an exquisite piece of art, also made of pieces of bamboo cleverly arranged. Even the rubbish-bins, being cylindrical pieces of bamboo-baskets, bore the mark of the artists' hand. On a white background was a blue lotus reflected in water. What could be more symbolic of cleanliness and purity than a lotus which draws its sustenance from mud and water yet remains unstained either by mud or water? In the centre of the leaders' quarters and of the office, gardens were laid out by a Gujarati horticulturist who had offered his services free. Even the entries to the publications and speeches and visitors have the rare hand of the artist, and were put up almost on the last scale of Haripura. The night clothes was a kind of a move between Gujarati and Hindi, enabling Hindi-speaking people to read the notices. Most of them were in Gujarati and Hindi both, enabling the village to learn a little bit of Hindi in the easiest way. The sanitation notice might well have been made available to the people from villages. Nor was Urdu forgotten. The gates had Urdu names side by side with Gujarati.

The Sanitation Brigade

That brings me to the organizationally most successful feature of the Haripura Congress. The sanitation work was in charge of well-known workers like Srs. Janghram Dora, Manna Gulab Fakir and Gaurangji who are giving the whole of their time to village work. Their band, 1,200 strong—500 of them being women—, were on duty at all hours of the day, and but for their vigilance Villahimagar would not have been the clean and healthy place it remained for so many days. The latrines and urinals were in evidence everywhere, and although they were constantly used, there were no flies and flies.

Three or four of the girls' schools in Otagiri (a. g. Yihai Kango Mante at Naidai) had sent all their girls especially to join the volunteer brigade, and it was a sight to see these children clad in uniform while sweeping the rearward part of the Nagai. I was one day sitting in the Telegraph Office heading in a few telegrams. At the back of the office, between it and the compound wall, was a small open space in which I certainly had not expected that these volunteers would be busy. But there they were working in the bleeding heat of the sun—half a dozen women who swept the yard clean of all rubbish in a short while. Their white uniforms seem to have been most appropriately chosen, for those who minister to cleanliness have not to be conspicuously clean themselves, and a colored uniform hides a lot of uncleanliness. Among men were boys of the age of 15 and 16 who did their tasks with a will and a dash, especially because Sh. Japetom Dava had made it a point to encourage talks and evening lectures for them by leaders from the various camps. The whole camp thus became a kind of school. I am quite sure that these volunteer workers exercised a moral and healthy influence, and many of the spectators must have gone back home with the healthy infection.

A Drago Army

What most attracted the attention of everyone was the sight of camp-serviced women volunteers, of all ages from seven to seventy, here, there and everywhere, active and alert. Elizabeth Menden Rindhal had gone up and down the whole of Otagiri and Enkawa making records for her work. Evering as she does all her visiting hours—and they are more than thirty for sleeping hours—to the women's cause, her name is a household word among the women of Otagiri, and it was no surprise that women from far-off villages in Enkawa, who had perhaps never stepped out of their homes, responded to her call. Her own camp was the surprise of all Yihaiwager. There was in it several camps, comprising a Montessori school and a crèche, a children's camp and a grown-up women's camp. "Why should a mother with small children," she said, "be deterred from having her share in Congress service? And if she came with her children, naturally I must take care of them." This accounted for a crèche for 115 babies which was in charge of thirty women who took care of the babies when the mothers were out on duty, and also for a children's Montessori school where there were nearly 30 children going through their day's work, under their teacher "but why these little girls of seven and eight?" I asked her. "Why do you think," she answered, "that they are so good? I tell you they are more efficient than boys of the same age, and there is no work that they cannot do. They have been specially trained. They will carry messages for

you, take your post and telegrams to the post and telegraph offices, and do such other jobs." And I must say that they did these very well indeed. "But this is too much," I once said to her, "this asking them to be on duty at all hours of the night. They might have certainly been spared this duty." "No," she said, "you are mistaken. They do not dislike this duty, and let me tell you why I have put them on night duty. You have heard of our women are afraid of darkness and will never venture out of their homes after sunset. I have drilled into their heads that this is a fearful time, and this night duty will put a lot of courage into them."

And all performed their duties in a peacefully enthusiastic, even over-enthusiastic, manner. Dr. Gilber, the Minister, was one day accused as he was going to his own quarters. "Are you a leader? There are leaders' quarters?" The good doctor had a hearty laugh and said: "That is my bed, and I am going there." A number of people came simply for sight-seeing. "What business have you?" the doctor asked. "No business. We want to see the leaders' camp, especially Gaudin's camp." "But you must know that there are parties for both these camps." "But we have no power. What harm is there in us going into that compound for a few minutes? We will simply look at Gaudin's bed and come away." "But Gaudin is not well, and we can't afford there without a pass." "Now, now, don't worry, be good enough. Just do this favour." "No favour! It would cost us our job. We do not allow even our relatives and friends without passes." The whole crowd walked silently away.

Sometimes it was most funny to hear these girls in Otagiri and broken Hindi with men from other provinces. A large crowd one day threatened to invade our camp. The girls on duty shouted to several others and they all stood like a phalanx defying the crowd. "But we have come from far-off villages, and you volunteers seem to have no consideration for that." "We also are from far-off villages, and yet we do not go to have Gaudin's disease, though he is so near us. Put yourselves in our position and you will realize our plight."

Not having said this, let me say that there is no plan for a crèche and a Montessori school in a women volunteers' camp. The limitations of motherhood should be accepted, and mothers with babies or small children should not be tempted to join the volunteer corps. It puts too much of a strain both on the commandant in charge and on the general management. To cater for the needs of 115 babies and 30 children is a more difficult affair than to cater for the needs of 250 grown-up women.

Thus there is the value of discipline. Far be it from me to suggest that there was anything like want of discipline noticeable. But discipline

is a comprehensive word and includes the capacity for silence and silent work and tacit politeness. Now I cannot help remembering that I noticed many of the little girls wearing two of these in talking, so much so that in a hot where I happened to be sitting writing one day it was impossible to do much work because of their disturbance. Why should not capacity to give the same be made use of in the qualifications for being a volunteer? Boys and girls giving their entire attention on their part of duty would be a glorious sight and inspiration and add to the wealth of the country.

The examples of politeness bring me to the question of Hindi. Much of the want of politeness which North India volunteers noticed both in men and women volunteers was due, I think, to the volunteers' want of knowledge of Hindi. Gandhiji gave the subject at once and asked Karamchand and Kishorelalji, assisted by Dr. Baldev Khanna to prepare a brief list of useful phrases in Hindi and a brief vocabulary which the volunteers could carry up in order to be able to deal with non-Gurukul-knowing people. The list was prepared in a couple of days and was very useful, but I do not know if it was availed of by the volunteers in the press and hurry of work. This is a thing which should have been done long before, and this brief Hindi training should have been gone through before the volunteers joined duty as, at any rate, before the work of villages began. It is so useful that I propose to publish it in HARBAN so that in every province the same list with its translation in the provincial language may be distributed in its thousands and made available to all sections of doing voluntary service on national occasions. Indeed every such phrase book should be the common property of people and indispensable to the acceptance of anyone as volunteer.

(To be continued.)

M. D.

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MANAGER

CHANDLER DEBEN HUTTON

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TECHNIQUE OF TAPPING

(By Sijunam Nath)

II

Notes.—These notes are commonly tapped in the Malabar District where they exist in abundance, and realize there find it more advantageous to apply for them as they yield more profusely than other kinds of palm.

The spathes of sugar palms are long, bony and straplike, and it requires much skill to make these spathes yield, and for well over a month they have to be opened and rolled down before a copious yield is secured. During this elaborate and tedious process the spathes are tied with straw and the tip is cut off and covered with a thin plate to prevent wounds drying. After the completion of these initial operations are put in a basket to each of the spathes thus worked and the working of the spathes is continued for another 3 or 4 days when there will be a continuous drip of toddy. The tree is normally tapped three a day. The life of a single spathe is about 4 months.

Palmyra.—There are two kinds of palmyra—male and female—and both are tapped. The tapper removes all the superfluous leaves and shows the top of the tree, and he then prunes the spathes with two spades that at one end and mostly keeps them for some time. The pruning and tapping are done lightly in the case of spathes of male trees, while those of the female trees are tightly pruned and tapped to prevent development and formation of fruits. This goes on for 3 or 5 days when the outer side of the spathes is lightly sliced transversely with a sharp knife. In about 12 days from then, toddy begins to drip at this and when pots are attached. The spathes are tapped both morning and evening. Toddy is generally drawn both in the morning and in the evening. The morning yield is double that of the evening yield generally. The male trees begin to spathe earlier, from the end of December generally, and last for about 3 to 14 months till the middle of March. They throw out 3 to 15 spathes at a time. The female trees begin to spathe from January and go on till the end of June and in some cases as late as July. These trees also throw out 4 to 15 spathes at a time. A male tree yields about 12 to 18 drums a day and in some cases even about a gallon. The female tree yields about 24 drums to one gallon a day, and in some cases even two gallons.

As Reduced Price

Copies of the book, *My Son's Story* by Gandhiji, will be sold hereafter by us at a reduced rate of 4 annas per copy post free. Those desirous of having it are requested to write to the Manager, HARBAN (Floor 4), enclosing postal stamps worth 4 annas.

Manager

HARRIAN

Mar 5

1938

THE AVERTED CRISIS

The way in which the Constitutional Crisis, following upon the resignations of the Irish and U. R. Ministers, has been created reflects credit on all concerned. The Viceroy's statement, however, requires further examination. His Excellency has been at great pains to show how it became incumbent on him to see the power vested in him under Section 126 (3) of the Government of India Act. The very fact that the Governors did not assume their "special responsibility" under Section 12 of the Government of India Act, proves that they were not afraid of any grave menace to peace or tranquillity in their own Provinces. It was with regard to the effect that a general release of political prisoners would have on other provinces that the Governor-General thought it is his duty to the Governors to interfere with the responsibility of the Ministers. What a grave misapplication of the Section 126 (3) this was is apparent from the language of the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report which explains the scope of the subsection "To take one example which occurs to us, a Government in one Province to disturb the peace and tranquillity of another might well be outside the Governor's special responsibility for the prevention of any grave menace to the peace or tranquillity of his own Province, and since we have no doubt that an ultimate and ultimate responsibility for the peace and tranquillity of the whole of India must rest in the Governor-General, it is plain that the latter's power to give directions to a Governor should be wide enough to cover this case." It is obvious that release of prisoners, political or non-political, was the last thing regarded as a grave menace, and that a conspiracy to disturb the peace and tranquillity was the only thing that the framers of the Act and the authors of the J. P. C. Report had in mind. It should be clear to the common understanding that release of political prisoners, convicted of even violent crimes, is a natural corollary to a popular Government displacing a monarchist. Most of the Irish known like De Valera, Cosgrave, Michael Collins, had been at one time or other convicted of violent crime, and it was by a trick that De Valera escaped the extreme penalty of death whilst many of his comrades were shot. Did anyone dare even to suggest that the release of these co-conspirators would constitute a grave menace to peace and tranquillity at the time a popular Government came into being?

It would have been well if these things had been recognized by the Viceroy and the error of view admitted. Yet it is something that his statement has enabled the Governors of Bihar and U. R. to invite the Ministers to withdraw their resignations and also to issue joint statements which leave no manner of doubt as to the violation of the principle that the emancipation of mass of prisoners is wholly a matter for the Ministers concerned, and that "there is no reason to fear any usurpation of, or interference with, the legitimate functions of the responsible Ministers. We are both desirous of maintaining healthy conventions, and with goodwill on both sides we hope we will succeed."

No one could have expected a better termination of this crisis, and are glad that it was well that the crisis occurred if only for the establishment and vindication of certain well-known principles. The responsibility for law and order, which seemed to have been for a moment usurped, has been returned to the Ministers who have resumed their office. The whole crisis has demonstrated that the primary responsibility for law and order rests on the Ministers, and that neither the Governor-General nor a Governor has the right to interfere with this responsibility, except when an actual breakdown or a grave conspiracy (like a conspiracy for an armed insurrection) constituting a grave menace is demonstrated to exist. The principle is so clear that a Constitutionalist like Lord Lethbridge had no difficulty in announcing it the moment he heard of the crisis. This is what he said in his letter to the Times dated the 18th of February.

"The Ministers, not anomalously, say that if the Governor or the Viceroy it is to be the police about law and order in the way they will have no real responsibility for law and order themselves, and that they had better therefore hand the responsibility for practical purposes back to the hands of the Governor who is really exercising it. They feel too that like all democratic Governments they have means of their own for dealing with political agitation, while a Government can rely upon nothing but the police. Surely the right course in cases of this kind is for the Governor himself to warn his Ministers about the danger that he fears, and make it clear to them that if their judgment as to their own capacity to protect life and property proves wrong, and serious trouble occurs or threatens, he will not hesitate to use his powers and publish, as his justification, the warning to the Ministers as to the probable consequences of their action."

The crisis leaves the Congress stronger than before. It must grow from strength to strength. If the people continue to be loyal to the Congress and remain non-violent. The prisoners discharged and to be discharged have also a responsibility to discharge. They have to be true to the assurance given by them to the President of their province.

If by the wise exercise of restraint on both sides a crisis has been averted, will the plan which already seems to loom large be also averted? We refer to Federation. Everybody wants Federation, but nobody, not including the Princes, seems to want it after the Government of India style. But whether the others want it or not, they have no sanction behind them to enforce their will. The Congress has a sanction which is only per cent non-violent if the Congressmen have fulfilled the spirit of non-violence.

A crisis seems a certainty, if the Federation is imposed on the reluctant areas and possibly eleven provinces. Let us hope and pray that British statements will not make the mistake of imposing their will on a reluctant people. If the recent events prevent a repetition of the error, they would have happened well.

M. D.

A JOINT STATEMENT

[H. E. the Governor and the Prime Minister of the United Provinces issued a joint statement on February 13, which we reproduce below. A similar joint statement was also issued on February 14 by H. E. the Governor and the Prime Minister of Bihar Bd.]

"We have had a full discussion between ourselves about the present situation and the recent developments. We have arrived at an agreed conclusion and the Hon. Ministers are accordingly resuming their normal duties. The cases of certain prisoners claimed as political have been individually considered, and the Governor will soon be issuing orders on the advice tendered to him by his Ministers, to remit, under section 431 of the Cr. P. C., the unsentenced portion of the sentences and order their release. The state of the remaining prisoners are being individually examined by the Minister concerned and appropriate orders will soon be passed thereon within a short time.

"We have had also a long discussion on the mutual relationship between the Governor and the Ministers. We have discussed the recent statement of H. E. the Viceroy, along with the views of Mahatma Gandhi on it, and also the resolution passed at Haripura about the resignation of Ministers, and the previous statement made by H. E. the Viceroy last summer. There is no reason to fear any miscarriage of, or interference with, the legitimate functions of the responsible Ministers. We are both desirous of maintaining healthy conversations, and with good-will on both sides we hope we will succeed."

Prav Gov's Glee To Be Sold

THE use of glass at Haripura, from walls of the room specially taken for the Congress, are still in stock, each one containing from 10 to 20 lbs of glass. The glass is available at the rate of 1½ Rs per rupee. While in the Manager, the Daily Congress camp, Haripura, District Feroz, Gujarat.

Notes

Gandhi's Health

I am happy to say that I have good news to give this week. The state of work and disturbances at Haripura were more than Gandhi's present constitution could stand, but the improvement set in as soon as he was free from both of these, and four or five days' rest at Segun has set him up very well indeed. In Haripura a lockdown had nearly come, but it was averted solely because Gandhi sat down several times of his feet, confined himself to fruit and vegetable juices and starved himself personally. The nature-cure treatment too was continued fairly satisfactorily. It was orderly and that also stood in good stead. With the return to Segun that constant is being followed according to the strict lines laid down, and interviews are confined only to an hour or two in the afternoon. God willing, therefore, Gandhi hopes to visit Bengal about the middle of March, and if he is once the worse for the work, he even hopes to fulfil his promise about the visit to the North-West Frontier.

The States Resolution

The resolution on the attitude of the Congress regarding Indian States was one of the most important of the resolutions passed at Haripura. It would have been better if the Subjects themselves had passed the resolution as it was adopted by the Working Committee at Wardha, but a slight modification had to be accepted in order to tranquillize the members from the States. Even then these friends are far from being satisfied with it, and fail to appreciate the wisdom underlying the Congress attitude. One of these friends was at Segun for a little while, specially to understand from Gandhi his and the Congress attitude, and he went away so wholly satisfied that what Gandhi told him may probably be summarized here.

"The States resolution," said Gandhi, "is a call to the States people not to go to sleep but to start work in right earnest. The Congress is deeply concerned about the welfare of Indian States, as the Congress resolution on the Federation should clearly show. We want the States people to carry on constructive work in the States, but not in the name of the Congress. The use of the name of the Congress may expose the Congress to attack. If it could result in good to the States people, I would even do it. But it is far from being so. The Congress cannot in the nature of things step into each and every Indian State and protect those who neglect them. It is better able to protect them by not allowing them to use its name. If the States people have learnt to understand and respect the Congress it is a good thing, but then let their work with the moral support of the Congress but avoid the Congress name. Whenever

the Congress can effectively help the States people it would do so not by actively meddling with their affairs but by acting as an intermediary. Cooperation from within the States is an impossible proposition, and therefore I have been definitely advising the States people to refrain from having Congress Committees within the States. Some say, "We would save the States." Now this my does neither these friends nor the Indian States any harm. But it would harm them if they were actively interfering themselves in States affairs and trying to work them to the Congress cause. The privilege of the Congress would suffer and not gain by the use of the Congress name. My aim is a case in point. It had a loose job Congress organization but it could not prevent the Congress flag from being hauled."

"But," said the friend from the States, "all these things have happened in British India."

"They have, and the Congress has always stood up to the hench. That is because in British India we can adopt Civil Disobedience for any good cause, but in the States it is impossible. The Congress Committee will have always to be at the mercy of the States and would be in no better case than, for instance, a Committee in Afghanistan, which would collect only on the mercy of the Government of Afghanistan. But of course this is my personal view and interpretation."

Most people seem to forget that Gandhi himself looks down on Indian States, and on his return from South Africa deliberately selected as his headquarters Ahmedabad and not an Indian State. "When I came to India," said Gandhi, "I had an offer from these Indian States to settle and carry on my work from there. I had to decline the offer."

"But we do not ask for active help from the Congress. We want to operate under the aegis of the Congress. The aim of helping us would be upon the Congress, but we do not ask for the help."

"There it is," said Gandhi, "whether you ask for it or not, the cause would be upon the Congress, and it is not able to discharge it. Without being able to render any active support, the aegis of the Congress would be a superfluous affair. A big organization like the Congress cannot afford itself to be established. This is all as plain as a pikestaff to me. I do not know how the States people fail to understand this. The best help that the Congress can render today is to destroy the delusion that it can actively help the Indian States. That will automatically mean that the States people must learn to rely on themselves for all internal reforms."

"I understood this very well. But look at the resolution as finally passed. The new rider

that has been added is absurd. We are allowed to have Committees in States but they will be allowed to do nothing. The position is anomalous."

"It is, I am afraid. It was a concession to the States people, but a useless concession in terms of my interpretation."

"Then, what shall be our position? Shall we stop sending Congress members and begin to organize a separate national organization which will run the Congress under the present resolutions?"

"The real job is to build up your own organization. But you may continue to be members of the Congress, attend it and keep in touch with it. But your real work will lie in the States. The resolution is prohibitive. You must not set up a Congress Committee in the States. But my advice is of no value. You must seek authoritative instructions from the Working Committee."

Harjans Assailed by Thakurs

Swami Anand Thakur, who has been carrying on work among the Harjans in British Malabar, sends the following:

"Members of the Executive will be pleased to learn that cruel outrages still continue on the Harjans in our interior villages in spite of the great propaganda and progress of the Harjan movement."

The Harjans of Pappanam and its vicinity have been exhibiting a spirit of meekness as a result of the uplift work done among them for the past few years. They are now finally coming out bravely against in the villages and have got their children educated in the common schools. They are no longer willing to submit to the degrading practices ordained by old customs. Of late a weak, feeble movement has been set on foot to stop all offerings made by the Harjans in the temples where they have no entry. The attempt of the Harjans to assert their self-respect is viewed with much discontent by the orthodox parties among the caste Hindus and others who claim to be superior by birth to the Harjans. For example, the Thakurs, the Avaras people of Malabar, still try to the interior villages to maintain and enforce the old rules of social customs. But the Thakurs in the towns are so enlightened and advanced in culture that they fully co-operate and help in the Harjan movement.

Atyachandrar in Kilmash near Pappanam is a Thakur temple where the Harjans had on the long waiting shroghis of turis, pudis, etc., during the annual festival which fell this year on 24th February. An appeal had been made to the Harjans not to go to the festival with the usual offerings. Still there was the fear that a

live Harjians would continue. That 14 prayers be on the festival day, a kind of Shikhar, headed by Swami Anand Thakur at the distance from the temple and completed peacefully protesting. It was so successful that no offerings were made by the Thakurs and only two were made by the Christians. The celebrated Thakurs who planned as much as the Harjians just what they were about to leave the place before sunset. Hardly had the procession advanced when they were faced by a huge crowd of the Thakurs who threatened to assault and shower stones on the Harjians. The crowd tried to push the mob, and the batch of Harjians separated from it in the middle. The Thakurs were angry but no mischief. What followed was a rather comic. The young boys were beaten with sticks and slaps, and the Harjians pushed away from their places on the head and back on the body. The Swami, too, was the victim of marches there. One Harjian remained at prayer on the head, and was so arranged till he fell down almost motionless. The dog was pulled down, and Mohan Singh's place and the phantoms were crushed. Even after the speech no one would get water for an injured Harjian who was struck down, unconscious. He had to be carried by the Harjians themselves to their camp about two hours away."

The Swami as yet to be congratulated on his being able to have his share of the sufferings with the Harjians. Silent suffering of this kind is bound to tell in the end. The need for non-violence in situations of this character cannot be over-emphasized. Processions of the kind organized in the present case may be provocative, and quiet and peaceful propaganda tells better than stormy processions. Peaceful protesting is not usually associated with water processions, and we do hope that Swami Anand Thakur's procession offered no provocation to the Thakurs. The Thakurs taking no less to the "unbefield" class than those who were assembled. The last-ditch shows how difficult is the question of opening the temples to British Mahatmas.

There are more pending, we are told, in the criminal courts arising out of this conflict. The Swami can enlist the help of the reformer Thakurs in making those who have been at fault express proper regret for their action and the complaints may be withdrawn. That would perhaps help better to have the Thakurs temple thrown open to the Harjians, than the criminal prosecutions.

A Donor

The Secretary of the Harjians Social League, Jamshedpur, has received from the Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd. a donation of Rs. 1,000 for expenses of the Harjians school run by the League and Rs. 50 per month for recurring expenditure. It is good to see the Company thus interesting itself in the welfare of its Harjians employees.

"Take a Stand for Jesus"

Here is one of the many letters that have come to Goddard during the past three months, from Christians who want him to "take a stand for Jesus" in order to have peace and be saved.

"You may remember me as one who wrote you at the last in 1931. Then I was a member of the Los Angeles Council on International Relations and Chairman of its Committee on Foreign Conspiracy."

Well, I have not forgotten you or the message you sent in answer to my letter which was "I am following the Light as it is given me from the Light." That is as clear as day."

But now, my friend, think! (for why should I not tell you these things? I have been praying for you almost every evening for these past years), I have been praying that you might find true peace by resting on Him who (in the word of that verse) "is our peace". Why not take the Lord Jesus, who has so loved YOU that he died for you? Why not take Him as your Savior and eternally yourself to His service?

Oh, you and I and all, are sinners and the Word is "He is a propitiation for our sins and not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world." However hypocritical some men of Christian nations may be, let us be sincere.

God knows my heart and He knows we are sinners and He has provided a true righteousness, that, even God's righteousness, (in the word of that verse) "the righteousness by faith in Jesus". You know the sacred Scriptures as well as I and through them you have great light, more light than comes from a Christian heart who do not take time to read the word.

You have great spiritual and moral compasses, far greater than I have. But Christ is crying to you, "Be that whicheth the letters mean but will I realize before my Father, and be that through me before men this will I do before my Father."

My dear Mr. Goddard, I am in my eighty-ninth year of age. I was born of missionary parents at Madras, August 2nd, 1846, and so I have very directly the mysterious Jesus. I know what true peace is. I know Jesus Christ as my Father within, and that I am, I have given my heart to Him who will know that in me, I am gladly willing to go.

I promise that will be my last letter to you. Truly in the year I was taken very sick and went down almost to the gates of death, but with my little remaining strength I am praying for you and now crying you to take a stand you will never regret at the end and through Christ. I am crying you to take a stand openly, wholeheartedly for the Lord Jesus Christ.

Unshakably in taking such a stand you will have tribulation. Jesus said to his disciples, "In the world ye shall have tribulation; but be not afraid, I have overcome the world." I beseech you to not give him the film. He will help you and make you a great blessing.

With all my heart I am writing you as your friend."

There is certainly no doubt that the friend who has written this has done so in the vi-

most obviously. But would he believe that even in 1838 Gandhi is still pursuing the same course—"following the Light as it is given me to see the Light"—a course which the writer described as 'an ideal moral course'? And if that was 'an ideal moral course' for Gandhi, how then can any other course be more moral or more ideal?

The "ideal moral course" for the writer of the letter who has pursued it for 50 years is indeed to believe in "rightness as by faith in Jesus". But should it be the equally ideal moral course for others? Many Christians evidently do not see any intolerance in this attitude. On the contrary they believe it is their expression to share their joy with others. So far as it expresses itself in "greeting every morning for those past years" for everyone and here in the fields, there can be no quarrel with it. Indeed it is a commendable expression and is on a par with the Brahman's morning prayer:

give, give, my all my heaven;
all that's very a happiness;

[May all have to happy. May all be free from illness. May all see good things. May no one come to grief.

It has of course this mark that the Brahman does not pray that all may find peace or happiness through being Brahman or acceptance of Hinduism. However, prayer for anybody's peace and bliss is a thing to be grateful for. But the opposite of peace begins when the eager enthusiast seeks to impose his mode on others.

"Make the Good Fit Fair"

In the meanwhile it may not be inappropriate to tell even such devout nonconformists that there are in the Christian faith others who have seen a different vision, others the moral beauty of whose life cannot be surpassed. Sir Arthur Keith, the world-famous anatomist, in his contribution to the *Living Philosophers* writes:

"I pursued my medical studies, and when still young, went to work in Bonn. I went with the gods of the West as my lord and confidant of my whole existence. I was thrown into intimate contact with the religious of a remote people—remote persons. They were followers of Krishna. In fact, I had been taught that if we had been deprived of the Ego, we would have remained pure beings. Oh, when I found myself among persons who had never heard of Christ, and yet they were more low-spirited than we were in Europe. They felt peaceful, reverent, charitable, and happy then."

I told them, with my good will, more of Jesus and how I had become low-spirited. Then they said that work as revealed and taught in Palestine was really the only truth. Apparently there had been other revelations in their lands, since they were clearly other ways of religious living besides the Christian way.

I saw these men and women who have been in long, dark, lonely and uncharted throughout the entire journey of life. Their path is plain and their hope is sure. There are millions, however, who cannot see until they can make their road in the face of life, or the face of life in their road. I am sure to see. . . . They were baptized in secret Palestine, but was the baptism in any way different from that which now moves our good citizens?"

My belief in the direct inspiration of the Bible became unfettered. It remained for me a book of books, still divine—but divine in the sense that all great books are divine which teach men how to live righteously."

Working Committee's Resolution on Khadi

We commend to the attention of all Congressmen the following resolution of the Working Committee passed at Harjiana on February 24:

"This Committee votes with satisfaction the policy adopted by the All India Spinning Association for securing adequate wages to spinners and other artisans engaged in the production of khadi and the steps taken by it in that behalf, and calls upon all Congressmen and the public in general to give full co-operation in making this policy a success by purchasing only that khadi which is certified by the All India Spinning Association."

M. D.

Three New Books

The Goodness Way By Acharya J. B. Kripalank. Price Rs. 2, postage, etc. 5 Annas. "The author has a right to be of considerable help to the student in making his choice from the various philosophies that are at present made current in the country."—*Quarterly*.

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CONTENTS

	Page
HARJIAN NOTES—III	M. D. 17
TEACHING OF LAURENCE—II	Gandhian Path 22
THE ATHERS DREAM	M. D. 27
A JUST STATEMENT	31
NOTES	
CHARITABLE HEALTH	M. D. 31
THE SILENT REVOLUTION	M. D. 32
REMARKS ADDRESS BY THEATRE	M. D. 33
A CORRECTION	M. D. 33
"TALK A STORY FOR JESUS"	M. D. 35
"MAKE THE GOOD FIT FAIR"	M. D. 34
WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION ON KHADI	M. D. 36



MARIJAN

Editor: MARGREY DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Marjani Social League

Vol. VI No. 2

POONA - SATURDAY, MARCH 12, 1932

[ONE ANNA]

Notes

Quaid's Health

Unless there is any indication to the contrary I propose to discontinue these short week day notes on this head. For summing the significance of present routine of rest and sleep and nature cure treatment, Quaid's health promises to be normal under the strain of a daily normal from to four hours' work. Any work beyond this puts up the pressure, which of course is a definite indication that the partial rest and treatment extant by any means be abandoned.

God willing we propose to leave for Calcutta on the 15th inst., returning thence to Delhi (in China) for the Quaid's Social League annual meeting on the 24th.

The Indian Proclamations

His Highness the Maharaja of Indore has issued the following proclamation abolishing extrajudiciality from his State.

"Whereas We have felt for a long time past that the suppression of a large portion of the Hindu community cannot be based on religious custom; and has one of it be punished as moral and humanitarian grounds.

And whereas lately We have become convinced of the urgent necessity of effective measures being adopted for the amelioration of the so-called depressed classes and the speedy removal of extrajudiciality and the restrictions that follow to be taken.

And whereas, as a full investigation, it has come to Our knowledge that the principal disabilities from which the depressed classes suffer relate to the following:-

1. Due to Temple Entry.
2. Due to caste.
3. Due to Public places such as Roads, Bazaar, and use of public conveyances.
4. Residence in certain localities.
5. Education to which.
6. Recruitment in Government service.
7. Entry into Public buildings and Offices.
8. Working of certain measures, taking out of procession and performing certain ceremonies.

We have now come to the decision that the future policy of our Government would be

to take all possible and practicable steps to secure a speedy removal of all social restrictions and disabilities to which the so-called depressed classes in Marjani have or by have subject.

In pursuance of that decision, We hereby declare Our pleasure and will and command that

1. All State temples within the limits of the State be thrown open to Marjani for service according to the rules that may be laid down by Us.

2. All meeting public wells, as well as all wells constructed by the State Government, be universally open to all classes alike. This is our policy, but in enforcing it, as regard to the meeting public wells, the District Officers will act in their discretion according to local needs and circumstances.

3. All concerned should make it possible for the Marjani to have an unrestricted use of public places, such as hotels, restaurants, and public conveyances.

4. Our Minister in Madras should, subject to the directions in the light of the conditions and requirements of a particular locality, allow Marjani to hold or own houses in all areas open to higher caste and communities.

5. Full and ready effect be given to the existing orders relating to the unrestricted admission of the Marjani children into State educational institutions.

6. There shall be no restriction in the matter of recruitment to State service, except where the Government has expressly to be restricted from a particular class of community.

7. All State public Offices and buildings are open to Marjani for entry.

8. There shall be no restriction in the working of commerce, the taking out of prospectus and performance of ceremonies."

His Highness desires the congratulations of all Hindu persons for having taken this necessary step and thus it, we hope, in a straightforward manner. The principle to the proclamation is summarily simple, and not only demonstrates the existing disabilities in all

exhaustive manner, but declares in no uncertain terms the determination of the State to "ensure a speedy removal of all racial restrictions and disabilities to which the so-called depressed classes or Harijans have so far been subject." We hope that the rules that may be laid down will, as in Travancore, be applicable to all Hindu sites. The claims regarding the use of public wells seems to me on the side of conservatism, dictated perhaps by the difficulty of enforcing a policy that has continued to be the State policy for some time. But let us hope the district officers, in whose discretion has been vested to enforce the policy according to local needs and circumstances, will be such as will not easily give up the cause of the Harijans. In a 'dry' area we cannot afford to have district officers who are opposed to the policy of prohibition. In the same way, in a State which is bent on the complete removal of untouchability, there cannot be district officers who have not shed untouchability from their own lives.

India has an area of 1,381 square miles, slightly bigger than Travancore, and a population of 1,215,000, i.e. just one-fourth of that of Travancore. It is difficult to state the number of Hindu temples in the State. But I am told that there are, in the State, temples of all-Hindu faith, of which the opening is of sufficient importance to attract public attention.

We may hope that the proclamation, as in Travancore, may find a response who to the hearts of all Hindus in the State and that it will enable them to purge themselves of untouchability as the State has done regarding its public places.

It is not long time for all the Hindu States to follow the noble example of Travancore and India? Will their Ministers have the wisdom of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and Sir B. N. Datta to advise the Princes in this direction?

A Hindu Bill

Sri Nageswami Aiyar is bringing before the Madras State Assembly a Bill for the abolition of untouchability, which aims to remove the disabilities under which the Harijans are labouring. They are the same as in other parts, and the Bill commensurate generally the same disabilities as the Indian Casteless does. The Moral policy of the Madras State is very well known. The Bill seeks legal enforcement of the policy and makes non-compliance an offence carrying on months' imprisonment or Rs. 500 fine or both. One wishes the use of the word 'untouchable' had been avoided and a definition modelled on the Bombay Harijan Welfare Bill had been adopted. There are two clauses in Section 4 which seem to need some amendment before they could be accepted. One of the clauses enables the so-called untouchables to enter "any place of worship belonging to any sect or creed". This is a drastic

proposal, and I do not think even the gentleman who drafted the Bill meant all that the clause means. All he meant, I think, is that the Harijans should have the same freedom of worship in public Hindu temples as is enjoyed by other Hindus and under the same conditions as other Hindus. Then there is a clause which seeks to enable Harijans to enter "the private or public house of a person" on purposes of business. This would be tantamount to abolishing the law of trespass and should be dropped. Everyone should have the liberty of visiting his household in any manner he likes, so as of course not to become a nuisance to his neighbours. Subject to small amendments the Bill deserves every support, and we hope the Madras Assembly will have no difficulty in passing it into law.

Training for Non-violence

A Marxist friend talking to Gandhi, succeeded in getting him to give an idea of the training for non-violence. The way in which he spoke earned us back to the days when in his childhood he was taken up with the simple lines of the Gujarati poet Bharatidas who conceptualised the law of returning good for evil. With him, therefore, the training for non-violence had begun as early as when he was barely twelve years old. The seed sown then has now grown into a goodly tree. This is what he said to the married friend:

"For non-violence to permeate us we should have a strong faith in God. Non-violence comes to us through doing good continuously without the slightest expectation of return. It simply spends itself and it is its own reward, and done in that spirit it is done not merely for friends but certainly for adversaries. That is the indispensable basis in non-violence. I was thrown my way by God in South Africa in an atmosphere which was so adverse as I well could be. I was in a country where I knew no Europeans or Indians. I had gone there to make a career as a lawyer. But I succeeded in learning the eternal law of suffering as the only remedy for unending wrong and injustice. It means positively the law of non-violence. You have to be prepared to suffer cheerfully at the hands of all and sundry, and you will wish ill to no one, not even to those who may have wronged you.

"Just now a good many people are talking of world peace, promoting peace societies and passing resolutions. This is good so far as it goes. But it may not be non-violence. An army of non-violence exposes itself to all the risks that an army of violence does. Only the latter expects to retaliate even when it is not the aggressor. An army of non-violence runs risks without the wish to retaliate."

"But the war spirit is creeping slowly over us," said the friend. "How are we to combat it?"

"I know how difficult it is for you to combat it in England. You have to approach the problem with faith and determination even though you may be very few. I would recommend the study of Richard Gregg's book on the practice of non-violence. A true pacifist refuses to see the fruits of arms—peace and order so long as we eat a single grain of wheat grown under the protection of arms we participate in violence. When one realizes this one has to be an arduo in one's own country and a rebel. But everything has to be done according to the measure of one's strength. A few people with the courage of their convictions can become perfect soldiers in the whole State. How far it is possible to reduce the whole thing to practice is for each individual to judge."

"Our English movement for peace is growing. But shall we simply go on recruiting more and more members?"

"I am not discouraged of numbers. A peace army does not rely upon numbers unless they understand the implications of non-violence. I would, therefore, concentrate on a few hundred motivated with the spirit of non-violence and discipline themselves for the utmost selfless."

"How exactly to act in particular situations is a matter of waiting on God. The answer comes straight in response to prayer from the heart. Such prayer comes with it the sacrifice of the soul."

It Thus Be Civilization?

People are often surprised at Gandhi's statements on Western civilization. In his book *What I Have to Say to India* some remarks were available at the popular price of annas four by the Narayana Publishing House, Alambabad. When he said "Western" civilization of course he meant modern civilization, but one wonders if even he had visualized all that this civilization means. As I was casually flipping over the pages of a recent issue of the *Social Medical Journal* my eyes fell on the short notice of a book called *The vulgar Americans* here it "it" means epidemic, and the writer who is Associate Professor of Dermatology and Syphilology in the University of Chicago has deliberately made the statement contained in the title of the book. But he has not only made the statement which is a cold commentary on modern civilization, he has mentioned ways and means not of prevention, but of cure which provide even a colder commentary. The writer has made some statements evidently in a careless manner, and the reviewer who hastily comments on book asks, "Will these layholders of over-embellishment, in five days, always prevent the development of the disease? If given from right to fortnight hours after exposure to infection?" If there are such certain available cures, why not take a little shot in attacking the infection? But that is modern civilization. Indeed a doctor friend told

me that the medical world is familiar with a successful proverb "Civilization is Syphilization."

Free Salt for the Poor

Reader of SARUJAN will remember that under the Irwin-Gandhi Pact of 1931 a concession was granted by the Government, under certain prescribed conditions, for private manufacture and sale of salt to "local residents in villages immediately adjoining areas where salt can be collected or made." It was the only clause which survived the onslaught of the Post. Nevertheless, the concession was withdrawn from several areas where, according to Government, there was serious abuse of the concession. A Press Note issued by the Bombay Government now informs the public that the "Government of India, have recently restored the concession to the areas from which it was taken. It had been withdrawn." The Note then describes briefly the nature of the concession which, in view of its vital importance for the poor, deserves to be reproduced:

"1. For giving relief to sections of the poor classes, clause IV of the Agreement of 1931 permits local residents in villages immediately adjoining the areas where salt could be collected or made, to collect or make salt for domestic consumption or sale within their respective villages but not for sale to people living outside the village concerned. Domestic use includes use for manure, agriculture, industries, cattle or fish-feeding by individual fishermen; and salt includes salt brine."

"2. Villagers may make salt pans or kade in kade within the limits of their respective villages, but the quantity manufactured should not exceed the requirements of the village for which the salt is manufactured or collected."

"3. There should be no sale of salt for use outside the village for which salt is manufactured or collected. Villagers should not remove salt elsewhere than on foot, i. e., it shall be carried by handbills only."

"4. The concession will be withdrawn by the Government of India after consulting the Provincial Government from villages where it is found that it is abused. It will amount to abuse of concession if it is observed that salt is manufactured, collected or stored in quantities above the normal requirements of a particular village; or if such salt is removed in a vehicle or by means of an animal."

It is again emphasized that the concession will be withdrawn from any area in which it is subsequently found to be widely abused. It is important that the public should understand that abuse by individuals would mean loss to the community, and they should cooperate with officers of the Salt Department in preventing such abuse."

"When the Post was published," said Gandhi in November 1934, "in commenting upon it, I had described this as the breadbasket part of the document. It was the breadbasket appeal

that had found ready response from Lord Irwin. Those who saw such themselves of the consequence will bear this fact in mind and will, therefore, refrain from making any commercial use of the consequence, either directly or indirectly, and work it strictly within the four corners of the Congressmen."

The Punjab Government desires to be congratulated for generously having taken the initiative in getting the belated consequence realized. It will be remembered that in the preliminary days there were numerous complaints from the public of wrongful withdrawal of these consequences, and it is quite likely that the police having now sought the spirit of the laws are not over-eager in applying the law. Those who see the consequence will, however, bear Gandhi's words to mind and prove themselves more than worthy of the restoration of the consequence. Public workers will also make the consequence more widely known and see that in no case are the rights moral and legal, abused.

M D

HARRIAN

Mar 12

1934

ADVANCE PROHIBITION

All the Congress Governments are committed to a policy of Complete Prohibition, and all have begun the experiment in right earnest and in their own way according to the circumstances in their respective provinces. The Madras experiment has been on since October 1st, 1927, and it is being conducted with the vigilance and the thoroughgoing way which characterizes everything that is connected with the name of the Madras Prince Minister. The achievement was by the hands of the police working under the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police assisted by a Prohibition Officer and a Special Development Officer. The results of the experiment so far have been noted in detail in his latest report by the Collector, Mr. A. F. W. Dixon, who was in no way prejudiced in favour of the experiment. In his long report of various findings typed sheets he has in no way controverts the position. He notes the large increase in the number of policeyns being tapped for arrest today, as also the evident risk of those being tapped for arrested today if there was not the necessary vigilance. He also notes a few cases of smuggling of goods and opium, and says that without neo-official help it will not be possible to put a stop to smuggling. He also says that illicit distillation is being kept under control and appears to be going on only on a small scale and in a very secretive manner by persons

to some extent a tendency to drink unadulterated spirit and also the District Medical Officer to write a Tamil booklet describing the deadly effects of drinking the spirit, also an increase in gambling arising out of the attempt by house dealers to relieve the burden of the evening hours. But none on the whole that "no nearly exceeds month without general signs of a deterioration in the situation, the chances of ultimate success become real."

This month regarding the success of the actual working of Prohibition. When he comes to the effect of Prohibition on the lives of the people he notes a definite improvement all round and summarizes the large mass of information received from various sources and also his own personal impression in about six sheets. We summarize these six sheets elsewhere in these columns. Suffice it to say here that this is the definite conclusion he has arrived at as a result of his own impressions and observations.

"Viewing generally the effect of Prohibition on the lives of the people, I am satisfied, after 6 months' experience, that Prohibition is proving a great boon to the poorer classes in the District. Looking as they do to hard-earned money, they simply cannot afford the expensive luxury of drink which used to reduce the small earnings of the labouring classes to a miserable pittance, quite insufficient for the proper maintenance of a family. Drink brought misery into the homes of many thousands of the poorer classes in this District, money in the shape of domestic outlay, insufficiency of food and clothing etc. Already in thousands of homes in this District conditions have changed to a remarkable extent. Domestic troubles have ceased, a sufficiency of food is available, and the grip of the moneylender has relaxed. This has happened within a short space of four months. If the Act continues to be enforced not less effectively than it is now, I anticipate a great and permanent improvement in the material well-being of the peasants and labourers of this District."

Let us see how much these good results have cost. Sir C. B. in his Budget Speech "The net cost of Prohibition for the last six months of the financial year 1927-28 will amount to Rs. 1,11,000 made up of the 12 lakhs loss of Excise Revenue and Rs. 24,000 cost of additional police and special officers, offset by a saving of Rs. 24,000 on the excise staff previously employed in the District." Who will say that the moral and material results do not far outweigh this cost? Apart from individual cases here is a case of the moral effect of Prohibition as applied to a mill area affecting 1,000 workers. Whereas these workers were irregular and inefficient before Prohibition and slight benefits were a regular feature of the area, the workers have now become regular and more reliable, the benefits have now ceased, machines are better looked after, production increased and expenditures decreased. The out-turn has actually doubled. Women were shilly,

dirty and clad in rags. Now every woman has two or three saris, most of them have petticoats, and 50 per cent wash daily. Their domestic position has improved, they have reclaimed their jewels, which they managed due to circumstances. Children are better clad and cleaner. Darning houses have improved and Raths have been introduced into houses which were formerly squalid."

The United Provinces Government have also set about the task in right earnest and their experiment, like the Madras one, has several features which might be copied in other provinces. The main features of the Madras experiment may be summarized below:

- (1) Encouragement of tapping for sweet toddy and converting it into gur.
- (2) Enforcement of the whole policy through the Police staff, and not the Revenue staff.
- (3) Employment of non-official agencies, like Talukda Prohibition Committees and Village Committees.
- (4) Propaganda and provision of counter-situations.

To these may be added the principal features of the experiment in the United Provinces.

- (1) State-managed shops in free selected districts where prohibition has not been introduced, ensuring the strict observance of hours of sale and providing against dishonest adulteration. No exemptions at present.

- (2) Reduction of the number of shops in non-prohibition districts by 25 per cent.

- (3) Raising of the retail price of opium and charas and making it impossible for the vendor to sell these drugs at any prohibitive margin.

As regards the first feature of the Madras experiment it may be noted that the fixation of a certain quantity of lines checks the starting of fermentation. In Salem 12 co-operative societies or toddy-tappers have been registered, and 9 of these which have started work have sold through the Salem Sales Society 12,815 lbs. of gur for Rs. 923-14-3. It is expected that 50 or 60 more societies will be formed, and that 25 per cent of the old tappers will be engaged in sweet toddy tapping. This experiment deserves to be copied in all parts where there are palm and palmyra trees which are being tapped today for toddy.

The great emphasis cannot be placed on the Revenue Ministers of different provinces getting into touch with one another, comparing notes and trying in their own provinces the measures that have been tried with success in other provinces. We have begun well. Let us hope that our efforts will be reinforced as time passes, and that we shall see the extinction of the cause by the time the well-imposed limit of three paces is out.

M. D.

EFFECTS OF PROHIBITION

The following extracts are taken from the Sales Collector's report on the effects of the Prohibition experiment.

"Coming to the effect of Prohibition on the lives of the people, it is not possible in this report to do more than briefly summarize their impressions and give some details of some typical individual cases.

(a) *Condition of Women and Children*—All information received goes to show the beneficial effect of the Act on the home life of ex-drinkers. Domestic quarrels of the violent sort have practically ceased, and the condition of the women and children has markedly improved. Almost all those who reported agree that the health and appetite of moderate ex-drinkers have improved. As regards heavy drinkers, reports vary. Some of the old tapers, who are already in poor state of health, have suffered. Others are finding it difficult to adjust themselves to the new conditions, and complain that they are unable to do as much work as they did formerly. There are, however, a good many cases reported of heavy drinkers who have lost their old craving and whose health and general condition have greatly improved.

(b) *Economic Condition of the People*—That there has been an improvement is undoubted, though hope that the power classes generally would acquire the thrift habit has not as far been realized. Improvement in the standard of life is most marked in regard to the quantity of food consumed. Ex-drinkers and their families now get generally a good evening meal whereas formerly they often went without it.

(c) I will give some examples taken at random of the effects of Prohibition on the economic condition of ex-drinkers.

Three ex-drinkers of K. Puthan, Kariapatti and Achandipuram stated that they formerly needed money daily for drink, but they did not earn money every day, so they used to borrow on condition that they would repay the debt in kind (paddy) at a low price at the next harvest season. During the harvest season of the paddy they were given to the lenders at a low price in payment of the loan advanced. This harvest season they have not borrowed any money as no drink was drinkable, and they have stored the paddy. Another ex-drinker has got hands locked after by his servants and is a broker getting 1 anna for every bush of paddy purchased in his village. He used to make 2 to 3 Rs. a day. During the last 10 days before Prohibition was introduced, he spent Rs. 20 on drink. He was constantly tipsy. He borrowed Rs. 150 for an anna contract, out of which he spent Rs. 50 in drink. Since Prohibition was introduced, he has saved Rs. 70, has repaid his loan of Rs. 20, and has got Rs. 50 with him.

An over-drinker of Malagalli states that he used to spend all his earnings on drink before with the result that his family consisting of his wife and 3 children were leading a very difficult life to get even the meal a day. They used to be frequent quarrels between him and his wife whom he had beaten on many occasions. He said he had 3 acres of his land, and 1 of his children also did his work of proper maintenance. Since Prohibition has come in, they are getting 1 and sometimes 1 meal a day, and out of his earnings he has been able to purchase 1 load of maize for Rs. 17 and clothes for his wife and children for Rs. 4.

On the other hand, one old man and a former tapper said he was doing good work before Prohibition and earning 1 anna a day. This he spent on drink. Now he finds himself unable to do any work and is living mostly on the earnings of his wife. This is a typical instance of the old tapper who is too aged to adjust himself to the new conditions. Some are reported to have faded away and died.

It is reported that the scavengers employed in the Salem Municipality, who were borrowing heavily from two moneylenders to meet the cost of drink, were paying their salaries to them immediately on receipt. They are now said to have entirely altered their habits and to be making cash payments of the necessities of life.

The Managing Director of the Rayachoti Spinning Mills Ltd. at Salem reports that most of the workers were very boisterous in their attendance, several machines having to be stopped during night shifts. A month after Prohibition had been introduced, the attendance of the labourers had become regular and the required number of skilled labourers for the purpose of running the mill both night and day were available. In pre-prohibition days quarrels were frequent in the night and the Managing Director never got an undisturbed night's rest, having frequently to get up and pacify fighting labourers. These quarrels have now ceased and the machines are much better looked after. Production has increased and expenditure decreased. The culture has actually doubled since Prohibition came into force. Prohibition is particularly beneficial to the women in the mills. They were sickly, dirty and clad in rags. Now every woman has 2 or 3 acres, most of them have polio-cas, and 80 per cent of them wash daily. Their financial position has also improved, they have released their lands which they mortgaged due to extravagance. Children are better clad and cleaner. Dressing houses have improved and lights have been introduced into rooms which were formerly dark.

HARIJANA NOTES

IV

Hind-Hindustani

The Haripura Congress marked in a remarkable degree a triumph for Hind-Hindustani. I have already intimated the welcome to the public, both by means of leaflets and pamphlets. But a more remarkable feature was the determination of the President to conduct the proceedings in Hindi. He made a remarkably good beginning by speaking in Hindi on the occasion of the opening of Vallabhbhai Patel's bust. His determination was noticeable from the way in which he ascertained from me the Hindi equivalents of some English words were being used to the function. The translation of his Presidential address was rather a tough proposition for him, but I am quite sure that he would have been able to do better justice to it, if he had been more forewarned in his translator. The truth, like in the translation trying to take down as much as possible in the speaker's language whatever he wants to say, and then to discuss it in an other respect but that of grammar. But Vallabhbhai read the translation through with unflinching determination and carried on the proceedings throughout in Hindi. The audience appreciated the effort. Many of them seemed to be charmed with Mahatma Abul Kalam Azad's speeches and said it was easy for them to follow them. There were other speakers too, like Jalandhar and Vallabhbhai, who also spoke in their Hind-Hindustani. A new language is forming and forming rapidly indeed, and we may say that in the course of a few years a common language easily understandable by the millions will be evolved. It matters little whether such a language understood equally by millions of Indians and Mohammedans is called Hind-Hindustani or Urdu.

Numbers

When I talked last week of the largeness of the Congress, the confidence of the people who came and the stupendous organisation, I did not mention the number of volunteers. All told there were 7,000 volunteers, and these with 4,000 workers made a total of 11,000 who were busily active in the kitchen. The labourer is worthy of his hire and no one could have grasped the workers their daily food. But one does wonder whether this great force of volunteers is necessary and should be maintained for days together. And the question of these numbers makes one pause and consider whether we can retain the present form of the Congress, have scores of thousands attending it for three or four days, and then go through the toll and trouble of having to cater for the mass of humanity. Unless this scheme is drastically revised one cannot think of ever approaching the Rs. 5,000 million which some Gandhi-worshippers think it to be possible for a Congress to be held. And one's heart sinks within one's self when one finds that the great water works, the har-

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pled, the garden and so on, will ultimately be under their wooden flooring permanently nothing butted them!

I have had a letter asking me for finding fault with the arrangements, which even I have admitted to be a triumph of organization, and a respected leader asked me if by dismissal of all foreigners I would make it impossible for me to visit the place to attend the Congress. Well I have written nothing with a view to finding fault with the arrangements, much less with those who worked hard for them. I have written with a view to finding out whether or not repeat the experiment of Harpers, and whether it would be worth while doing so. As for leaders who are inviolable and whose services would be indispensable at the Congress, every arrangement would be made, not because they are leaders but because they are inviolable.

But of this more in a note giving Cassid's views on the whole question.

The Cows and the Kachas

The biggest experiment perhaps was that of supplying cows milk and cow's glue to all and of the milkers use of them in the kitchen. The experiment succeeded in that it did not break down, which is might well have done, and when there was trouble in the kitchen caused by delegates or visitors who were not satisfied with the arrangements, the factor in the powder was said "These 100 dumb delegates give us no trouble whatever." Indeed they gave none, and on the contrary gave us much as 1,000 pounds of milk a day. The way in which they were kept, and the little criticisms against the village interested in dairy and dairy products, supplied considerable instruction.

The kitchen, covering as it did, for the needs of 20 to 25 thousand people, was an altogether carefully fitted, and it succeeded remarkably, again in the sense that it did not break down. Some of the best workers in Oahu had been engaged to look after the kitchen arrangements, and they worked like Trojans night and day. The stuff that went into the making of the common served was all indigenous, home-made products, and remarkably cheap. But as at Faleper a preterial taste was, unfortunately perhaps, sought to be imposed on all, in the chapter and quarrelling of those who were impatient and impatient. There were in that huge crowd people who looked on hot rice, and when they found it said they actually found it at the arrival. Because delegates were an impossible proposition for all, the delegates gave all kinds of advice. Indeed, Oils and oilskins and oilskin were everywhere used, and in spite of the 1,000 lbs. of fresh milk, and thousands of tons of condensed milk that were available, very few succeeded in getting milk or butter-milk. The only way out of the difficulty seems to be to exhibit, on a board outside, the various articles on the menu and to sell them, at a fixed price, everyone

being at liberty to purchase one or more of the articles, as one desires. 'The richest would have the best of it, and the poorest the worst,' will be the obvious criticism. Not necessarily. The poorest will perhaps be wiser than the richest, for they will restrict themselves only to sources really needed to support the body. To secure cleanliness and decent serving women volunteers should be in charge of the department, as they were at Faleper to the satisfaction of all.

The Exhibition

The exhibition was the prettiest, the most artistic, the most instructive, and the best organized we have ever seen. This was to a certain extent natural, because the workers are the same every year and they go on 'learning by each year's experience. A handy exhibition guide was available and there was enough show-room everywhere for one inclined to observe carefully and study. The Khadi Court which occupied the central place was the best that has been on view during recent years, and its planning and arrangements were such as would satisfy the most exacting and the most fastidious. The artists looked all their art in making the Court the chief attraction of the Exhibition, and if anything was wanting it was supplied by the chief showmen, Jenson, who was on his legs practically all the hours talking and explaining. Each province was shown to be trying with the other with its special products, and having some specially long through the Court the friendly purchase knew to what stall to turn for a good cloth, rug, shawl, baskets or printed cloth. A glass case showed the rapid strides that Khadi had made since 1882, and several courts outside showed the various processes of Khadi manufacture in a way thorough manner than ever shown before. A huge map of India showed all the Khadi producing centers in India, and spreading of all kinds of ordinary and improved wheels by ordinary and expert spinners was on view. The highest speed on a wheel equipped with a speed-wheel being nearly 500 yards an hour of 21 counts! This was the average worked out after nine hours of the wheel for seven days! In future each wheel ought to be exhibited for being worked by whoever would care to try it. For visitors go away with an impression that it is only the experts who can get the most out of even an improved wheel! The self-sufficiency court contained Khadi made out of the parts of those who spin for themselves, and was an eloquent reply to those who objected to the higher spinning wage and lower labor price of Khadi. Two two charts showed how much one could save by self-spinning.

Where Spinner Makes His Own Shirts

No. 1		No. 2	
Pound of cotton	1 2 0	Pound of the same	1 2 0
(In pounds)		kind of Khadi	
		at Khadi Bazar	
		do	

Cleaning, sorting, spinning done by members of the family.

Weaving charges for 30 yards of khadi, 45' wide, woven out of 12 lbs. of 10 count yarn. Rs. 1 8 0

Total Rs. 12 0 Rs. 21-0-0

Where Spinner Purchases Shown

Rs. 2 5

For purchase of shroon 8 10 0 Price of the same kind of khadi at Khadi Bazaar

Weaver's charges for 8 14 0

34 yards out of yarn of 20 count.

Total — 1 8 0 Rs. 2-0-0

The way in which khadi production and sale are going ahead may be appraised from figures relating to only one province, viz. Bihar.

1932

1933

Production Rs. 48,830 Rs. 56,843

Sales (retail) 131,878 „ 200,400

„ Wholesale 52,843 „ 177,646

There were three demonstration units that far surpassed at Lucknow. The Kashmir spinners and weavers and the silk producers and weavers could not be brought all the way from Kashmir and Bengal, except at very great expense. But the other demonstration units — the paper court, the grinding, beating and oil-pressing unit, the paper-making unit, and the paper-making and the basketry units were as complete as one might have desired. The paper court for the first time showed all the processes of paper-making from the making of pulp from various kinds of raw material, and the basketry unit demonstrated to perfection how weaving is an occupation clean and simple enough to be taken up by those who sell themselves high-cost people. The shroon weaving and dyeing machines were village-made and cheap enough for the cottage owner. Processes of the use of bone, bone, gale, hair etc., and of glass-making were also shown. Two stalls (by the All India Village Industries Association) showed paper-making from date palm leaves, a U. P. Government stall showed the process of purifying gum by activated charcoal process. The dye-grinding unit and petty beating court showed the latest improvements in the dalka. There were chains with ballbearings, and with a screw and a belt drive, enabling easy turning of the wheel, and the production of as much as 2 lbs. of fibre an hour. The oil press unit organized by the All India Village Industries

Association was in charge of a graduate, turned an oilman, who has devoted particular care to the study of various plans to India and has brought into being an improved plan which gives a higher percentage of oil, which is light for the kulluk, which saves maintenance, and reduces the capital cost to about Rs. 50.

The Small embroidery stall showing the drawing of the shroon from her dress, and the following of them for embroidery work, was one of the many other attractions of the Exhibition. The States of Canada and Hyderabad had their special stalls. Canada with its artistically arranged basketry products became a kind of bazaar, and Hyderabad had its demonstration in paper-making and toy-making. From Mysore came a model wood and ivory carved gold throne which had taken 70 artisans 20 years to make and had cost over Rs. two lakhs. Shroon from the Ramapuram and the Mahabharata were displayed on heavy stands showing exquisite workmanship which is still alive in all the glory. It was really a great centre of attraction, though a fire of an hour was changed to reinforce the centre who spent Rs. 1,200 to bring the shroon to Harjuna.

Those who helped in showing all our crafts in a wonderful advantage — I mean Mandakini and Nita Harishanker Bhand and Kama Devi — had their own courts too. Mandakini's Kulluk, arranged in simple taste, tried to show the progress and evolution of art from the earliest times to the present day. And Nita Harishanker and Kama Devi's arts and crafts court showed the glory that was Gujarat — as revealed in its clothes, decorations, household furniture and tapestry. There were in this court shroon of which every link in the chain was an exquisite piece of art, and shroon in which not a piece of iron had gone into the making. The shroon with cotton from the Bhagmati Purna was over 500 years old, and there were rare pieces of workmanship in the shape of brocade and handwork and shroon embroidery which put one painfully in mind of prosperous days that are no more.

In the absence of the late Pandit Khari, his daughter Mathuri with her companions filled a magnificent musical programme every night and villages from far-off Kulluk and shroon-dance.

M. D.

CONTENTS

		Page
ARTICLE PRESENTATION	M. D.	54
REPORT OF PRESENTATION		55
REPORT OF PRESENTATION	M. D.	56
REPORT		
REPORT OF PRESENTATION	M. D.	57
THE INDIAN PRESENTATION	M. D.	58
A. P. P. P. P.	M. D.	59
REPORT OF PRESENTATION	M. D.	60
IF THIS IS PRESENTATION?	M. D.	61
THE INDIAN PRESENTATION	M. D.	62



1146

HARIJAN

Editor : MARRIVY DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

Vol. VI No. 4]

POONA - SATURDAY, MARCH 19, 1938

[ONE ANNA

HARIPURA NOTES

V

I propose in this instalment to give a few scenes picked up at random.

"The Congress King"

I was wondering if the men and women from the neighbouring villages belonging to the Harijan sangh or the Harijan Sevak Sangh were anything about the Congress King which they were helping to bring into being. A good long interview with one or two of them would have been a good thing, but I could not succeed in getting it. That they knew the name of the Congress was clear, though what the Congress meant they did not know. But ignorance and uneducatedness as they are, they do not lack reason, and could easily put two and two together. So many leaders had arrived, even the 'Mahatma' had arrived, but there was no bus and no bullock-cart about their reception. But there was someone waiting for whom there were all the preparations of a royal display, the Borda Raja's chariot drawn by African bullocks, and so on. Well that was the Congress King arriving. They did not know his name, they did not care to know it. It was enough that the King was coming and they struck work—about 1,100 of them. There were so many of the workers who could appeal to them in their district, and they entrusted them to go back to work even in the interest of the reception of the King. The Barber had to go and plead with them. But they were adamant. "The Congress King is coming. We will see him. Why should we work today?" was their reply, and the Barber saw that it was no use striving with them.

Oh for That Faith!

The peasant Gandhiji had to pay for his 'Mahatmaship' and his House was that he was put up in a hut which was almost isolated from the rest of the Village. In order to restrict admission we had to leave passes. Quite an unpleasant business, however, as a good number of people who had every right to be near Gandhiji, or at least as much right as I had, did not get admission, and one day when Gandhiji was very unwell and Dr. Gidder advised me not to admit any visitors I had to refuse admission to everyone. Now it so happened that as I was going one afternoon to the

post office, I saw two men standing towards me with their till on their shoulders and in their hands I could place one of them. He was an old man from the Pimpri who, when we were in Delhi two years ago, was very keen on attending the morning prayers. I asked them if they had come for the Congress and when, "We came this morning," they said. "Have you fixed a place?" I asked. "No, nothing about it, we must have Mahatma's darshan first," the old man said. "We have been looking about for his hut without success and we did not know what to do. Could you not take us for just a little while?" I knew they had had no food and would have none until they saw Gandhiji, and they did not care to fix up an abode either. I asked them to wait until I had posted my letters and to follow me to my house. They followed me. The old man, as soon as he was taken to Gandhiji, pulled out an unused postal envelope from his pocket, placed it before Gandhiji with a piece of shawl of his own yarn. Gandhiji wondered what the unused postal envelope could contain. It contained a hundred rupee note. Rajmaram Anant Desai, knowing that they were Pimpri, asked them to furnish why this donation was hidden in an unused postal envelope. "I had no other envelope," said the old man, "and we are told that there are a number of philoposts about. I thought the first thing I must do on going to Haripura would be to relieve myself of the burden before my packet was posted. I am now feeling easy, and I shall now try to find a place in the Pimpri village's map. My purpose in coming here is fulfilled."

On another day came a peasant from some place in Rajasthan. He had a garden and wanted to offer to Gandhiji every variety of fruit that he grew. He had a huge sack of this fruit which he carried himself. How could I refuse him admission? Gandhiji asked him how much he had spent on water here. He said he had spent seven rupees odd but that was nothing, he was thankful that God had enabled him to offer fruit from his garden to Gandhiji.

A third man who had no other purpose in coming to Haripura but to make an offering to Gandhiji came with a big bundle of yarn. Yarn to be given to Gandhiji was being collected in the Exhibition, but he did not want to give it there. He had devoted several months to

uplifting the bundle that he had brought, and he wanted to give it to me also but Gandhiji. It was 125,000 yards of good evenly spun yarn. He was from Gandhinagar, he did not want to stay for the Congress, and I suppose he left the next day.

Those That Failed!

Not for the first or for the little those who succeeded in coming to Gandhinagar, there may have been as many or more that failed. I have a pathetic letter from a Shastri who has written in Gujarati. He had every right to be angry with me or at any rate with those who refused him admission, but he has written a letter with his pen dipped in the ink of tears and I have to like it immensely:

"I am a poor peasant from Bharatpur, being by what I know I can get I am quite ignorant and know nothing beyond Yoda Bhargava. When I heard that the Congress was coming to Gandhinagar I failed the news with delight. I said to myself I should now have the chance of Gandhinagar's shelter. I had been before to jail during Satyagraha days but had not seen Gandhinagar. I purchased wool, cleaned it and spun it myself, and had out of it a sweater and a scarf for Mahatmaji. (I have burning) I thought that would be a good gift to place at Gandhinagar's feet, and then I had read out of my wages Rs. 15/12 which also I should give him. There was my little fare, however, but a good friend purchased a return ticket for me, and I came to Gandhinagar, my heart bursting with joy and hope. But how to get at Mahatmaji? I went to the Joint Secretary who very kindly listened to me and directed me to—, who also was polite with me, but said 'I am very sorry Gandhinagar does not want workers things, and even if he did as he is so crowded that no one is permitted to go near him. I myself have not been to see him'. Well, there was nothing for it but to go back! Fares were probably against me, I could think no one else. I have come back home with my frustrated passion! Will you now tell me where I should send it, or there is no chance at my ever being able to see Gandhinagar?"

Well, I offer this friendliest apologies on my behalf as also on behalf of others who refused him admission. But may I assure him that though his gift was not given to Gandhinagar, it is more than given to him, and that it is not those who stay or sit near Gandhinagar that are the beloved of God, but those who do God's will and God's work?

The Limit of Us

I have referred in a previous note to the various camps in the Nagpur District confined the Government was the Khandwa camp. They paid for their meals three annas a day and a nominal amount for the cloth that was the only thing between them and the sky. But I wonder if it is realised that there were at Khandwa, there who had not even the meagre of three annas. As I was having a stroll late

in the evening one day an old man greeted me from a distance. It was a warm greeting and I was unhappy that I could not correctly place him. And yet it was far from being an unfamiliar face "Don't you remember," he said, "you came to our village during the Bardoli Satyagraha struggle? You may have forgotten us, but we remember you." This old man had come to the Congress with his son. Outside the Congress limits were bivouacking a number of people having three loaves for the day to cook their meals with, and a little fuel to keep themselves warm during the cold night. The father and son seemed to be happy as kings and did not seem to think much of those who were paying for staying in workers' camps. The father stayed on the campfire around when the son went to see and visit them. They had brought their own provisions from home, cooked their meals on the spot, and thoroughly enjoyed themselves. The son had a job also in the camp and was effectively earning a fair wage. I came away wondering what the Congress meant to those who were supposed to be the heart of us, what it had done for them, what it had done to bring the "upper" classes nearer to them!

And Another

Attached to our camp was a Marjared woman placed at Ra's (Mrs. Gandhi's) disposal for helping with the washing and cleaning. On the day we left she asked for a certificate from me not for probity, but for having actually worked in our camp for a certain number of days. I asked her how much she was going to get per day. Her face beamed as she said "Six annas!" She had not earned this wage ever before in her life, and she seemed to be happy that for some months she had been earning this wage. "What is that due to?" I asked her, "Thanks of the Congress," she said again with a smile "But who is the Congress?" I asked. I saw my she had at the back of her mind some money, but she seemed to take no note of her confidence. "Congress is Congress," she said. But when I asked her about the villages and whether she would not like to stay on in one of the villages, she said with a sigh "No, all these will disappear as soon as you are all gone, and we will go back to our villages."

There was a certain amount of sadness in her voice which was primarily existing and I talked with her "Are we going to leave nothing behind us? No members of the Congress? Nothing which people would love to treasure with pride? Nothing but memories of people who moved about in saree and shawl up their shoulders with an ornament spinning slowly?" I said to myself.

A Worker's Impression

A worker, who was in the thick of the work there and was congratulating himself that he at least performed some task there that was

acceptable—more acceptable than the task of writing these notes—writes a long letter in which he expresses his happiness that to some extent at any rate my sense of self-interposition in a previous issue echoed his own feelings and thoughts. He says:

"Thousands had come to Harpers. Even from my own village several people had gone there at, to them, an exorbitant expense of ten to twelve rupees. I was glad that they went, but when I listened to their observations on what I have I was disappointed. 'What a Mass of electric light!' 'What crowds of people!' 'How did they bring their things there?' 'Where were you everywhere and how many cars?' These questions are wonderful! Indeed!' That was all that they saw and will remember of the Congress. Did they learn anything? I do not know. This is what a few students said: 'We attended the open sessions for three days, but followed not a word! I saw some much of this was due to the language difficulty and to lack of previous education on Congress politics. You have attended to the Hindi atmosphere. It is quite all right, but at the end of every resolution that is passed some local leader must be requested to explain in detail the resolution to the people of the province in their own language. Nandlal explained the constitution, but that is not enough. The bulk of the people who attend are from the provinces and they are entitled to have every sentence loudly expounded to them. I have heard quite a lot of abuse, cynicism, etc. Some said: 'To tell and read is one job, but we may not even see the leaders' speeches! We were with difficulty my entire day, and these people seem to be spending without compensation as many rupees a day?' And yet, as you have said, how could we do without electricity when you have scores of thousands of people every day, and without water works? Why can't we have the Congress only for a single day—i. e. to say the open session only for a day, all people to bring their provisions with themselves, and to go back home the same day? Our last session here last evening at Harpers for months and we still doing as just as in order to bring an explanation very late home and then to stand up the show. Cannot all that energy and money be applied to a better purpose, viz. carrying of the message to the villages in a more effective way? "

Well, I endorse every word of what is said here. In fact I had made some such suggestions (the that made towards the end of the letter is question, but it did not seem to find favour with Gandhi. Gandhi himself has been far more gliding about these problems. In fact he said once that the Mass of electricity at Harpers kept him awake as did the black night at Bombay. It is likely that when he begins to write on these columns, as I expect him to do the course of a few weeks, he might express himself at length on the questions that the Harpers Congress has raised in our minds.

A Few Flaws

He was discussing with a friend and co-worker his reactions to the Harpers Congress. He said he would make these views known as early as possible for the information and benefit of those who would be responsible for the session at Mahabubnagar. At the risk of some repetition I give the gist of his conversation in his own words. The reader will observe that he had anticipated the views set forth below in his speech at the Exhibition on the 18th ultimo.

"The Congress is a striking testimony to the great organising ability of the Sardar and his lieutenants as also his ability to command financial help from wanted friends. But the scale cannot be, must not be, repeated. It is wrong to make lavish use of money even when it is plentiful. I am partly responsible for the use of electricity and water and motor lorries. For Day and Desai's impetuosity had weakened me at Faizpur. Sardar's thoroughness showed me the glaring absurdity of the use of these things for a village Congress. They made the Congress Camp look like a bit of Bombay instead of the multiplied village it should have looked, and was intended to look, like.

"Classes were retained at Faizpur. At Harpers the classification was abolished. There were the leaders, ministers, delegates, visitors, and the villagers. The division was not harmful but wasteful. The Congress is our political Mass. The annual function is not a festival or a fair, but a Haj, a pilgrimage, at which all destinations as between rich and poor, learned and illiterate, city-dweller and village dweller. Why should Working Committee members have more conveniences than others? Why should they have food other than the villagers? Should a villager eat different food and be differently housed when he becomes a member of the Working Committee? Or why should a delegate who happens to be a Minister have a much supplied host? It is a wholly different thing when one is ill or is used to special food. Such persons should make their own arrangements or have them made by the Reception Committee by previous appointment. Indeed those who have final bodies should abstain from attendance, unless their presence is urgently required in the interest of the Congress. Vertical division of the camps into different classes into a pernicious example to the vast number of villagers who attend the Congress. The Congress management has to go out of its way to show the villagers that before it there is no prince and no pauper and that all are equal. If these artificial differences disappear next year, much expense will be saved.

"Electric lights are in no way necessary. Tents should be expected to bring their own lanterns. The Reception Committee will confine itself to the lighting that may be required for the dispatch of Congress work and for the safety of

(Continued on p. 47)

HARRIAN

Mar 12

1948

THE DUTY TO REBEL

The following letter addressed to Gandhi by a Pacifica friend from England raises issues which have stirred Gandhi for the last forty years or more.

"I wonder if you have seen the working of the spirit *des Rats* Convention Act. I would very much like to hear what you think of it. Can anything be done besides going down there against it?"

I am now living in the country and making an effort to be self-supporting. For fuel, brick-wood, and I have a vegetable garden. Am also attempting to provide my own clothes. Have got some sheep and am getting a spinning wheel. I believe that one does not provide in the of wool, which, I believe, one makes think for one man's winter. Have also got a potter's wheel so clay is plentiful round here and I enjoy 'throwing' a pot. All of which is giving me happiness. But I am afraid that I am regarded as an 'escapee'—whatever that is. But, as far as I can see, one is not in a moral position to approach 'the army' until one has approached oneself to a standard of living the maintenance of which does not rely upon the 'army'. Just when and how one can 'approach' the 'army' and on what manner? Do you think one can get into the position so that one can avoid 'the soldier' in lay down his arms? It is of course running into 'difficulties'. But I think such a move not as a move, but as an inevitable expression.

It seems necessary to get a last case on the issue of freedom of conscience. I had thoughts of writing a leaflet to the men in the street suggesting to return to support Government, thus giving the same leaflet to the almost uneducated conscripted workers in an armament factory. In the first instance it is unlikely that any action would be taken against me, but in the second instance it is likely that the action would be regarded as rebellion. What point would prove that the Government regarded the armament worker as a conscripted individual without liberty of conscience? I would like to know what you feel about this. Personally, I think the third move involves one of the moral, that is to approach the army."

The logic of the argument is obvious enough. A pacifist could not view with equanimity air raid precautions, and he must resist with all his might the armament programme and all it means. It is also clear, as the correspondent points out, that "one is not in a moral position to approach the 'army' until one has approach-

ed oneself to a standard of living the maintenance of which does not rely upon the army." But taken to its logical conclusion, even making of one's clothes and 'throwing' a pot involves living under the aegis of Fiat Britannia. As that hero rebel Thomas put it: "Whenever a man goes, man will pursue and paw him with their dirty institutions and, if they can, restrain him to belong to their degenerate odd-fellow society." Thus he said with reference to his imprisonment. He had retired to the woods, and refused to pay taxation, but as soon as "I went to the village to get a shoe from the cobbler's I was seized and put into jail, because, as I have elsewhere related, I did not pay a tax to, or recognise the authority of the State which buys and sells men, women and children, like cattle at the door of the slave-house." However, he was released the next day, obtained his needed shoe and returned to the woods. But by so doing he became an 'escapee'.

The problem was better stated by Gandhi when he was faced with the duty of serving in the War in 1914:

"While in England I was enjoying the protection of the British Fleet, and taking as I did shelter under its armed might, I was directly participating in its potential violence. Therefore, if I decided to retain my connection with the Empire and to live under its banner, one of the three courses was open to me. I could declare upon conscience in the war and, in accordance with the law of Non-Resistance, boycott the Empire until it changed its military policy so I could not participate with well understoodness of such of its law as were fit to be destroyed, or I could participate in the war on the side of the Empire and thereby express the capacity and fitness for meeting the violence of war. I hated the capacity and fitness, so I thought there was nothing for it but for me to serve in the war."

While Gandhi agreed then in 1914, I am sure he would not do so in the event of a similar situation overriding us in the near future, as it well might. The air raid precautions, the maintenance of the army, and all the other military preparations point to that eventually. And I am giving out as a secret when I say that he felt like speaking out—as indeed he did in private—as that black night in Bombay. He has laboured all these years, and helped the country to join in his labours, for opposing that capacity and fitness for meeting the violence of war. And it would thus not only be his right, but his duty, to make it the secret he felt himself equal to it.

Our correspondent's argument is flawless, and as a pacifist and with movement going on in front of his nose, it is his duty. If he has the will and the strength, to approach the conscripted uneducated worker and the 'army'. But for that purpose, he has to declare himself

not an 'excepted' rebel, but an active rebel. What exactly would be the opportune moment for this declaration he has to decide for himself. He has to be guided by his inner urge, an outside influence can be of any avail.

M. D.

Notes

Churches and Prohibition

Some months ago Gandhiji asked Dadasaheb C. F. Andrews to strengthen the feelings, and if possible to enlist the support, of the Christian Churches in India for Prohibition. As the work is after his own heart, he went out of his way in writing to all the Christian leaders in Great Britain and outside to help Gandhiji in the Prohibition campaign. With this end in view he sent a statement to REPRESENTATION, one of the important monthly reviews in Great Britain. As published in REPRESENTATION it runs up the case for Prohibition in Dadasaheb C. F. Andrews' telling way:

"In three important respects the drink problem of India differs from the West:

(1) There are no private hotel licenses. It is a Government monopoly.

(2) India is 10 per cent a village population.

(3) Opium is a serious problem (as we have seen) taken the place of liquor.

The only serious argument against the movement which I have heard brought forward is that illicit traffic may take the place of the present when order Government license.

The answer is that opium cannot be cultivated or manufactured without detection, and 'country liquor' cannot be secretly distilled at the village or against it. The main thing that makes us hopeful about Prohibition is this, that the villages as a whole are most eager for the liquor and opium shops to be closed.

The argument for Prohibition is this, that Hindoos and Moslems are definitely against the use of intoxicants, even in moderate quantities. All the Indian Christian leaders support Prohibition.

Those who suffer most are the women and children, who have to go without amusement and live a squalid and often a lifeless existence, while the men of the house spend everything on opium or liquor, and when home often drunk and with drink or opium with opium. Fortunately, as yet, in India there is very little drinking among the women. For this and other reasons, the prohibition movement has the overwhelming support of the women.

Now, then, does Mr. Gandhi content Prohibition with the Peace Movement? What is the link between them?

We regard the violence, which leads to War, essentially as due to the longing for the lower animal passions. One of the worst passions is those passions, which make men worse

than a wild beast, as the drug and liquor habit. For it destroys the very soul. Its poison is the fact that intoxication is the greatest cause of the world of violent crime, and that War is More Violence. Thus, in his opinion, the self-control, which total abstinence brings with it, leads directly to Peace. The loss of self-control on the other hand, which intoxication brings with it, leads on directly to War.

There is a further argument which touches Great Britain itself. "Do you, who are British," Mahatma Gandhi asks, "seek to hold India by force (i.e. by violence) or are you really seeking to allow her to take her freedom? If you are truly seeking the latter, and repudiating the former, then you ought to do all that is in your power to support this great prohibition movement, which is now sweeping over the country. For if it succeeds, it will give India that main freedom which is needed of this as to be free indeed."

For this simple reason, Mr. Gandhi has asked me to appeal to all the Christian leaders in Great Britain to help him in his campaign for the abolition both of drink and drugs."

The intimate connection of prohibition with non-violence has been very strikingly pointed out in this statement, and Dadasaheb C. F. Andrews thus made it a particular appeal to people in the West whose greatest concern is the prevention of another world war.

We have had a good response. Some of the Churches in India believe in prohibition and make total abstinence a condition for ordination by the Ministry. Among these are Great Britain who have expressed their sympathy and wished to express are: The Temperance Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales; Church of England Temperance Society; Central Officers of the Society of Friends; Temperance Council of the Christian Churches; the Salvation Army, which makes total abstinence a condition of membership; and so on. Some of these, I think, distinguish between prohibition and a restricted use of drink and drugs or temperance. But some are clearly for prohibition. For instance, Dr. Scott Lidgett of the German-Swiss Settlement wrote at once to say that "I am strongly in support of the Prohibition movement in India which you explain to me. I am quite sure it will have the strong support also of the Free Churches in this country generally and of Methodism in particular." The Board of Bishops of the Church over which the Metropolitan presided has strongly endorsed Prohibition. That FRIEND, the Quaker weekly, supports the Prohibition campaign wholeheartedly and appeals to the fund-raisers to do something voluntarily to help in "this great effort."

"We view with wholehearted sympathy the determination of the Congress Party in India to abolish the drink evil. Even those Temperance reformers who are opposed on principle to

Prohibition in such countries as America and Britain will feel that their objectives do not hold good in the spread circumstances of India.

Gandhi believes that Prohibition will become an activity well within the three year' period of the present Ministry, and that the provinces which have anti-Congress majorities will not hesitate to follow suit. 'Is it too much,' he asks, 'to expect the States to fall in with British India?'

Madras has already published its Prohibition Bill of 41 clauses. It is not an experiment in legislation, but a definite and settled purpose. 'Just what it says, the drink and more to be stopped.' Reflections of drink will cease in plenty of cases, but attempts are being made to deal with cases of hardship or inconvenience. For instance, medical requirements and alcohol for scientific and industrial purposes are not to be prohibited, and 'the difficulties in regard to foreign liquor imports are to be met by a special system with fixed maximum quantities for individuals where need be checked. Liquor is supplied by Government (Tamil the 'foreigner' is something whimsical to help in this great effort).

Finally, Gandhi says he has the right to expect the sympathy and support of all Indians and Europeans, and appeals to the best mind of the whole world in this, perhaps, the greatest moral movement of the century. Is the moral consciousness of the world going to support him or to let him down?

Are We Serious?

But whether foreigners respond or not, and whether some may or may not distinguish between prohibition and temperance, are the Congressmen determined to bring it about? The Provincial Legislatures are introducing prohibition in selected districts with a view ultimately to extending it to the whole province. But that is not enough, unless the will to prohibition expresses itself in the private and public acts of all who claim to be known as Congressmen. Now here is a letter from a member of the Council of State that is particularly disturbing:

"There are so many things that have been done. Parties, luncheons, dinners by members of the Council Legislature are no instance. Some days back I had an occasion to be invited to a dinner party given by a Member belonging to the Congress party. In the dinner, arrangements for vegetarian and non-vegetarian diet were made. But what surprised me most was the presence of drink. When the Congress is pledged to Prohibition, when the Prohibition campaign is launched in the Congress provinces, is it right for a Congress Member to arrange for drink?'

One would have thought that the question should not need to be asked, and that the Member in question might have expressed his disapproval by withdrawing from the function,

Do the Members in the Central Assembly and the Council of State regard themselves as outside the pale of the Congress programme as being carried out in the provinces? Or is the Congress programme binding on them wherever they may be? Let them leave that to the late Vithaldas Patil, who led the honour of studying Government and even the Viceroy to luncheon or dinner, carried out the prohibition programme to the letter. I have impression that he went the length of making the luncheon or dinner strictly vegetarian. The other day when the Finance Minister came a dinner to the Finance Minister it was a strictly non-fire and alcohol-free dinner, and when the Governor of Madras passed the Madras District some time ago, he issued special instructions that in no functions in his honour should wines be served.

In his Exhibition Speech at Harpura Gandhi drew at length on the worst of drink, and said that Governors had dared to defy the Ministers because we had not annihilated the worst of drink. One wonders how many who call themselves Congressmen have annihilated the worst of being a 'Congressman'.

"The Power of Non-violence"

I take the following extract from a recent letter to Gandhi from Richard Gregg whom he has met. The *Power of Non-violence* has been published in India for the first time by the Narayana Publishing House, Ahmedabad:

"A few days ago I was delighted to read in the *New York Times*, and I hope it is a true report, that the Government had announced that you shall become all the Bengal detainers, and that Government will release those whom you certify to have given up their weapons. That will be a vast task for you, but of enormous value to the country and to the general atmosphere. May God bless you in the work. I wondered whether possibly my book in *The Power of Non-violence* might help some of the detainers who may have been much influenced by Western ideas to see the value of the non-violent way. I know it expressed several British sentiments, and has elicited the assurance of some American commentators. For example, the person who has come here was the signifying secretary of E. H. Shepherd's Inner Temple there was a comment until my book did the job of conversion. Also it has converted one British flying officer and one British naval officer, both of whom I know personally. But I want you also the public statement of the press of the movement written by Captain R. B. Liddell Hart, who is a leader with no military strategy and the military advice of the *London Times*. He came to that opinion after making my book, he perhaps the most of argument contained in it might help some of the Indian Indian believers in violence, or might at least help to strengthen their faith after you convert them. I should be happy if the book could also be of use in India."

It is very likely that what the book has done with non-violence in non-violence in the West, it may do with them in India. The essential condition is to approach the book with an open mind and in a spirit of truth. This is not to say that those who accept the creed of non-violence need not read the book. Few who accept the creed realize its implications, and even reason out why exactly it is superior to the creed of violence. They should all go to this book for a most dispassionate and scientific statement of the case expounded by one who is not only a believer in non-violence in theory but whose life is a conscious effort to live non-violently in every-day life.

H D

HAKIPURA NOTES

(Continued from p. 45)

the camp. Much work must not be expected to be done after dark.

"Motors and motor lorries are a nuisance, but education for the villagers, distributing of posts, a hindrance to the proper despatch of work, and obstacles to the raising of dust. The clearance of two miles or less from a railway station must be maintained on foot or by bullock carts. Motor bus prohibition traffic should be permitted inside the camp.

"The site selected for the Congress should be a solid square block as far as possible. This will ensure a compact camp avoiding long distances between one end of the camp to the other. The lay-out can be round the quadrangle where the open market is to take place.

"There should be one common kitchen, from where food should be served at stated prices per measure, not to be eaten on the spot but to be taken to the place of residence of the diner.

"If these provisions are not observed, the whole idea of 'village' Congress for their education and for establishing a living and cultural contact between the city-dweller and the villager, is likely to be frustrated."

H D

(To be continued)

The Report on Education

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THE BUDGETS

(By J. G. Khandekar)

In all so-called democratic countries the executive presents its annual budget to the legislature. This faculty is usually eagerly availed of by the people as it is supposed to reflect accurately the policy of the Government to be pursued during the year. This is more or less true only where the executive has full control over the purse. Under the present Constitution in India, such control is practically limited to the Central Exchequer which is not subject to any democratic control. In the provinces where autonomy is sold to have been inaugurated the budget is a 'Party Cash Budget'. While such may distantly indicate the general trends of the party in office it cannot effectively give expression to the policy to be followed.

Budgets in Congress Provinces

Even a cursory glance at the Congress Provincial Budgets in spite of all restrictions shows an earnest striving to serve the noblest causes. Provision for water-supply, sanitation, education, reduction in grazing fees, supply of improved seeds, training of workers, educational reform, rural uplift schemes, support to cottage industries, and many such measures represent the direction in which the Congress wishes to work in face of tremendous odds and handicaps. Again, on the economy side, attempts are made to reduce such wasteful expenditure as the salaries to the bails, payment of unreasonably large salaries, etc. Although the sources of income in the provinces are limited, yet their audacity falls in the good that will ultimately result from executing the detail will has given these Governments the courage to take a determined stand for prohibition.

The Old Tradition

As a carry-over from the old times we find one or two Congressmen providing for milk and training of the police. It must be remembered that milk was in our country an mostly imported and varied interests press for this programme to be introduced more to increase their markets than for any good there may be to the villagers. As it is villages are very eager to follow, but what goes in through one ear passes out through the other and, therefore, while there are some pouring milk there are also some who should not be installed. Definite good in the way of milk education can only be done in villages by persons with a vision living in the village and helping them. The lives of such persons will be a living model and an unforgettable lesson to the people. No milk act can create such action. Of course in some cases the Central Government has undertaken to supply the milk. That makes no difference as the funds of the Centre are also from the taxpayers.

Air Service

The air plane schemes are even more stupor-inducible. Lately the Government has introduced its Mail Service with certain countries without any extra payment. This is definitely a loss to the villager who never writes letters to foreign countries. The benefit from this service goes mainly to foreigners and merchants in foreign trade. This part of the public is well capable of looking after itself, and the capacity to pay for any extra service it gets is also great. Therefore there is no reason why the ordinary taxpayer should be burdened with the cost of this concession to the rich. We would do well to remember the history of the Railways. They were brought in to expand the steel industry of Manchukuo, and now they are the means of draining the country of raw materials and flooding the countryside with foreign manufactured goods. Today they carry merchandise, tomorrow they can transport troops. Similarly the Air Service developed at the cost of the public can be used for bombing the very people who helped to build it up. Any Far Eastern Government that supports this plan unconsciously subsidizes the Military Budget of the Centre.

Central Budget

Criticism has been levelled at the Congress Governments that they have not introduced planned economy. The prerequisite of planning is a reasonable personality of those in office. This the Congress has not got, being faced with all the safeguards and the possibility of an irresponsible Federal Government. Unless there is a united policy governing the Centre as well as the Provinces, a planned economy will be a fiasco. The present Central Executive is jawdally guarding its rights to lay down its policies itself. All the Congress Provincial Government Budgets put together hardly cover half the amount of the Central Budget, and what is more, the Centre has to be made the more important national policies—Military, Customs, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, Currency, etc., which are all more or less in the form of subsidies to centralized industries. Economists who talk of the products of centralized industries being cheaper than the products of decentralized industries exhibit their ignorance of Public Finance. Cottage industries get no benefit under the present system. If anything they are only handicapped, while the centralized industries stand to gain by the expenditures of our Central Government under the above heads. The Military expenditure is a subsidy, Railways with the de-subsidizing freight rates is a subsidy, Customs duties are also subsidies. In these ways the Central Government help amounts to (1) have not got the exact figure of land about 340 acres, while our merchants trade in only about 150 acres. That is for an article sold at Rs. 3 the Government helps to the extent of Rs. 2. Can we

wonder that centralized products will at a cheaper price? Can we wonder that the Central Executive guards with such great meticulousness its power as will give centralized industries to effect a 40 per cent subsidy at the cost of the taxpayer?

How it Works

Several months ago while I was at Colaba-I was told that rice from Japan was under-selling India and Cutchabara rice at Mangalore. Enquiry showed that this 'Japanese rice' was really Bangkok rice. This fact made it very interesting. Further probing brought out the fact that Japan bought this rice from Bangkok and took it to Japan at harvest time to Japanese boats to control rice prices, and after that function was fulfilled shipped that rice to Mangalore, and dumped it for what price it could get. This under-selling, therefore, was not a proof of Japanese efficient production, but the difference in price is made good at the cost of the Japanese taxpayer. Similarly when raw materials are sent from India to England to a steady stream and at cheap rates, the low cost of production is largely due to the force with which these factors are controlled. Take away the army, the navy and the air force, railway control and shipping imports, the banking facilities and the tariffs, it will be impossible to sell foreign imports in India, and still more so if our customs were manipulated in favour of cottage industries. It is true standardized goods can be produced cheaper, but this advantage is more than offset by the greater demand for helpless goods.

Industrialization and Public Finance

From these considerations it also follows that industrialization is not possible without the power to create these artificial barriers.

Because of this handicap of not controlling central finance it is not possible to carry out nationwide schemes of industrial improvement. In the face of such difficulties even the little attempt to help the production of villagers deserves high praise.

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CONTENTS	Page
MANUSCRIPTS—7	M. D. 45
THE FORTY-THREE	M. D. 46
THE FORTY-THREE	—1.0 Manuscript—7
THE FORTY-THREE	—
CHANDRAKANT AND PANDIT	M. D. 46
AND THE FORTY-THREE	M. D. 46
THE FORTY-THREE	M. D. 46



HARIJAN

1140

Two Pages

Editor: MAMABEY DOLAL

Under the Auspices of The Harijan League

VOL. VI No. 7]

POONA - SATURDAY, MARCH 24, 1940

[ONE ANNA

WARDHA SCHEME OF EDUCATION

The Wardha Scheme Committee has submitted to Government the detailed syllabus of studies in accordance with the Wardha scheme of education. The Committee explains the implications of the various details of the syllabus, in a covering letter which runs as follows:

MAMABEY,

In presenting the graded syllabus of Basic Education which you wanted us to prepare, we should like to clear up certain points which have caused, or may occasion, misunderstanding. To those who have not clearly grasped the ideas and principles underlying this syllabus:

In the first place, it is necessary to appreciate the limitations under which we have worked. A syllabus of this kind, which aims at a far-reaching reorganisation of educational practice, really requires a background of fairly extensive experimental work in the lines indicated in our Report, because it is only after such practical experience that all the possible correlations can be confidently worked out. While we have done our best in preparing this syllabus and fully utilised our collective experience as teachers, as well as the suggestions received from friends, we must point out that this should be regarded as a tentative scheme which we have drawn up to show that the principle of co-related teaching, which we have advocated in our Report, can be worked out in practice and translated into the terms of the curriculum. But we hope that as teachers in our primary schools and colleges and in the new schools of basic education begin to work out the scheme substantially and record their observations and experiences, it will be possible to improve the syllabus progressively. Such an experienced attitude of mind on the part of the teachers is essential for the success and efficiency of this educational scheme.

We have given the detailed grade placements of the subjects for the seven stages of the basic school in order to show that, with planning and working on the basic craft (selected for Khatus). Still, it is possible to reflect the essential subject matter in language, mathematics, social studies, general science and drawing, within the time available for the purpose, and to connect

this with the craft work in a considerable extent. This will show that, on the one hand, the subject matter selected is not excessive (as some critics of the scheme have made out) and, on the other hand, no really significant parts of a national curriculum have been omitted.

We have also given the detailed grade placements of two other basic crafts suggested in our Report—Agriculture and Woodwork. These syllabuses were prepared for us by experts outside our Committee, so none of us had the necessary knowledge for doing so. Leaving aside the details of these syllabuses, we are confident that the contents of the general curriculum would also be correlated or covered through either of these two basic crafts.

In order to work out an effective and natural co-relation of the various subjects and to make the syllabus a means of adjusting the child intelligently and actively to his environment, we have chosen three centres, intrinsically interconnected, as the focal for the curriculum, i.e., the Physical Environment, the Social Environment, and Craft Work which is their natural meeting point since it utilizes the resources of the former for the purposes of the latter. With a view to demonstrating how the subject matter selected is co-related with these three centres, we have also given, besides the grade placements, a separate indication of how the various parts of the curriculum can be correlated with the basic craft of spinning and weaving. This will also, incidentally, answer the criticism that the scheme is not child-centred,—a criticism which is based on ignorance of one of the most strongly stressed points in our Report. We have also given, as an appendix, a chart prepared by one of our colleagues, showing graphically how the entire syllabus is intimately co-related. We had to understand how this scheme, based on activity and the study of the child's physical and social environment, can be less child-centred than the present education which is entirely book-centred!

It is essential for all teachers and educational workers to note that we have not attempted to draft an 'activity curriculum', which implies that our schools must be places of work and experimentation and discovery, not of passive absorption of information imparted at second-hand. So far as the curriculum is con-

around, we have stressed this principle by advocating that all teaching should be carried on through concrete life situations relating to craft or to social and physical environment, so that whatever the child learns becomes assimilated into his growing activity.

It should be noted in this connection that in the preparation of this syllabus, we have attempted to organize the subject-matter into sequential and comprehensive units of experience, which will, when mastered, enable the child to understand his environment better and to read it in a more intelligently, because they throw helpful light on the problems and conditions of life around him. We are conscious of the fact that there is much scope for improvement in the actual units selected, but we are confident that this is the right approach to the syllabus, rather than the current practice of making it a collection of unrelated and unwholesome facts having no direct bearing on children's experience or on social life. The syllabus in Social Studies and General Science will stress this principle.

When, for instance, work in Social Studies or General Science is related to Drawing, and the knowledge of History and Geography enriches the child's understanding and appreciation of his craft, when Drawing and Agriculture are an integral part of his education, the school should become an active centre of experience and of abundant life.

But the working of this curriculum is in itself a problem of great importance, and demands intelligent alertness and co-operation on the part of the teachers, for even the best of curricula can be made more dead letter. If the method of teaching and discipline adopted are not inspired by the spirit of activity in order to initiate, therefore, how the full possibilities of this curriculum can be exploited, it seems necessary to point out, by way of illustration, the method to be adopted in the approach to some of the subjects included in the curriculum. For if subjects such as Social Studies and General Science are presented by the teachers as catalogues of facts to be passively accepted and learnt up by the children, the whole object of the syllabus will be defeated, and they will entirely fail to appreciate the real nature of the correlation amongst the various subjects. This can only be realised when they are acquired through real learning situations involving self-activity on the children's part.

In the syllabus of Mother Tongue, for example, we have attempted to stress both the creative and utilitarian values of language and therefore, the teacher must organise his real work as well as his reading material round the actual real growing life and interests of his children so that they may gradually

(1) observe and describe the different processes of the subject crafts and the life of their homes, villages and school;

(2) write simple business and personal letters as a normal activity of social life;

(3) keep a daily record of progress in the book headwords;

(4) help in the editing of a school magazine and the preparation of a daily news bulletin;

(5) make a clear and accurate speech of a reasonable duration on some topic of general interest;

(6) appreciate beautiful literature.

This suggests not only a principle for the selection of topics in the History lessons, but also stresses the close connection of the mother tongue with craft work, social studies and village life and activities. The method of teaching must, therefore, be such as will give the child a mastery of his mother tongue as a tool not only for learning but for use in actual life situations.

Similarly, the syllabus in Social Studies is an attempt to adjust the child to his social environment, both in space—which is the function of Geography—and in time—which is the function of History. Cities, which stand partly at the giving of intellectual understanding of the present-day problems and partly at developing the right social and intellectual attitudes, has also been included as an integral part of this syllabus. It requires an intelligent study of the child's immediate environment and his subject lessons, as well as the development in school of self-governing institutions and the organisation as a genuine co-operative community involving mutual obligations and distribution of duties and responsibilities.

The teaching of these subjects should not only be closely co-ordinated, but it should spring from actual social situations—the child's home, his village, his occupations and crafts—and then be extended and enriched by stories of primitive life and ancient civilisations, and by showing how different ways of life and work have developed under different social and geographical conditions. The teaching of geography and nature study in the lower classes should, for example, be entered round the different seasons which provide a starting point for observing natural phenomena, and the intelligent teacher will take care that the children make their early acquaintance with all these phenomena through active personal observation, recording, gathering, handling of pots, odd survey of the locality. But it is necessary, throughout the course, to ensure that the child requires his knowledge actively and utilizes it for the understanding and better control of his social environment. Hence the need for correlating the school with the activities of the community life around, which we have also stressed in the Report.

In order to make Mathematics real and active, we have indicated how its various processes can be correlated with the various craft processes, and it is equally possible to work out their connection with facts learned in the Social Studies and General Science courses. If the children learn their four simple rules by actually working out the problems which arise in their craft work and gardening and by dealing with figures which will also throw light on the economic and social facts of their village or town or country, if there is practical measuring and field-work and calculations of expenditure and rural industries, the learning of mathematics not only becomes an active process, but also a means of interpreting and understanding the social environment.

As a further illustration of the principle of coordination, we should like to make a special mention of physical education. So far as the described aspect of physical education is concerned, the children will gain the necessary knowledge of Physiology, Hygiene and Dietetics through their General Science courses. As for practical training, the entire work of the school, involving craft-processes, games, gardening and other methods of learning, has been envisaged as an aid to the development of the child's health and physical vigour.

We have not drafted a regular syllabus for music, because in this scheme of basic education, it may not be possible to give scientific disciplines to study to all children. What we recommend, however, is that in all classes there should be a course of songs singing, set to standard tunes and time, with an elementary acquaintance with the principal Indian ragas and talas. The songs suitable for children between seven and fourteen should be carefully selected and should include national songs, folk songs, devotional songs, seasonal and festive songs. The syllabus should also include a few songs in simple, quick rhythms suitable for group singing in connection with their craft-work and physical training. Such selections in various languages may be issued from time to time, out of which the teachers may make their choice.

It is possible to multiply such examples in connection with each aspect of the syllabus, but it is not necessary to do so. These examples should suffice to show that there is an intrinsic unity of method and curriculum which cannot be ignored, and that this syllabus will help in the training of intelligent, practical and co-operative citizens only if it is approached in the spirit indicated above.

We welcome the criticisms and objections which we have received on which have appeared in the press, because they show that teachers and public men have given thought to our scheme. But we feel that many of the objections raised are based on a misunderstanding of the basis

of the scheme. We would therefore like, with your permission, to refer to the more important points raised.

1. Much criticism has been directed against the amount of time devoted to craft work, and it has been argued that academic work will be starved in consequence. Without subscribing to the implied dualism between practical and academic work, we would point out that the time allotted to the basic craft is not meant to be spent only on the mechanical practice of the craft but oral work, drawing and expression work, naturally connected with it, as well as instruction in the why and wherefore of the processes involved, i.e. their scientific and technical understanding, which is one important scientific aspect of craft work, will also be given during this time. This is clearly implied in our scheme of threefold coordination.

Moreover, as pointed out in the Report, the object of the scheme is "not primarily to produce craftsmen able to practice their craft mechanically, but to exploit the resources implied in craft work for educative purposes,"—the adoption of the activity method should ensure the attainment of this objective.

2. Some people are alarmed because there is no reference in this scheme to secondary or higher education, forgetting that our terms of reference were confined to a seven years' scheme of basic education only, and they are apprehensive that we want to limit the facilities for higher education. We have only to point out that this is a scheme of universal and compulsory basic education for those who are qualified to receive it; and when that scheme is drawn up, it will have to be co-ordinated with the scheme of basic education, so as to ensure continuity as well as proper intellectual equipment for those who are to proceed further with their education.

3. The scheme has also been criticised because it contemplates the child's education beginning at the age of seven, which is argued as being too late. In the Report we have made it clear that we recognise the importance of pre-school education and envisage the possibility of its introduction on a voluntary basis, with State help where possible. But in view of the present financial and other considerations we have not dignified us including it as a part of our compulsory scheme. Moreover, we have chosen the 7-14 age range because we consider it absolutely essential to keep the child at school until he is fourteen, in order to ensure that he will receive the essential minimum of social and civic training—where, for psychological reasons, it is not possible earlier—in order to become a better citizen, that his literary training will be thorough enough to make a lapse into illiteracy impossible, and that he will acquire sufficient skill in his basic craft to

(Continued on p. 16)

H A R I J A N

Vol. 20

1898

OUR FAILURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The communal riots in Allahabad—the best quarters of the Congress, and the necessity of summoning the assistance of the police and even the military show that the Congress has not yet become fit to substitute the British authority. It is best to face the naked truth however unpleasant it may be.

The Congress claims to represent the whole of India, not merely those few who are on the Congress register. It should represent even those who are hostile to it and who will even crush it, if they could. Not until we make good that claim, shall we be in a position to displace the British Government and function as an independent nation.

This proposition holds good whether we seek to displace British rule by violent action or non-violence.

Most probably by the time these lines appear in print peace would have been established in Allahabad and the other parts. That, however, will not take us further in our examination of the fitness of the Congress as an organisation ready to displace British authority in its entirety.

No Congressman will seriously doubt that the Congress is not at the present moment capable of delivering the goods if it was called upon to do so. If it was capable, it would not wait for the call. Not every Congressman believes that the Congress is fast becoming such a body. The brilliant success at Haripura will be cited as the most conclusive proof of the fact.

The riots and certain other things I can mention should make us pause and ask ourselves whether the Congress is really growing from strength to strength. I must own that I have been guilty of laying that claim. Have I been overhasty in doing so?

It is my conviction that the phenomenal growth of the Congress is due to its acceptance and enforcement, however imperfect of the policy of non-violence. Time has arrived to consider the nature of Congress non-violence. Is it non-violence of the weak and the helpless or of the strong and the powerful? If it is the former, it will never take us to our goal and, if long practised, may even render us fit for only self-government. The weak and helpless are non-violent in action because they must be. But in reality they harbour violence in their hearts and simply wait opportunity for its display. It is necessary for Congressmen individually and collectively to examine the

quality of their non-violence. If it does not come out of real strength, it would be best and honest for the Congress to make such a declaration and make the necessary changes in its behaviour.

By this time, I, a, after seventeen years' practice of non-violence, the Congress should be able to put forth a non-violent army of volunteers numbering not a few thousands but men who would be equal to every occasion when the police and the military are required. Thus, instead of one brave Punditpallab Gupta, who died in the attempt to secure peace, we should be able to produce hundreds. And a non-violent army of men armed men, as well in times of peace as of disturbances. They would be constantly engaged in constructive activities that make riots impossible. These will be the duty of making arrangements for bringing warring communities together, carrying on peace propaganda, engaging in activities that would bring and keep them in touch with every single person, male and female, adult and child, in their parish or district. Such an army should be ready to cope with any emergency, and in order to still the frenzy of mobs should risk their lives in numbers sufficient for the purpose. A few hundred, maybe a few thousand, such spineless deaths will save for all yet to come in the years. Surely a few hundred young men and women giving themselves deliberately to such fury will be any day a cheap and better method of dealing with such madness than the display and use of the police and the military.

It has been suggested that when we have our independence riots and the like will not come. This seems to me to be an empty hope. If in the course of the struggle for freedom we do not understand and use the technique of non-violent action in every conceivable circumstance. To the extent that the Congress Ministers have been obliged to make use of the police and the military, to that extent, in my opinion, we must admit our failure. That the Ministers could not have done otherwise is unfortunately only too true. I should like every Congressman, I should like the Working Committee, to ask themselves why we have failed, if they think with me that we have.

Hind Swami,

By Gandhiji

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SWADESHI INDUSTRIES AND DISCRIMINATION

The discrimination clause in the new Constitution has been the subject of much discussion of late, and naturally so. For that is one of the many vicious features of the new Constitution which make Federalism unacceptable. There would seem to be no doubt about what Gandhi meant when he insisted on the insertion of the words 'in the interests of India' in the Agreement which is now known as the Irwin-Gandhi Pact. An authentic commentary on the words was provided by the clause in the Agreement granting the right of Indians to picket all foreign cloth shops. Does the exclusion of all foreign cloth, which necessarily includes British cloth, mean discrimination against the British cloth manufacturers? Lord Irwin did not think so. In the same way about all other industries which were killed or nearly killed in order that British industries may be reared on their side. Is that a friend draws my attention to the fact that whilst Lord Irwin recognised the principle in 1931 it was recognised as long ago as 1854 by Sir William Clarke, the then Member for Commerce and Industry of the Government of India. In supporting the resolution for the appointment of the Industrial Commission, he said "The building up of industries where the capital, control and management should be in the hands of Indians is the special object we all have in view" and he viewed with dis favour a situation created by "the manufacturers who are competing with you from a distance," transferring "his activities to India and competing with you within your own country."

To make the whole thing clear once for all and to have Gandhi's authoritative opinion on this matter and his definition of Swadeshi Industries, three representatives of the South Ocean Navigation Company had an interview with him at Rajmud some days ago. They seemed to be worried by the following among a number of things:

(1) The discrimination clause. They cited from Gandhi's article in *Yugto* Extra entitled *The Ghost and the Dwarf* the following statements:

"To talk of no discrimination between Indian interests and English or European is to perpetuate Indian bondage. What is equality of rights between a giant and a dwarf? Before one can think of equality between elephants, the dwarf must be added to the height of the giant. It will be a misnomer to call the process one of racial discrimination. There is no such question. There is race enough in our country for every British man, woman and child. If they will shed their privileged position and share our lot." And again: "In choosing every word of life the Englishman by reason of his belonging to the ruling class occupies a privileged position. It can be said without fear of contradiction and without exaggeration that he has done upon the

ruin of India's commerce and industries. The wrongdoings of India had to perish in order that Locomotives might flourish. The Indian shipping had to perish, so that British shipping might flourish."

Is the shipping not to revive and rise to its full height in a free India?

(2) What are Indians or Swadeshi Companies? It has become a familiar sawdust to hearabout the sawney people by adding "(Indis) Limited" to full-blooded British concerns. Lovers Brothers (Indis) Limited have their factories here now. They claim to produce swadeshi soap, and have already valued several large and small soap factories in Bengal. Then there is the Imperial Chemicals (Indis) Ltd which has secured valuable concessions. This is dumping foreign industries instead of foreign goods on us!

(3) Then there are companies with Indian Directors with British Managing Agents who direct the Directors. Would you call a company with a large percentage of Indian capital and a large number of Indian Directors on the Board but with a non-Indian Managing Director or non-Indian firm as Managing Agents, a Swadeshi concern?

Gandhi dealt with these points fully exhaustively in his reply which may be summarised below as his own words:

"(1) On this point I am glad you have concluded me of my article written in 1931. I still hold the same view, and have no doubt that a Free India will have the right to discriminate—if that word must be used—against foreign interests, wherever Indian interests need it.

"(2) As regards the definition of a Swadeshi company, I would say that only those concerns can be regarded as Swadeshi whose control, direction and management either by a Managing Director or by Managing Agents are in Indian hands. I should have no objection to the use of foreign capital, or to the employment of foreign talent, when such are not available in India, or when we need them,—but only on condition that such capital and such talents are exclusively under the control, direction and management of Indians and are used in the interests of India.

"But the use of foreign capital or talent is one thing, and the dumping of foreign industrial concerns is totally another thing. The concerns you have named cannot in the strictest sense of the term be called Swadeshi. Rather than countenance these ventures, I would prefer the development of the industries in question to be delayed by a few years in order to permit national capital and enterprise to grow up and build such industries in future under the strict control, direction and management of Indians themselves.

"(3) Answer to this is contained in my answer on the second point."

HARIPURA NOTES

VI

An Oribolus?

I have had several letters from friends and other correspondents about my articles on Haripura. The gist of some of these is that I have been over-critical and that I have deliberately suppressed the bright side of the picture. I do not think the remark is just or fair to me. Let me say again that though I have not had the privilege of working with the number of friends who worked there, I cannot for a moment forget that I am one of them, and that had I been in Gujarat I should have worked side by side with them. It would therefore not have been proper for me to sing the praises of my friends and colleagues. And how many was I to pick out for special mention, when all worked shoulder to shoulder and in forgetfulness of the fact that any of them had these special contributions to make? And what more need be said about the bright side than that the Congress was a unique example of organization, discipline and order? But one of the letters says that whilst I might have omitted the names of Kanchhai, Kalyansinghai, Narayanbhai, Nathuram and a host of others, I ought to have made special mention of Sh. Karmachar, the famous sculptor who modelled that great bust of Vithalshah Patel. "He is not a Gujarati, and Gujarat owes him a debt. Neither the Rastriya nor Dadharsilchani are Sahasibhai said a word about his great work. The artist did the work in an incredibly short time and made a gift of the work to the Congress. The huge bust is now one in the best of its kind in India. It is 4 tons in weight, it was executed in less than six days' time, and is worth ten to fifteen thousand rupees. It is a rare gift to the nation, and ought to have been suitably recognized." I gladly publish the letter and by doing so repeat an unintentional omission. I am sure that the artist who did the work as a labour of love and gifted it to the nation does not need any recognition. That the work was extremely skilful was better than any formal recognition. So far as I remember Dadharsilchani did mention Shri Karmachar's name with great pride, but even if he or anyone else did not, I was quite sure that they regarded him as one of them as they did Shri Nandabhai as one them, or Shri Ramdas Gajani. Neither of the two are Gujaratis. After all is said and done, it is not so much a question of Gujaratis and Maharshtiras. Matter India and the Congress bring us back to Shri Karmachar as to the other workers, and Shri Karmachar honoured himself as much as he honoured the Congress by the gift of his talent and work.

A Characteristic Letter

Here is a letter which I should not withhold from the public. It presents one side of the

picture that is likely to escape notice, because we have now been accustomed to take it for granted. The writers are six young Rajputs. This is what they say:

"All the six of us are Musaga (servants) but in Haripura we hoped that we were Musaga. In Vithalshah an one seemed to worry about him as any other person's sons. We lived there as smoothly and intimately as the heads of a family. We went where we liked, we ate where we liked. There was no law against us in the kitchen nor in the bath, nor for that matter in any other place. What shall such a thing be accounted in India? How we wish the whole of India could be a Vithalshah. What surprised us was that we went there as visitors and those who served us as servants were those belonging to higher Hindu caste. It was a sight to watch these pretty men and women come out with lamps in their hands every morning. If the work of serving was made voluntary, if it resulted in good a wage or any other honourable work, immediately would be a thing of the past and cleanliness would be the order of the day. To us Vithalshah was an eye-opener. We are proud of it, we were glad that we went there, and are the work for which the Swami, Dadharsilchani, Kanchhai and others had asked for service."

How one wishes the friends' dream of the whole of India becoming one vast Vithalshah would soon come true.

A Few Facts and Figures

I have already mentioned the services of the auxiliary volunteers. I have now received facts and figures about them which are most interesting. The total number of auxiliary volunteers were 1,284—112 women and 1,172 men. They were all drawn from well-known educational institutions and villages and as such had experience of the work. There were 42 such institutions which gave their quota,—institutions situated in various parts of Gujarat and Kathiawar. There are some villages where workers have settled and are regularly carrying on the work. Their work has told and the villages also sent good volunteers. Worthy of special mention among these villages are: Muan, Nohari, Nohai, Kanchipura, Solhi, Vithal, Varad, Pignora, Varada, Qatadhar, Samaras, Panchtalwada. Out of the total of 1,284 volunteers, 114 were teachers, and 711 were students. Among these again 3 were women teachers and 32 were girl students. These are divided according to their age as under:

Age	Men	Women	Total
18 and above	628	14	642
15-17	543	32	575
14 and under	71	64	135
	1,242	110	1,352

Among these again 321 were volunteers and 42 women volunteers belonged to the so-called

lower strata of society—Harjans, Punjabi Tribes, Dalits, etc., which are now waking up under the Congress influence.

This is the period for which they served:

	Men	Women
4 weeks and over	13	
7 " " " "	30	
8 " " " "	20	
9 " " " "	49	
10 " " " "	50	43
11 " " " "	114	37
12 " " " "	148	52
13 " " " "	11	1
	1,254	119

The work was divided into various departments—regular paper and drill, internal management, statement of work to groups, etc. Shri Jagatram Datta and Shri Manmohan Pradhan were able assisted by co-workers like Chinnabhai Bharti, Subodhrai, Shalini Patel, Ramabhai Mehta, Kishorlal Patel, Rajeshwar Keshavnath. All these were excellent soldiers. The last one belonging to the forward-class, like inspired enthusiasm in all the workers drawn from that tribe. Shrikrishna Ganesha Vidya bore the brunt of keeping all the women volunteers together and looked after the health of everyone in the camp, running a little dispensary and hospital herself.

Shri Bhatia Bala one day asked me whether we could get together all these volunteers without difficulty. He was especially surprised when I told him that they were all pitted men and women, and that scores of applications had to be rejected. Any provision would be proud of such a force of disciplined workers. They should not rest on their laurels after Harjans, but must keep their capacity for work to the hilt so that they may, when they are called upon, respond to the call for enlistment in a forthcoming army.

Accounts

I have had postally letters from people who fear that there should be some gross mismanagement if the Reception Committee were to sustain a heavy loss. There has been no mismanagement and God willing there will be no losses. The management of a huge number of this character will always have something to be desired, and at the rush and hurry of work certain things are done which could be done better in quieter times. But let everyone rest assured that the accounts were very carefully kept, there was continuous auditing, and every pit rectified and remedied will be accounted for. A correspondent enquired: "My estimate of the people present in the camp is two lakhs. And you say that only Rs. 50,000 odd have been realized by sale of tickets. There must have been something wrong somewhere." Now, where's the good of making guesses when we have actual figures of tickets sold? Here they are.

	Rs.	paise	No.	Rs.
1,118	"	"	5	55.90
1,290	"	"	3	21.30
21,267	"	"	1	21.00
248	"	"	5-8	3.40
22,071	"	"	5	250.00
18 (for one day) Rs. 1				18
Miscellaneous Receipts				120
				Rs. 48,917.40

It must be realized that over and above these there were 1,800 members of the Reception Committee, nearly 15,000 workers, and some 5,000 press and complimentary ticket holders. The last number might have been much smaller, but there was no mismanagement. Three thousands expected outside the period as they could listen very well from the inside. The receipts from the sale of Subjunct Committee tickets amounted to Rs. 22,000, and from the Exhibition, as we have already seen, Rs. 25,000 odd. It may also be noted that Shri Keshavnath, with a good few workers, is still seated in the office at Harjans disposing of the goods used and unused, and of the miscellanea remaining of the Camp. He is bringing to bear on this work all the vigilance that is necessary, and it is expected that when the final accounts are sent there will be no loss. The goods have been disposed of at fair prices, many of them have been taken by the British community and foodstuffs and provisions have been sold at specially cheap prices to the poor Harjans people who are as happy over the bargain as they were over the wages.

An Explanation

I had, at Gandhiji's suggestion, requested the workers in Harjans to send their own remarks about future Congress, errors to be avoided and so on. Shri Bhatia Bala, the engineer who planned Vahinagar, writes a revealing letter:

"The cause of the heavy expenditure at Harjans was the extensive work in which everything was planned. The intention of the master of mine to be accomplished proved, as I now feel, to be wrong. Thus the Congress period was estimated to accommodate 10,000 people but not more than 50,000 people might otherwise. The Subjunct Committee period also proved to be much too big and a third of the space was left empty. In the previous' Indian there was accommodation for three lakhs of people. But more than a lakh of people must have been fed. The lands were planned to supply 10,000 gallons of water an hour. This supply, it was found, was needed for only 5000 men even here in the day and during the rest of the time not more than 20 to 30 thousand gallons were expended. The extensive planning scarcely took more material but more labourers and more resources.

I would humbly suggest that no more accommodation should be provided than for the following:

1,000 delegates
1,000 visitors
1,000 workers and volunteers.

Feasting and lodging arrangements for the rest of the visitors should be made independently of the Executive Committee. This will substantially limit the space and the expenses."

I will let Charles' comment on this when he starts writing the HAWAIIAN But that Charles' explanation is worthy of consideration.

M D

WARREN'S SCHEME OF EDUCATION

(Continued from p. 51)

gives it successfully if he adopts it as his method. We are so strongly convinced of the educative importance of the years of adolescence that if we could extend the period of education, we should like to keep the students at school till the age of sixteen, in order to secure proper moral, social and civic training.

4. We have not given a separate and distinctive place to play in the scheme because it is essentially an extra-curricular activity; if it is made a compulsory part of the scheme, it loses its spontaneity and ceases to be play in the psychological sense. But, in our scheme, we have made provision for individual and group games, and we recognize that in all good schools there will be various kinds of games. It should, however, be borne in mind, that in an activity school play is an integral part of the method and is not included as an escape from academic drudgery.

5. We should like to make it clear—that the Report has not already done so—that we do not contemplate any direct connection between the teachers' salary and the proceeds from the sale of the children's products. Teachers are to be paid directly from the State Treasury as at present and are not to be dependent on the amount of teaching income received from the sale of school products, which should be credited as income to the Treasury. At the Warren Conference has made it quite clear to us Realization that the State will be required to schools were expected in the course to cover only the remuneration of teachers, it was hardly necessary for us to say that all other educational expenditure, e.g., in buildings, equipment, etc., must be met from other sources, public and private.

6. We had not specifically mentioned, in our Report, the setting up of a sales organization for the school products because we were primarily concerned with the drafting of an educational scheme and not with its political and administrative implications. Moreover, you had made it quite clear in your speech at the Conference that, in the last instance, the State will be responsible for their purchase at a fair price,

and we had made a reference to your remarks in the Report.

7. Considerable criticism has been voiced in certain quarters on the assumption that our scheme is opposed to all industrialization and aims at looking back to a primitive state of society utterly incompatible with the forces and needs of modern times. Without entering into a controversy about the negative marks of industrialization and the rural economy, we want to point out that there is no necessary logical antagonism between the scheme of basic education and either the industrial or the small-scale village economy. We have recommended the approach to education through crafts and productive work because that is a psychologically sound method of education, but we fail to see why so-called training in the use of the hand and the eye, training in practical skill and observation and manual work should be a more propitious for later industrial training than the present education which is notoriously bookish and academic, and definitely perverts our students against all kinds of practical and technical work.

We are conscious of the great deal of administrative opportunities which this scheme will involve, and we realize that the Education Department in such provinces will have to think out the detailed maps and means by which the scheme is to be gradually put into operation. Without attempting to take over this great responsibility on ourselves, we should like to make a few suggestions in this connection, which we trust will be found useful in working out the detailed stages in which the scheme is to be introduced in India.

The first step which should be, in our opinion, to take immediately, is to set up a number of training schools in selected rural areas—at least one or two schools in each Nagpur province—where teachers may learn the technique of education through crafts and productive work, and be trained to teach in the new type schools. The number of teachers to teach in the new basic schools to be opened in the selected area will be determined by the extent of that area. We suggest that a reasonably large area, e.g., a district, should be selected for the purpose, and the Education Department should undertake a survey of its requirements—the number of existing schools to be transformed, the number of new schools to be opened, and the number of teachers needed for them. Immediate steps should be taken to train this number both by utilizing the existing training schools and by opening new ones. We are of the opinion that this work of establishing basic schools for all the children in the selected area should be completed within five years. Meanwhile, all the other existing schools in the Province should be transformed into the new type of training schools, so that the work of establishing new basic schools as

well as of transferring existing schools all over the Province may proceed as rapidly as trained teachers become available. It will be necessary during the first few years to have both kinds of teaching schools—i.e., one year and three year schools. The short course of one year's duration may be given to specially selected and, preferably, experienced teachers from existing schools, so that they might start work a year later in the new schools. Simultaneously, however, the regular three year course should also be introduced and another group of teachers selected to undertake this training. The Department should arrange to send all the teachers in the existing schools who cannot attend the one year's course of training to specially organized refresher courses, where they may refreshen the principles and methods of basic education. A scheme should be drawn to ensure that all teachers in the service of the Department have attended such a course within the next five years.

It is essential that these training schools be located in rural areas, so that teachers may work and acquire necessary experience under conditions in which they will have to carry on their teaching. If they are trained in an urban environment where they will be deprived of village students, they will not be able to develop the requisite attitudes and habits.

When the first batch of teachers has been trained, new basic schools should be started in a selected area where all the schools should be of the new type contemplated. It does not seem desirable that schools of the present as well as the new type should co-exist in the same area. Naturally it will be easier and more useful to start for this purpose areas in which there are few schools at present and where, for that reason, the provision of educational facilities is more urgently required.

Finally, we suggest that every teaching school we started should have a demonstration school specially organized to impart basic education according to the syllabus and the prototype outlined in our Report. This school, like the teaching school, should be staffed by specially competent teachers who possess the necessary intellectual and practical disposition to work the scheme sympathetically. It will serve as a model school for the locality to which other schools to be established later will look for inspiration and guidance.

Each province should, we suggest, undertake a survey of its educational requirements and plan out a detailed programme of action. The survey should also at finding out the number of children to be educated, the number of teachers and schools that will be eventually required for that education, the number of teaching schools that will have to be established, the rate at which trained teachers can become available year after

year. On the administrative side, the survey should indicate the amount of money which will be required for recruiting and non-recruiting expenses, and the machinery that will have to be put up for the sake of the school projects. These are practical and concrete problems, that will have to be worked out—their magnitude is no reason for fighting shy of them or finding them too impossible.

We are fully alive to the financial implications of this great educational enterprise, but we think that it should be possible for Provincial Governments to put the scheme into full working order and introduce compulsory and free universal education in the whole country in about 20 to 25 years' time. What we suggest is the drawing up of a kind of 25 years' plan to provide basic education and to legislate differently. If this scheme is supplemented by some adequate system of adult education given through various agencies, including the construction of adult and college stations for the purpose, we have every hope that within that time India will have made rapid strides towards the goal of a 100 per cent literacy.

In working out the programme of national education, the Provincial Governments should utilize the services of the Central Institute of Indian Education, the establishment of which we have recommended in our report. The Institute could, for example, help in the preparation of suitable educational literature for teachers, as well as advise about the preparation of books for the new schools. They could also give advice on the educational problems which may be referred to them for opinion, and generally act as a central bureau for educational information. The Provincial Governments should, in this line, give all necessary help and facilities to the Board in the discharge of its important duties.

There are also a number of other non-official organizations in the country, e.g., national educational institutions, the All India Spinners' and Weavers' Institutes Association, which could help in the working out of the scheme in various ways. We expect that there will be close co-operation between these organizations and the Education Department. We also contemplate that as a result of the enthusiasm released by this scheme of national education, many voluntary organizations and workers will be forthcoming to start teaching centres and basic schools. The Provincial Governments should encourage such private enterprise in education and help them with expert advice and funds.

We submit this syllabus to you in the hope that it will meet with your approval and that it may form an adequate foundation for a basic education suited to the genius of the Indian nation and the requirements of the country.

Respectfully,
 SAKIN KURAIN (Chairman)
 E. O. RAJTHOMIN
 KAKA KALJELAN
 KIRIMMAL MASHIWALA
 J. C. KUMARAPPA
 SHRIKRISHNANADAS JAYI
 VINODRA BRAVE
 ASHA DEVI
 ANANAYAKAM (Convener)

Notes

Gandhi's Health

I am that I was a little too optimistic in my view of Gandhi's health. I ought to have seen that with the visit to Calcutta the illness has would often be reached and crossed. The very journey proved a strain, as however much we argue with our words they will not understand. The very fact that he travels, means to them that he must be fit enough to give them darshan at all hours of the day and night. And so they meet at midnight and the small hours of the morning clamouring for darshan. It seems to me to be such a tragedy that we should not have after an entire year of national work without even elementary discipline. And so long as this deplorable condition of things persists, it is not possible to contemplate the Frontier visit with serenity.

The work in Calcutta, it was obvious, would be a great strain, but Gandhi had more carefully prepared for it. The blind pressure thereon, when a violent upward jerk, regained terrible force and, as Dr. Nicholas Hay and Lord Duns have said, it is remaining within control. But as Gandhi put it, "the fact must be faced that old age is now visibly creeping in, that even if I were to take undisturbed and inactive rest for several months, I cannot get back the capacity to work as of old, when I did not have to think how much I was working, when I got to bed, and at what hour of the night I was awake." And yet even this prolonged ill health has been for him a kind of education. He has acquired the knack of trusting himself with changes in diet and other matters. Thus, for instance, the dropping out of milk from the diet, which he instinctively did on arrival in Calcutta, has meant a great deal in keeping the pressure under control.

About the actual work in Calcutta I am not competent to speak. Suffice it to say that it has been of a particularly intense character, made more so by friction beyond one's control.

M. G.

A Timely Publication

Messrs. Tara & Co., Publishers Limited, Bombay, have just published a well set-up book of 218 pages, which has been approximately

styled *Educational Reconstruction*, and contains Gandhi's articles on Education written since July last, detailed proceedings of the Education Conference held at Wardha in October last, the full text of the Early Education Committee's Report, and the detailed syllabus of Studies prepared by the Committee. The syllabus, which along with the covering letter to Gandhi covers 138 pages, has for the first time been published in this book. All those who are interested in education and who want to make a study of the new scheme, which has secured such a widespread interest in the country, will find this book indispensable. The publishers have rendered a useful service by bringing together in handy book form all relevant material pertaining to the scheme. The book is priced at Rs. 1-4-0 (postage 3 ds. extra), and copies are available at the Manager's Office as well as at well-known book shops.

C. S.

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Wardha Scheme of Education	Early Hours	11
Our Future	M. K. Gandhi	12
Wardha Committee		
and Sub-committee	M. D.	12
Wardha Scheme—VI	M. D.	12
Notes		
Gandhi's Address	M. D.	12
A Timely Publication	C. S.	12



HARIVAN

Editor: MARGARET DOLAN

Under the sanction of The Marjorie South Singh

Vol. VI No. 4

POONA - SATURDAY, APRIL 2, 1942

ONE ANNA

WEEKLY LETTER

Gandhi's Health

The week has been full of violent fluctuations in Gandhi's blood pressure, disappointingly to a number of factors which I do not think even a medical man can discuss with any fair amount of certainty. The obvious cause—strain of work—has been there of course. It was in the nature of things impossible to give him all the rest he needs. Also he went in for a number of experiments with himself and, say I say, with doctors. Dr. Aji Rose, the famous nature cure doctor of Calcutta, thought he could take charge of him. He is a qualified allopath having taken his education in Edinburgh, but he deliberately turned his back on allopathy and took to electro-therapy, massage, hydro-therapy and the like, and has as such carried on heavy experiments at evident risk even to his patient and doctor. The intrepid soul has thus naturally acquired the reputation of a crank, but Gandhi always welcomes honest critics. In the present case, however, Dr. Rose found that he had to study Gandhi's system long enough in order to give him an effective cure, he had not sufficiently realised its essentialness, and he himself withdrew from the field. He is one of the brightestest men one could come across, and would pay Gandhi a fee every day for taking up his time and for troubling him! On the day we left he sent a kind note saying, "This currency note must go to you. It should have gone to you yesterday but coincided with me. I am sending it on to you with a hope that I may follow it one day." "I leave you today," he said, "but I will come to you to Segun, not for your satisfaction but for MY satisfaction. All I want today is your blessings." "All good ones like you," said Gandhi. "Have my blessings, for I know that great things in the world have been done by good men really dead with stress. You are one work." The good man is dead, is almost proved that he is dead, and assumes that the world around him is also dead. He therefore shouts at you, like there is a flash in Jesus about his last speech which captivates you, and I should not be surprised if you to his word to find his way one day to Segun.

At the end of the stay in Calcutta, Gandhi had such a freedom of feeling that mind and body both pined for rest. The rest, I am thank-

ful to say, awaited him at Dehing where we met for the annual meeting of the Gandhi Seva Sangh. Work there was enough, but there was little to live and less to criticize.

Beloved Land

In fact there was much to soothe one's nerves. The very feeling of being in Orissa was a kind of pick-me-up—Orissa, the land of abstinence and poverty, of food and famine, of opium and disease, of 'the Land of the world', who ardently will not help the people, because they will not help themselves. The opening speech at the Exhibition was a tribute of love and reproach to Orissa—love and reproach which only a lover could express and a beloved could understand. "Orissa," he said, "is the land of my love in India. Ever since I landed in India, I began to hear of Orissa's poverty and famine. That day came in connection with it and organized famine relief, and I also realised that if I could serve Orissa somewhat I would by so doing serve India. Later Orissa became for me a place of pilgrimage—not because of the temple of 'the Land of the world' was there (which was not open to me, as it was not open to the Marjorie)—but because I thought of a novel way of reaching the country for the sacred mission of the abolition of untouchability. I had heard that the so-called Brahmins were engaged at my mission and would try to frustrate it with violence. If they were really so minded, I said to myself, I should make their work easy by clearing the railway tracks and motor car and taking through the country. Pilgrims don't go on a pilgrimage to cars and trains. They walk to the sacred place, with the name of God on their lips, faithful of the Hindu River of the world, and mindful only of offering one's homage to the Lord—the homage of service. And if there was trouble in Puri because of the anger of the Brahmins, we could not flee from the wrath. We must face it. I could not do all this by a motor car and railway train, and so I decided to perform the rest of the Marjorie pilgrimage on foot. The temple of Jagannath (the Land of the world) has the reputation of being the most famous in India, for there all human distinctions are supposed to vanish, and Brahmin and Pariah brush shoulders with one another vying for the devotion of the Lord and even eat His ground out of one another's heads. Not evidently

It had suffered that reputation and the dignity that had become a fiction, for Harjane would not be suffered to enter the great temple. I went to explain that as long as these distinctions endured before the very eyes of the Lord of the world, that Lord was not my Lord, that He was the Lord of those who exploited His name and kept Harjane out, but certainly not the Lord of the world. My sentence of restoring the old reputation to the Temple is yet unfulfilled, and you have to help me to fulfill it."

Dalang

It was to this province that Sri Gopalendra Chaudhary and his friends invited last year the next annual session of the Ganadithara League. It was a hard step for them to take. But their faith justified the boldness. Sri Gopalendra, who was a lawyer, here he became several years ago and dedicated himself, his wife and his children to the service of his village land. He had to work against tremendous odds, but in the wake of the optimism which he took up as a method of family insurance followed the discovery of industry and willingness to help and revival of his ancient handicrafts. Sri Aruman Nathar, an unassuming worker from Ouzach, placed his life's savings at the disposal of Orissa. As a result of his donation of a lakh of rupees there are now working under the aegis of the Ganadithara League 11 centres of reconstruction, where all work that comes under the name of rural reconstruction is going on, with self-sufficient Khadi as the centre of the activities. Sri Gopalendra has his scheme at Dal where he works with his indistinguishable wife Sarna Devi, who has taken safe charge of the kitchen and sanitary arrangements. With the last year's recording survey at the direction Sri Gopalendra found his work easy. In spite of flood and famine he went the length and breadth of Orissa collecting money for the annual session which he had the honour of holding, collected Rs. 2,000 odd in small coins and bps, and craved in the heart of a beautiful country-side a lovely little village of palm leaf, coconut leaf and bamboo. The League has not yet met at a prettier spot. For 10 months he laboured at waking up the countryside, got the villagers to grow vegetables, to keep cows, and he had the proud privilege of securing that all the foodstuffs, oil, ghee and vegetables had been got from village within a radius of ten miles from Dalang. As a result the camp has become an exhibition in itself.

The Exhibition

But the exhibition is a thing of even greater beauty and expresses all the art and handicraft that the Orissians are capable of. Its unique feature is that the workers have modified their aims only to arts and crafts in Orissa, and as such it has several features which are entirely

unknown to an outside exhibition of the kind we had at Bangalore. For here are beautiful little works devoted to basketry, wood work, brass work, bamboo and coconut leaf work, brass work and bell-metal work, shell work, pottery and silk work, which express Orissa art at its highest. There were of course the hand-made paper court and lantern work and khadi self-industry most exhibiting the work of families which had plighted themselves to making nothing but cloth made by members of the family. Thanks to the Agricultural Department of Government there was an agricultural section showing the methods of tilling acres, of slogs and sugar making. But these are the features of all khadi and village industries exhibitions. The special feature was the works exhibiting crafts indigenous to Orissa which have now been revived. The Congress Government in the province have given a fillip to these industries, and the Premier Mahaswami Das proudly said to me: "We need not be dependent on outside provinces to help us in making off poverty. We have rediscovered our strength and we have but to move our province with reconstruction centres. You must know that we have achieved the highest honey yield in India and we can move our province with beehives." And so it is. The Exhibition made Gopalendra Chaudhary the Orissa as it was a short while ago, so it is even now, and as it is his life to be, thanks to the devoted labours of dedicated workers. "The people of Orissa," said he, "have the doubtful reputation of opium addicts, even learned men not being free from the vice, as I found two years ago. They are also addicted and ignorant. I know you will not mind my using this language, for you know the spirit in which it is being used. Orissa is the land of poverty because of its opium, tobacco and liquor. The Exhibition gives me the hope that Orissa can rid itself of all these evils and be once again a land of happiness and plenty. The Exhibition is bound to be a revelation to the villages attending it, of the great enterprises and possibilities of the province. The workers with the co-operation of the Government have been able to bring into being an exhibition which is well worth a close study by men and women, young and old.

"Man suffers from the least in several ways. As the late Mahaswami Das said, one of the distinctions is the differing manner of both. Man has lost and needs with fervor that he use his intelligently and artistically. If man therefore depended wholly and solely on agriculture, he would not be using the figure that God has specially bestowed him with. More agriculture cannot support us, unless it is supplemented by the work of the hands and fingers. We are in the exhibition what man's hands and fingers can produce and how they can supplement the income of the land. I would therefore ask each, and all of you to go to the exhibition area and

ever again, pick up one handicraft and help in erasing off the poverty of the land.

A nominal fee of two pice has been kept, and on the very first day ten thousand tickets were sold—which is a proof of the popularity and the great possibilities of such exhibitions.

M. B.

GANDHI SEVA SANGH REPORT

The annual report of the Gandhi Seva Sangh, presented by the Secretary at the annual conference of the Sangh at Dehra, is a painstakingly written account of the work done under the wings of the Sangh during the year following the last annual conference held at Allahi in April last year. The number of full-fledged members of the Sangh rose during the year from 122 to 113, and that of associate members and sympathizers from 31 to 34, the total membership thus numbering 147. The number is distributed over all the different provinces of India—Maharashtra having 34, Gujarat having 13, Bihar 15, Karnataka 14, and so on. The members were engaged in a variety of national activities—43 in rural reconstruction, 37 in Congress work, 27 in khadi work, 15 in Harijan service, 9 in village industries, 9 in national education, and the rest in different activities approved of by the Sangh. Out of this large number of members only 16 are paid from the funds of the Sangh, their contributions ranging from Rs. 1 to Rs. 15. It is obligatory for the members to spin 1,000 yards of yarn every month and to send a quarterly report of their work to the President. Exceptions from spinning is made only in the case of those who are ill or otherwise physically disabled.

It will be remembered that the Sangh passed at its last annual meeting a resolution asking members to concentrate on rural work, especially by getting well dig and playgrounds etc. made in villages. Workers in rural areas made a certain amount of effort in this direction. In this connection the Report makes special mention of Shri. Vithalji Nidam, under whose inspiration 3,413 persons from 18 different villages worked voluntarily for 56 days and prepared a road of 1 mile to a killy tract in West Khandesh. Four of the members of the Sangh, including the President, served on the Sakhi Shiksha Committee.

The work of the Orissa branch of the Sangh has been described in some detail. There were 31 centres of work, and the 35 workers working under the auspices of this branch concentrated on inducing people to take to producing khadi for their own use. The results were encouraging. For during the year under report, in 41 different villages 388 families, who took to spinning, spun 438 wheels, spun 1,481 yards of yarn of an average of 14 snats, and got 3,815 sq. yds. of khadi woven. Much credit for this is due to the village workers who used to spin from four

to eight hours, to give an opportunity to the villagers. Bee-keeping, manufacture of palm-leaf and tanning have also been taken up in some villages, and bee-keeping is found to have immense possibilities of development as a rural industry.

The khadi work at Gandhi Ashram, Thiruvannamalai, in Madras district, suffered a setback during the year, the number of spinners having fallen from 1,576 to 1,034 and the production of khadi from 1,331 thousand yards to 126 thousand yards. This was due to two unfortunate factors—a severe famine in the tract which drove many people to Madras and other places, and the untoward dealings of unscrupulous khadi dealers and traders dealing in wool yarn. The production is, however, expected to reach the former level of production during the coming year.

The tannery at Kalandi, near Wadga, turned out cloth worth Rs. 1,200 during the year. The expected level could not be reached on account of the difficulty of getting good cattle hide. There were brick sales, however, of the ready-made leather goods, which shows that there is a good demand for these.

A new activity which the Sangh took up during the year was the setting up of a Labour Committee of 5 members under the chairmanship of Keshav Vithalji Patil. The Committee has framed its own constitution and will presently commence its work. The "motto to be adopted for the attainment of the objects mentioned"—to quote from the constitution,—to be "always based on truth and non-violence." This is an activity fraught with great promise, labor and far-reaching results, and its progress is sure to be watched with interest in the country.

C. S.

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HARBAN

Apr 2

1938

NEED FOR SELF-EXAMINATION

When we left Wichita for Columbia about two days ago, I casually looked at Gandhi's life, in view of the many important topics arising from day to day demanding his opinion and guidance, he would not resume writing for HARBAN. He said he would do so, but he had no inclination before the Bengal visit and the Frontier visit, in view it came about were finished. Though he was improving, his strength was limited and he wanted to conserve it. But he had to like the self-imposed exchange easier than he had wanted to do. The note in the U. P. towns added him of his peace, and even sleep, and he could not help speaking out. The result was the article he wrote last week.

Since then he has been finding no occasion to refer to the unfortunate events, and the still more unfortunate debate in the U. P. Assembly. He has talked with Mustafa Ali Khan and his house, talked with Subhasbaba and with others, and thought more than he has talked. The Opposition in the U. P. Assembly tried to make out that the Congress Government had failed to maintain law and order, failed to provide enough police force, — failed to use sufficient violence, if I may paraphrase the language of the speakers. That was the substance of political opponents unwilling to extend their sympathy to Government even on official occasions. Gandhiji replied was the opposite of this. He knew that the Government of Pandit Chandra Bhabha Pant had tried to do the utmost in their power, as Government, to handle an ugly situation, and he had nothing but sympathy for them. But what troubled him was that they had to use the police and the military. A Government that had to cope with these ugly situations ANYHOW, could not have done better and could not have quelled the riots more promptly and with less harm. But could a Congress Government with back to that?

That is why Gandhiji, speaking about these events to two co-workers, said

"I could not help writing that article. I want you to read it. I feel ashamed that our Ministers had to call to them and the police and the military. I am ashamed that they had to use the language that they did in reply to the Opposition against I feel as if the Congress had lost and the British had won. Why does our Government feel on such occasions? Is it the age-violence of the work? Does this practice should not make us lose our faith and

make us say: 'We will send them to the police or then then drive if necessary.' Why are we our counterparts. If they will tell us, we must allow them to do so. You cannot go against organized violence the non-violence of the work, but the non-violence which the honest alone can exercise. We have, you will say, been sufficiently concerned. We were concerned during the Civil Disobedience campaign, we wanted to take them and more. My reply is that We did, but not sufficiently. We could not go independent at the end of the British work, so we were not the unshaken-ness of non-violence of the honest. We did take away a step forward as a result of the campaigns we went through, but there was lacking in us violence. That was why I had to make this statement in Poona in 1934, and I am sure that if I had not about the calling off of the Civil Disobedience campaign, we should have been thoroughly demoralized. We have been moving, since then, better forward day by day. But time for making self-examination has come."

This talk took place three days before the annual session of the Gandhi Seva Sangh began in Orissa on the 15th and I am examining the events in their sequence in order that workers may realize what was really within Gandhiji's heart when he delivered himself of that impetuous utterance, which I summarize elsewhere, on the afternoon of the 15th. How full he was of it may be realized from the fact that even while he was speaking the Exhibition, there was nothing else in his mind. The visit to Orissa put him in mind of the Marjara pilgrimages in 1934, which assumed a more armed character when Gandhiji approached Poil. There was a great deal of violence on the way. The so-called Government had organized an expedition against the pilgrimages, there had been scenes of violence elsewhere, and Gandhiji was told that in Orissa too the same thing would happen, perhaps with greater harm. Was he therefore to fly from Poil? Was he to perform the pilgrimages in motor cars and buses? No. He would welcome the opponents to lay hands upon him and to do this word by going right in the midst of them, offering himself, as to say, willingly to them. And he thought of the unique plan of performing the pilgrimages on foot. That was the way of non-violence. The question of the afternoon of the 15th was the natural sequence.

H. D.

A Correction

We are glad to have to say that the statement that Sri. Pankajbhabha Gupta was dead is incorrect. We have a telegram from the Allahabad District Congress Committee saying that though he was seriously stricken he is making satisfactory progress.

H. D.

AN APPEAL FOR SELF EXAMINATION

I have referred in my leading article in Gandhi's opening address to the Gandhi Sem. South on the afternoon of the 13th I give below a condensed summary of the address. M D.]

The Good

Embodied in our President, who is more 33 than 1, has prepared a long and well thought out address. He has dealt at great length with our mutual misunderstandings, misgivings, our refusal to understand and hear with one another and so on, and asked whether our faith is anything worth. If it does not reflect itself more and more in our daily lives. Do we feel that we are marching further forward every day towards our goal? Do we feel that we are more non-violent today than we were when we met a year ago? Have there been times when when we gave way to irritation and anger? Such questions we have to ask ourselves again and again. For the way of non-violence and truth is along as the razor's edge. Its practice is more than our daily food. Rightly taken, food sustains the body; slightly poisoned non-violence sustains the soul. This body food we can only take in measured quantities and at stated intervals; non-violence, which is the spiritual food, we have to take in continuously. There is no such thing as saturation. I have to be conscious every moment that I am pursuing the goal and have to examine myself in terms of that goal.

The very first step in non-violence is that we withdraw in our daily life, as between ourselves, truthfulness, honesty, sobriety, loving kindness. Hence, they say in English, is the best policy. But in terms of non-violence it is not mere policy. Violence may and do change. Non-violence is an unchangeable creed. It has to be pursued in face of violence rising around you. Non-violence with a non-violent man is no work. In fact it becomes difficult to say whether it is non-violence at all. But when it is pitted against violence, then one realises the difference between the two. This we cannot do unless we are ever watchful, ever vigilant, ever striving.

The Role

The role in U. P. affected me deeply. I discussed them with Mahatma Jinnah and the Bose brothers in terms of non-violence. I felt that we were going not nearer towards our goal but farther away from it. Harjain gave me reason to hope that we were growing in strength, and that in spite of our shortcomings we should be able to see through in my lifetime. I had thought that we should be the cause of the year's work that strength. But the role in Allahabad and elsewhere came as a rude shock. We were to our shame compelled to seek the aid of the police and the military.

Supposing the Viceroy were to invite the President of the Congress to meet him and to state the Congress terms, do you think he would have the strength to say, 'The Congress is capable of taking charge of the administration, the British may go.' Do you think we could tell him that we should be able to do without the police and the military, that we should be able to come to terms with the Princes, the Zamindars and with the Mussalmans? I am afraid we could not honestly say that we should easily be able to come to terms with them. And yet if we had real non-violence in us we should be able to say and do these things.

Not the Weapon of the Weak

I therefore ask you and myself whether our non-violence is of the weak instead of the strong as it should be. That it can work to a certain extent in the hands of the weak is true. It has so worked with us. But when it becomes a cloak for our weakness, it misrepresents us. Far better that non-violence would be the banner of those who are physical force far better than cowardice would be anything else's death fighting. We were perhaps all originally brave, and I am prepared to believe that we have become men by a slow process of evolution from the brute. We were once born with brute strength, but we were born men to make us realize that who death is in us. That linked to the privilege of man, and it distinguished him from the brute creation. But to realize God is to see Him in all that lives, it is to make our common with all creation. This is impossible unless we voluntarily shed physical force and develop conscious non-violence that is linked to every one of us. This can only come out of strength. Have we the non-violence of the strong? It is open to us to discard it as an impossible ideal and choose instead the method of violence. But the choice has to be made.

And if it is a weapon of the strong, then there are some unmistakable conclusions. We should be able to deal with riots and stop the increasing tension between Hindus and Mussalmans. What, you will ask, we as volunteers of non-violence should have done to quell these riots? Well it was primarily the work of the Congress Committee to quell the riots. We should have thousands of volunteers ready to serve in a crisis of this kind. In 1931 we drew up a plan for volunteers, whereas it was provided that a volunteer should be non-violent in thought, word and deed. Mahatmadas Agraj Kishore, who was then President, had the same pledge accepted by the Kishore volunteers. It was not without difficulty that the pledge was accepted by the Kishore volunteers. For a volunteer to be non-violent in word and deed was all right, some of the Mahatmas said that to expect them to be non-violent in thought was a tall order. I was asking, they said, to be master of their minds. I said, No. The mastery

EXPERIMENTS IN AHIMSA

I reproduced in my leading article recently a characteristic letter from a pacifist who was bravely trying to face the implications of pacifism. Mr. Gregg's name is now well known, but few know how he lives and works. Much of his time is now being taken up with the problem of pacifism, since his works brought him fame and won him friends and co-workers in the field in various countries. "The clouds of war are rolling up so thickly on the West that much of my time has gone to speaking, writing and preparation for writing on Satyagraha as the only way to handle that problem," he writes in a recent letter. And then he gives us a glimpse of his own life. With an ailing wife, who however has been a great inspiration to him, he has to do most of the household duties, including cooking, washing clothes, etc.

"You will be interested to know that I am still using the khadi towels that I got at Salt-mass. They have lasted much longer than any of the American mill-made towels we have. The khadi towels show no signs of wearing out. I use them every day, all through the year. My clippers are the same that Hyman Kharoshin got for me on Sunday in 1935, I believe. I still oil Indian blades at my times of study proper and mechanical, and it is so easy for me still to cutting Western style. I follow two good Indian sanitary practices of washing out my mouth after each meal and of washing out my nose with water night and morning. I am trying experiments with ahimsa in my garden, following an idea which was first suggested to me by Maganlaladas. He told me how the Indians ploughed plant material among the wheat in order to keep away mice at the season which would otherwise destroy the wheat. Farmers, gardeners, and gardeners here in America use a great many poisonous sprays to kill weevils, beetles and other insects that eat the crops. He mentioned to me the practice that there have been cases of people being poisoned by the remains of the food and various sprays on fruit and vegetables. Maganlal's remark started me thinking, and I am now quite sure that it is the elements of poison which stored in them the insects which prey on them, and that certain other plant elements repel these insects. I think there are probably many such instances of what might be called companion protective plants, which, planted near certain fruits or vegetables will kill the 'sneaky bug' away from sprouts, pumpkins, sweetbells and garlic. The growing new potatoes is reported to drive away the 'Colorado potato beetle'. The high growing weed growing next to cabbage drives off the yellow and white cabbage moths when eggs hatch into the destructive green cabbage worms. I want to experiment with others. I feel sure that this effect would yield great economic savings and be much healthier to men, as well as carrying out the dictates of ahimsa. It is a human adaptation of the principles of ahimsa and in the plant world.

You and Page will also be interested to know that I have managed to take a course in shoe-making. A man who used to be a professor at Amherst College has invented several new ways of making shoes. He gave up his teaching position of which he was a big success, on the beginning of the depression in 1933, and he and his family supported themselves and supported 20 other workers in the business of house shoe-making all through the depression. He has made a real co-operative union. Although the prices he charges for his shoes seem to me to be very high, he has much cheaper ones, and has recently invented a new way by which good shoes can be made much cheaper than any we have in the West. He makes a good model. He is now starting a school. One of the paragraphs about it has an excellent quotation on the first page from Thoreau, which both you and Page will like. So you see I am trying, at a very slow pace perhaps, to follow Page's principles. It is very important. The more I study and observe the world of events the more I am sure of the wisdom of ahimsa and all natural work. The West will soon find itself compelled to come to it, if that I am not. Some day I would like to prepare another edition of "The Economics of Ahimsa" containing many new observations and arguments."

"At a very slow pace," says Mr. Gregg. I wonder how many of us are trying to work out in their lives the implications of ahimsa at even such "a very slow pace"? It is not the pace that matters, it is the grip on the principles according to which one has decided to live and a sometimes endeavor to live it. Mr. Gregg finds work and joy in life because of the satisfaction of the endeavor. The motto from Thoreau that he refers to in his letter above quoted inspires him, as it would inspire also, for Thoreau was one who would not think of theories except in terms of practice. Here is the motto:

"If man advances civilisation, he degrades himself, and endeavor to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with a success corresponded to common sense. He will get some things behind, will pass an inevitable boundary, new cultures and new ideas will begin to establish themselves around and within him, or the old laws will be rejected, and he interpreted in his favor as a more liberal man, and he will live with the forces of a higher order of things. In proportion as he simplifies his life, the laws of the universe will appear less complex and solitude will not be solitude, nor poverty poverty, nor weakness weakness. If you have built castles in the air, your work will not be lost, that is where they should be. Now put the foundation under them."

Of the Edward Matthews Guild which has adopted for its main this thought of Thoreau's, I propose to write on a future occasion.

M. D.

A STEP FORWARD

The Government of Bombay have issued last week the following communique in regard to the use of public wells and tanks by Europeans:

The Government of Bombay have issued from time to time orders in their offices and to local bodies to take all necessary steps to secure the free enjoyment of the use of wells and tanks by the members of the scheduled castes on the same terms as by persons belonging to other castes and communities. Government repeatedly ordered that notice boards stating that the public wells tanks, etc. are open to all castes and communities without any distinction, should be erected without exception and permanently painted over all wells and tanks constructed from public funds.

In spite of these orders, it is reported that progress in breaking down the prejudice of Caste Hindus regarding the use of public wells by the scheduled castes has not been satisfactory. Some local bodies have not yet put up the notice boards as directed by Government. It is also alleged that in some places the Caste Hindus have as a measure of reprisal gone as far as to throw rubbish into the wells used by the scheduled castes.

Government consider that the time has now come for taking more stringent action to safeguard these fundamental civic rights of the scheduled castes. All officers of Government are accordingly ordered to deal severely with all cases where the scheduled castes are prevented from enjoying their rights in this respect. In particular, Government have directed that the following steps should be taken—

(1) The prosecuting authority should always press the Court to award deterrent punishment for the offence of fouling the drinking water of the scheduled castes, and District Magistrates should invariably report all such cases to Government with their opinion as to whether it is necessary to apply for enhancement of the sentence passed by the magistrate.

(2) In cases where a local body fails after due warning to give effect to the declared policy of Government in this respect, the local officers should not hesitate to recommend the withdrawal or stoppage of any voluntary grants paid by Government to that body.

(3) If a local body deliberately and persistently disregards the orders of Government in this respect and fails to carry out the obligatory duty of throwing open public wells and tanks to all castes and communities without distinction, the local officers should report such cases without delay, and Government will not hesitate, in a suitable case, to dissolve or supersede the defaulting local body and to have the obligatory duty carried out by their own agency at the expense of the said local body.

Government realize that measures of local action alone is not sufficient to prevent Caste Hindus from indulging social boycott and other forms of harassment on those members of the scheduled castes who assert their civic rights in these matters, and that widespread public opinion and active support are necessary for the success of their policy to achieve the desired end. Government therefore appeal to the Harjan Social League, Depressed Classes Ministers and social workers to cooperate with them to obtain for the scheduled castes free and unobstructed use of all sources of public water supply in every town and village in this province.

It is the policy of Government to bring about the removal of untouchability so far as it affects the exercise of public and civic rights, and they propose to take all possible steps to achieve this object as early as possible.

Appointment of Acting Governors

Grandhja was asked in Dehli what the Ministers' attitude should be over the appointment of Acting Governors in the Provinces. He had no hesitation in answering the question. He said that acting appointments should not be made here owing the services in the Provinces. "Ministers," he said, "will not relish the idea of a subordinate official suddenly becoming Governor to whom they have often to refer for guidance and who may even preside over their deliberations. Such a Governor cannot act with detachment, nor can he command the respect and confidence of the Ministers. I should think that the Viceroy or the Secretary of State would think twice before making such appointments. Ministers would be right, indeed it might be their duty, to protest against such an appointment. I do not know that such an appointment might not be made here. In the Colonies generally I have known the practice of Chief Justices of Supreme Courts acting as Governors in the absence of permanent ones."

M. D.

Wid. Sec. 17

Dr. Grandhja

Chetty office, Press 4 Aa, Fortage etc. 1/2 Aa. notes. Available at Harjan Office—Floor 4, and Singapore Karyakari—Abnashid and Tanjpur

CONTENTS

	Page
Wid. Sec. 17	41
Grandhja's Letter	42
Grandhja's Letter	43
Grandhja's Letter	44
Grandhja's Letter	45
Grandhja's Letter	46
Grandhja's Letter	47
Grandhja's Letter	48
Grandhja's Letter	49
Grandhja's Letter	50
Grandhja's Letter	51
Grandhja's Letter	52



HARIJAN

(LAW) (WARRANTY DEED)

Under the Auspices of The Harijan South Group

Vol. VI No. 9]

POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 9 1933

[ONE ANNA

A TRAGEDY

I primarily write in these columns about Gandhiji's health, discussing the causes of its breakdown, warning people, asking them to give him more rest. Suddenly I have turned out people wanting to see him, and have even interrupted talks and interviews, but they should strain him overmuch and take his blood pressure. Fanny, therefore, my niece and my niece when I found was morning at Dehli that what he considered a serious blunder on my part had raised his blood pressure to the breaking point and might have brought about a catastrophe. Tuesday and Wednesday and Thursday, 19th, 20th and 21st—which in that peculiar atmosphere of Dehli should have been the most blessed days—were the most miserable days I have ever had in my life. Not only was, if anything, more miserable for Gandhiji, as I found from his head-aches and heart-breaking symptoms on the afternoon of the 19th. I thought I had made a great mistake at that morning's paper by telling everyone present how I had been the cause of the terrible breakdown, but Gandhiji was not present when I spoke. But he knew that I had spoken about the incident, and so he devoted his speech to the incident. I thought the indifference of the reader for laughing on him this tale of personal was. But I do it on public grounds, as he will find at the end of the story.

The circumstances were somewhat like this. My wife, who rarely attends the usual meetings of the Gandhi News Service, or for that matter any such meetings, came to Dehli, especially, I was told, with a view to being able to go to Pune. And Gandhiji told me that I should make every arrangement for her going to Pune. Personally I disliked her having come for the sake of Pune, and had no heart to make any arrangements. I was once again asked if I had made the arrangements, and asked a third time. My wife to my surprise did not know that the Pune temple was not open to the Harijans. During Gandhiji's Bombay tour she was in jail. But that was no excuse for the ignorance. On the very that day in the course of his exhibition speech Gandhiji made it clear that the temple of the Lord of the World was not open to the Harijans, and so long as it remained so, the Lord was not, in his opinion, the Lord of the

World, but the Lord of those who fed and fasted under His shadow. I had hoped that this speech would be a warning to all, including my wife, though I had a fear that she would go into the temple. I must also mention that I had a lurking suspicion that Gandhiji repeated insistence on my making arrangements for her going to Pune sprang out of the depth of his shame—the shame that had made him unwilling to become in the State Religion, and to serve next to his "brother" at table in South Africa. I had also hoped that because she was going there with a number of other friends, including Gandhiji's second son Manilal, she would not go into the temple when the post stood out. What I did not do was to tell her that that her going into the temple would break Gandhiji's heart. As I have said, I was stupid enough not to realize the possible reaction and had even feared that in the latest, less cheerful of his touch he had found room for forgiving a temple-gone life: my wife I must therefore confess that even if she had definitely told me before going that she had made up her mind to go into the temple, I should not have refused her. I did not want to disturb her faith in that matter. She knew that I was against it, she also knew that I have a hope of these temples,—temples which even when they are opened to the Harijans, would not be better unless they were purged of the unscrupulous parties. But if she thought it would do her soul good to go into the temple, I did not to my heart of hearts feel like standing in the way. As for Kasturba Gandhiji, I must say that I had warned the world about our and her presence would perhaps act as a check on my wife and others. But as it happened my wife went in another friend went in and she went in. Kasturba's some members of the party stayed out, including my little son who put up a sticky fight with the police.

On Monday evening when they returned and Gandhiji knew the whole story, he was sad. He had a sleepless night. He called Kasturba and my wife and me to account. The explanation, part of which is contained in the argument above, failed to satisfy him. It even betrayed him. He told that I was primarily to blame. He told that I should have explained to them the history of the movement. Now Gandhiji had

gone to Puri in 1934, how violence was organized there, how he had to undertake the Odia pilgrimages on foot, how reformers were warned not to go to the temple until Harjans were admitted, and if my wife still did not listen, Gandhi's sentences should have been enough, and if she still she insisted on going she should have been free to go. He told that I had not been watchful enough and that I had then been unjust to him, my wife, myself and to the cause. And so he then poured out his heart to the members of the League:

"I am glad that McIndoe has told you something about what has happened, and now that he has told something I feel like saying not all that is in me. The various forms of constructive activity that you are doing are only outward expressions of truth and ahimsa. They only reveal how far they can carry you to the road of ahimsa and truth, and ultimately to freedom. The removal of untouchability is one of the highest expressions of ahimsa. It is my daily prayer, as it should be the prayer of you all, that if untouchability has not perished it will be better that Hindians pushed. This paper found its most poignant expression during my Harjan tour of which the principal episodes was the opening of the temples to the Harjans. And I declared day in and day out that whoever believed in the removal of untouchability should open temples which were not open to Harjans. Now, how could I bear the thought of my wife or my daughters having gone to such temples? I would plead with them, would go on bent knees to dissuade them from going to those temples, and might have to deny myself parental ties with them if my sentences failed. I have tried to live up to the principle at these years, and I felt humiliated and humiliated when I knew that my wife and two whom nearer whom I regarded as my daughters had gone into the Puri temple. The agency was enough to precipitate a collapse. The machine needed an extremely high blood pressure, but I knew better than the machine, I was in a worse condition than the machine could drive. The Gita teaches us the lesson of detachment, but this detachment does not mean indifference to duties of this kind—duties as duty on the part of one's dearest ones. The three who went were the best to them. They went in ignorance. But I was to blame, and McIndoe was more to blame in that he did not tell them what their duties was and how my hands would shake me. He ought to have thought also of his moral responsibilities. They were ignorant I know, but we are responsible for their ignorance, and it is the removal of ahimsa not to disturb their ignorance. I went there to Puri not to go into the temple, but to stand just where the Harjans were allowed to go, and refuse or persist to go beyond that limit. That would have been the right kind of propaganda, and they would that way have done Harjan service. To do covering-up work or to cut with Harjans or to feel them

is not enough, if we do not deny ourselves the going to temples and the like, as long as our wife and her, the Harjans, are denied their own.

There is another aspect of the case. The Hindians believe that untouchability is part of Hindism, and so do the Mussalmans and the Christians who think that Hindism is nothing if not "don't-touchism". You cannot finally solve the Hindu-Muslim problem until you have removed the stain of untouchability by non-violent means. The Muslims will then cease to regard us as infidels.

Then there are the Harjans themselves. How are we to carry conviction to them that we are with them through thick and thin, that we are completely identifying ourselves with them unless we can carry our families—our wives, our children, ourselves, relatives—with us in our progress of the removal of untouchability?"

This pouring out of the agony of his heart was for me an added agony. He was so discomfited. The next day he felt too weak to speak and went into silence for the whole day as a measure of penitence. What could I do in the circumstances? I was afraid lest I should make matters worse by entering into explanations and arguments. I felt like walking with him but he had required his normal presence and strength. But the thought of my having been the cause of the collapse tormented me. If I was guilty of a primitive error of judgment, how could I continue to serve him? How could I correctly represent and serve the Harjan cause? What right had I to be his door-bumper? I had the hell of a night, and in sheer desperation I wrote to him a note begging him to put me away. This unexpected ban all the more and made the door heavier to leave. He would prefer death, he said, at the hands of one who loved, to life at the hands of one who did not love him! Instead of isolation my folly and despairing act, by going to Puri with a band of outcasted pilgrims, he said, I had gone into hysteria over a well-known relative! Instead of serving my wife, he said, I had in my blind love of her encouraged her expenditure!

ALL this was too stunning for words. I felt that Gandhi, who has performed several spiritual operations using the alchemy of love, had performed this one without that alchemy. In resentment I cried:

To live with the widow is heaven
Is a kiss and a glory,
But to live with a man on earth
Is a different story.

May it not be that he had made a mountain of a molehill?

But who am I to judge? As I write this I feel that I was perhaps too dense to probe into the workings of his highly sensitive mind. And after all he who had devoted half a century of

rightest endeavor to the pursuit of truth and wisdom should be trusted to judge a situation better than I, ever liable to be swayed by passion and desire. What may appear to me to be truth may be matters of life and death to him. I realized that however difficult life with him may appear sometimes, separation would be still more unbearable. His decision reluctantly. He claims to be no better than the weakling of us. I realized that I had grievously erred in concluding even in thought that joyful time with him. Whether he be a saint or a mere mortal, like all of us, I see that my way for separation was a bit of folly. For when I look upon the wife that I wrote to him, I feel I could not have gone five yards before returning as a penitent.

And after all he said and done, one thing stands out in bold relief—Gandhiji's unswerving love of the Harijans and his ready to lay down his life for that cause. The poignant experience became a well to greater dedication for the masses. The incident burnt into every one of those who attended the South meeting this year the lesson that we are shall temper with that most important item of the constructive programme and that everyone shall be wise awake. The work of reform is sacred Gitan because more acted with the cleansing effect of the electric shock that Gandhiji gave them, and the members went home with a message that they are not likely easily to forget.

H. D.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

The following are some of the important resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee at its recent meeting at Calcutta.

1 The Working Committee view with grave concern the rapid increase in the number of companies owned and managed by foreign corporations and describing themselves with designations such as "India Ltd." or similar words in the hope or with the object of being accepted as genuine Indian concerns. The establishment of these companies has the effect of robbing India of such advantages or benefits as are expected from the policy of decentralising production which has been pursued by the Government of India for the development and growth of Indian industries.

The Congress has always opposed the new Constitution, not only because it is a negation of political freedom, but also because of the lacunae in the Constitution Act of provisions described as safeguards against discrimination. The Working Committee are of opinion that these provisions are not in the interests of India, but are intended and calculated to preserve in foreign nationals, and particularly British capitalists, the

exploitation of the natural wealth and resources of this country. The Working Committee maintain that India has the right to discriminate, if that word must be used, against non-national interests, wherever and whenever the interests of India demand or require it.

The Working Committee have no objection to the use of foreign capital or to the employment of foreign talent when such are not available in India or when India needs them, but on condition that such capital and such talent are under the control, direction and management of Indians and are used in the interests of India.

The Working Committee are further of opinion and declare that no concern can or shall be regarded as "swadeshi" unless its control, direction and management are in Indian hands. The Working Committee would prefer to delay the further development of Indian industries if it can only result in the dumping of foreign industrial concerns who would exploit the natural resources of India. The Working Committee, therefore, hold that the development of India's resources should be achieved by building up industries under the control, direction and management of Indians, which is essential for India's economic independence.

2 The Working Committee has learnt with surprise that an officer of the Office Services subordinate to the Ministers has been appointed to act as Governor in the absence on leave of the present incumbent. Such appointment is highly undesirable and is in contravention of the usual convention prevalent in other countries. It is difficult for the Ministers to act as Ministers to those who have been their subordinates and who might have fallen into disfavor with them. The Working Committee understands that the Office Minister have lodged their protest against the appointment and expressed their strong disagreement with it. The Committee desires the Governor-General or the Secretary of State, as the case may be, to revise the appointment. The Working Committee suggests the adoption of the long-proposed convention of appointing Chief Justices as acting Governors.

3 The Working Committee have taken note of the crisis that has arisen in the Central Provinces in connection with the exercise of emergency by the Minister of Justice in respect of a person who was nominated for the office of consulting engineer. The Committee have been aware of the C. P. Minister in the matter. In the course of the proceedings of a meeting of the C. P. Congress Parliamentary Party the Minister concerned expressed regret and asked his resignation.

The Working Committee take note of the fact that the Ministers and the C. P. Congress Parliamentary Party are satisfied with the

(Continued on p. 52)

H A R I J A N

Apr 9

1935

THE CHOICE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

My remarks arising out of the recent visit in U P have attracted much attention. Friends have sent me criticism from the Press. This is some of the criticism printed in English :

- (1) My writing betrayed hyperbole.
- (2) I wrote without sufficient data.
- (3) I had presented my views as non-co-operation and civil resistance.
- (4) I had been driven to the policy of the Liberals.
- (5) Congressmen had never adopted non-violence as between themselves.
- (6) I was expecting the impossible from human nature.
- (7) If my position was accepted Swamy would never be obtained, for all India could never become non-violent.

There is much more I could call from the criticism. I have only taken the relevant parts.

I if my article betrayed hyperbole, the symptoms still persist, for in spite of the criticism which I have studied with the care it demanded, I am willing to change the position I have taken up. The critics should remember that my proposition was specific and narrow. Swamy could not be obtained through non-violent means unless our non-violence was of the brave and such as to be able to deal effectively with violence. I have not maintained that it could not be obtained by other means. But if it could be so obtained we were not ready to deliver the goods, for we were not ready for watching our faces against the British.

I all the data required were that there were gaps in matter on how small a scale, that Congressmen were not able to deal with them non-violently, and that the aid of the police and the military had to be resorted to. There was no dispute about these three broad facts. They were enough to enable me to draw the conclusions I did. In fact there was no reflection on the Militants. I have admitted that they could not have acted otherwise. The fact, however, remains that the Congress non-violence was not able to cope with the emergency.

I There is nothing in my article to warrant the inference that I had lost my faith in non-co-operation and civil resistance. All I said was that it is brighter than ever. The two are quite enough to bring Swamy provided that non-violence provided is of the bravest.

I I wish I could be drawn towards the policy of the Liberals. I have many personal friends among them. But they have no enemies. I claim that I have an inflexible enemy. My article was written to show that during the riots it was not the reaction that had failed, the failure was of the organisation which had accepted the reaction, namely, active, constructive non-violence.

I I can only refer the critics to the many resolutions of the Congress which do not sanction the use of non-violence only towards Englishmen. Indeed I remember having many discussions at the Working Committee meetings at which the necessity of non-violence among ourselves was emphasised.

I Well, human nature has historic responses to the call of non-violence. But I am concerned with the Congress nature. Congressmen have to sign a pledge which commits them to non-violence. My question was and is—have they non-violence in them? If they have, is it of the brave? My thesis is that if it is of the brave, it should be enough for dealing with the riots and for delivering the goods.

I This is answered in the foregoing.

But I have the fear that our non-violence is not of the kind required. Congressmen may not treat my warning lightly. After all I am supposed to be the Congress expert, however limited, on non-violence. I have confidence in my readings and my instincts. I also remembered and witnessed violence, Bombay violence during the Prince's visit, and Chauri Chaura on the eve of Dandi. The results have amply justified the remedy applied at my instance, though on these occasions critics were not wanting who had expressed their strong disapproval of the consequences. I have no doubts about my power to diagnose about the remedies. The remedies are not beyond our ability. If we have a living conviction about non-violence and its nature, there are none of the remedies.

I We must discover a solution for the Hindu Muslim tension. I am that expression deliberately instead of "communal"—for if we find this, the other will follow as a matter of course.

I There must be a purging of the Congress registers so as to make them proof against bogus votes. From all accounts I receive, our registers contain too many bogus names to be relied at all accounts.

I Congressmen must not be afraid to find themselves in a minority.

I Without delay every Provincial Congress Committee should take a proper surge of volunteers pledged to non-violence in thought, word and deed. And there should be a manual of instructions as to training etc prepared for universal use.

There is nothing hard or impossible in these suggestions. But they are impossible. If

those who had have no living faith is non-violence. If they have not, the minor non-violence is removed from the Congress vocabulary the better it is for the Congress and the nation. The alternative is certainly not unadorned violence. The Congress is the only political organization in the world which has, at my instance, adopted unadorned non-violence for the attainment of freedom. It is the only exception. I dare to say that if we qualify it not what it should be, it will do great harm to the nation. In the last hour we may be found to be cowards instead of brave men and women. And there is no damage greater than cowardice for fighters for freedom. Surely there is nothing to be ashamed of in revealing our steps. If we find that we shall not be able to display the British power without a violent struggle, the Congress must say so to the nation and prepare accordingly. We must do what is being done all the world over—fighting where we can, till when we must. If that is to be our creed or policy, we have lost previous seventeen years. But it is never too late to learn and mend. Seventeen years in the life of a nation is nothing. It will go hand with Congressmen, if having received the warning they do not make the change.

No American Given

Gandhi issued the following statement to the Press on the 3rd inst.

"My attention has been drawn to the press report purporting to give the gist of the conversations that took place between Mr. Vachaspathi and me on April 3. The conversations were strictly confidential and, therefore, the report can only come from a feeble journalistic brain. Ever since I have entered upon this self-imposed mission on behalf of political prisoners and detainees, I have made known the terms upon which I have intervened. But the giving of assurances by prisoners or detainees as a price of freedom has never crossed my mind. As a self-helper I would not be guilty of making any political prisoner to give such assurances. And I can also add that during my talks with the prisoners at Alipore and Kharak Juk and the Congressman III prisoners at Durg, they made it absolutely clear to me that they would give no assurance to anyone for the purpose of purchasing their freedom. I wish for the sake of the cause that the newspapers will not anticipate events. Every authentic report adds to my difficulties which are already formidable."

WEEKLY LETTER

Gandhi's Health

I have described elsewhere how Gandhi's health reached the point of breakdown one day at Dehlag. What to many was a trifle detached his sensitive balance making him wholly disconcerted. The reader will see from the leading article how my confusion or failure to do an obvious duty resulted in a tragedy that shook Gandhi to the depths and made him lose many of the vigour that he had made towards recovery (but he proved that nothing untoward happened). He made a tremendous effort to survive the shock of the tragedy and he seems now, I am thankful to say, to have partly recovered from it.

A Shocking Plan

As though to justify Gandhi's violent reaction to the Puri temple-going incident, came the visit by appointment of the Mahant of Puri. He greeted Gandhi with the epithet "the greatest of all Vachaspathis", but would not break the suggestion of "the greatest of all Vachaspathis" but the temple doors should be thrown open to the Marjara Rajendrakumar's sister, whom Gandhi had successfully prevented from going to Puri, was sitting next to Gandhi when the Mahant came. That gave Gandhi the occasion to press his message home. But the Mahant seemed to be unconcerned. Gandhi also told to him that all the religions of mankind were now being weighed in the balance, and if Hinduism was found wanting, it would have to go with a crash. But what did he care? At any rate during his lifetime, he must have felt, no such disaster was going to happen. And why worry about what happens after one has walked off the stage? Gandhi drew his attention to the fact that the heavens did not fall in Tawarna where the temple doors had been flung open to the Marjara by the Maharaja, in fact a little bit of heaven seemed to have been brought down to earth by the great spiritual anchorage that had come to the walls of the Poodharam. But all this was as water over the duck's back. He advanced to all seriousness a plan which at once seemed to me to place him at the top of the hierarchy of hypocrites who have often placed the Government nose before Gandhi. Thus a Pandit who visited us in Tawarna and in 1931 had seriously maintained that the site of Marjara could be washed away by each one of them spouting false 'pran' prayers. This Mahant beat all the rest by suggesting that the Lord of the World, the Father of the universe, was extraneous to the Marjara. He went out to collect to secure the four Marjara right outside the gates of the temple, even as we go out to receive distinguished guests. Were we not all foolish in not recognizing this definite act of grace and affection? But he forgot that whereas a distinguished guest is taken right into the

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best room of the house and offered a suit of houses, the poor Hakman apt noticed outside and hidden to stay outside. The Michael might well have added: "Rather than ask the Hakmans to go into the suffocating darkness of the interior of the temple, the Lord of the World wants them to enjoy the fresh air and light outside temple doors!"

But he did seem to anticipate that some day the doors would have to be opened. There should be no basis, however. The backyard tent was on the tip of his tongue all the while he was saying—Get on gradually, get on gradually, gradually is the mountain called.

"Kya Hago?"

A much finer specimen of humanity was a village we met in a neighbouring village one where we went out for our morning walks. Part of the programme of the Gandhi Bera League should be a visit to the villages in the neighbourhood. The village we visited was a typical Orissa village, very well laid out and clean, and full of neat little houses which were models of cleanliness, both inside and outside. There were well lighted and well ventilated, and there was a nice and sweet smell about them. The good man we met invited us to go into the temple, a tiny little hut with an image in the inner room and with the drawings on the wall. One of the walls was filled with representations of the ten avatars, and another had Chaitanya with his party dancing and singing before the Lord of the World. Next he took us into his own house right into the kitchen. Unlike the other contents he wanted to speak about Hindu. The Mahan in the previous paragraph seemed to be secure of his Mahanhood and did not worry about anything else. This man asked at every five minutes, with a worried glance, Kya Hago, Kya Hago—what is absolutely going to happen?

"But why?" said I. "Are you not satisfied with what is happening? We have a little bit of money. We have our own Ministers."

"Oh," he said with a slight smile. "We have indeed our own Ministers. But have they any power? It is the Lal (the Governor) who rules over them and they dare do nothing independently. Why? In spite of the Ministers, the police are still the lords of the land and no one dare defy them."

"Is it as bad as it used to be?"

"Well, slightly better, if you please. But nothing much to boast of."

"And who is this Lal? Have you ever seen him?"

"Oh yes. He was here when the floods devastated our villages. Our houses were in water—deep water and I had to send away all the women and children to a safer place. The lawless done was lawless, and we had expected that he would organise a rebellion. No rebellion, however. Who will put those vandals right?"

"You, or rather we."

He shrugged his shoulders immediately. The village belonged to the Temple. It originally belonged to a Brahmin who had purchased it for Rs. 25,000 and made it over to the Puri Temple. Out of the revenue of the village 25 Brahmins were being fed every day in the Puri Temple! He had a hundred acres of land, and his house showed that God had blessed him. In his pocket and his store.

"How many people out of the 1,000 in the village possess 100 or more acres?"

"A few. Perhaps ten or so. But there are quantities of people who have no lands at all."

"And what about debts? Have you any debts?"

"Every one of us."

"But why should you have debts? Do not the hundred acres give you enough rice and oil and cowpots and chickens?"

"They do. But there are marriage expenses and the like. There is a girl to marry, and one girl's marriage has already cost a debt of Rs. 25."

"But must you pay these dowries? You are a good individual man. Why should you not enter into a pact with influential men elsewhere not to give dowries and not to accept dowries?"

He laughed.

"Is it impossible? Why, only two days ago a marriage was celebrated in Delang, where with the blessings of the members of the League two widows were married without any money passing between them."

"I know," he said. "My son is a volunteer there, and he often says the same thing to me. But what can be done? These customs have been handed down to us from generation to generation and they stick."

"They have got to go. Your festivities were splendourous. Must you continue to act upstart? They had much more gorgeous customs than you have. I can speak to Gopalakrishna, he help you. He would go with you and help organise the no-dowry campaign."

"No, it is no use speaking to Gopalakrishna. Why not speak to the Minister? They can put an end to these customs."

"Not if you are not ready."

"Kya Hago?" he asked again.

"Haven't you faith in God?"

"I have. But these men holden?" he continued with a sigh.

More about the Exhibition

In my hurried note on the Delhi Exhibition, I could not dwell at length on some of the important special features of the Exhibition. The most instructive in some respects were the demonstrations and exhibits of the Government Department of Agriculture, Orissa. I would mention the improved farmers for making soil

Thus the furnace in ordinary use costs Rs. 7 to make, the capacity of each charge is 2½ manuka piles, the consumption of fuel is 4-5 manuka piles per each charge. The time taken per each charge is three to four hours. It can be used two to three times of once in a season. Its obvious disadvantages are want of facilities for drying the piles, often the fur is charred, much fuel is consumed than necessary, distribution of heat is not uniform. The improved furnace with iron grillings and divided into two compartments obviates all these disadvantages. The cost of construction is the same, the capacity of each charge is double (i.e. five manuka), the consumption of fuel is four manuka once again and hence, the time taken for each charge is not more than three hours, and it can be used double the time. Its advantages are that it gives better facility for distribution of the piles, the fur is not charred as the fuel can be regulated, the distribution of fuel is uniform and three charges can be taken per day.

This improved furnace is a thing which could be adopted wherever sugarcane is grown in India. I do not know whether the device would be useful for palm-leaf fur making also, as the furnace in this case is very small. But I do not know why the grillings should not improve the furnace even in this case.

Then there was the public lecture showing the harmfulness of over-pollination (I wonder if that is the proper term.) The area under rice in India is more than 50 per cent of the rice area in the world, but the yield per acre in India is the lowest in the world, whereas the highest yield of rice in Spain is five times the average yield in India. There is no doubt that our seed and our method of sowing and plantation are faulty. The Department has made successful experiments in improvement of the seed and in the methods of transplantation. Then there was the crops for flooded areas. There is a belief that nothing can be grown in a flooded area. The Department had flooded area soil there and demonstrated that some useful fodder crops could be grown there. Lastly there was the method of water-lifting. The present method of lifting water for irrigating rice fields is the primitive one of lifting it in bamboo baskets. Instead the Department has devised the water-lifting device which lifts water with great power at much speed as the primitive device. The device is very simple, goes on turning in a spiral way in a wooden cylinder and lifts up water effectively. This could be adopted in all rice-growing areas.

M. D.

Readers will oblige us if they send us addresses of articles and suggestions; they are interested in the same represented by the Minister and who would therefore like to have a specimen copy of it.

M. D.

KHADI - A YEAR'S PROGRESS

I

"The year has witnessed substantial progress in the khadi work all over the country. The change in the political situation has greatly stimulated the demand for khadi and has brought about considerable expansion of activities in the production area. The introduction of scientific methods in the various sections of manufacture has shown possibilities of effective improvements in the quality and output of khadi whilst providing at the same time adequate means to the spinner and other village artisans engaged. Arrangements have been made for providing additional capital and a large number of workers with necessary training, and the number of spinners and weavers producing benefits from this activity has as a result well-nigh doubled."

These constitute the annual report of the All India Spinners' Association, which was passed at the meeting of the Association Board held at Delhi during the Gandhi Sevā Sangh week. The report is packed with information and would justify close consideration. An effort will be made in these columns to summarise the principal features.

The political situation stimulated the demand for khadi, and to cope with it additional capital and an additional force of workers with technical skill became necessary. The Association made available a loan of Rs. two lakhs which was distributed among various branches, and a number of fresh recruits were secured for the work of khadi production. 480 new workers were thus trained during the year, and adoption of these measures brought about an increase of about a million square yards in A. I. S. A. production.

With the acceptance of office by the Congress the Government in the Congress provinces came forward with monetary and other help, Madras contributing the largest share—Rs. 1,25,000 being supplied by the Madras Ministry out of a total of Rs. 1,25,000 contributed altogether by the four provinces of Bombay, Madras, Orissa and U. P. Instructions for the purchase of khadi for their various departments by these Governments have increased the demand and some time will elapse before the whole of it can be supplied.

The minimum wage, ensuring a suitable standard of living to every spinner, was fixed by a resolution of the Board in October 1935. After two years' working it has been found, to almost the cost of time. The wage was too high, affected, and the Maharashtra Branch was empowered to raise the wage again offering a few more shillings to spinners at Bich and Lathi for yarn of 32½ strength. In fact the Board meeting at Delhi seriously considered Gandhi's proposal for achieving the standard wage of eight annas for an eight hours' day, and some branches are expected to try the experiment.

The minimum wage became a sort of opportunity to unscrupulous dealers who tried to push on the sale of khadi which did not meet the conditions of the A. I. S. A. The Working Committee has taken a serious view of the case and has warned the public against these unscrupulous producers and their cloth. The public ought to take an understanding interest in the problem and show what might for want of a better word be called "sweated khadi".

The report contained much useful and interesting tables of the number of spinners, weavers and other artisans, their distribution according to religion, the likely weavers among them. With the introduction of the minimum

spinners wage the Association had come into direct touch with the spinners, and all produce of cotton thread from weavers and of yarn through middlemen was stopped.

HOUSEHOLD SPINNERS AND OTHER ARTISANS

A. I. S. A. Branches

Province	SPINNERS				WEAVERS			
	Men	Women	Boys	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Total
Ajmer	1608	48	25	1681	814	204	47	1065
Alwar	1805	1	415	1421	Not recorded			
Bikaner	18445	16008	408	35061	10	161	15	186
Bhopal	129	845	40	1014	407	2	—	409
Chanderi	Not recorded				Not recorded			
Dahod	1801	200	410	2411	204	—	10	214
Dharwar	—	818	—	818	—	108	—	108
Total								
Bombay	440	304	1838	3582	118	25	—	143
Madras	4821	481	1004	6306	1704	1034	—	2738
Punjab	5118	1681	—	6800	10	207	803	813
Nagpur	1009	525	240	1774	—	8	181	189
Rajput	101	845	875	1821	4	0	20	24
Tamil Nadu	2100	16	82	2198	Not recorded			
U. P.	7146	18018	330	25494	570	581	1170	2268
Other	—	12	—	12	145	—	—	145
Total	30411	48081	7400	85892	411	1040	2694	4165

M. D.

(To be continued)

WORKING COMMITTEES RESOLUTIONS

(Continued from p. 71.)

apology the Minister had tendered in that, not realising the gravity of the case he was dealing with, he did not share with his colleagues the responsibility of his action.

In the opinion of the Working Committee in order to arrive at a just decision the real question to be considered is whether the Minister committed a grave error of judgment amounting to miscarriage of justice. If he did, then compensation was the only proper course in the interest of justice, purity of administration and the honour of women. If, on the other hand, there is no miscarriage of justice, there is no need of compensation nor possibly for an apology.

The Working Committee have not sufficient material before them for coming to a decision on merit and they are reluctant to pass judgment straightforward on a matter requiring careful and close investigation.

In the course of the proceedings of the Working Committee another case of dishonesty in respect of a prisoner who has been guilty of an enormous fraud was also brought to light. Before coming to a decision the Working Committee have thought it necessary to invite a

larger of reports to examine both cases and advise the Working Committee whether there has been a grave error of judgment amounting to miscarriage of justice.

The Working Committee appeal to the public to watch their final decision in the confidence that it will be given without fear or favour. The Committee assure the women, who so rightly expected error on the case, that the Working Committee hold the honour of womanhood as less dear than women do.

Minister's Goods

By Boman Bahadur, Press No. 5-4-4, Panchgiri, 4, 20, 1938.

Mr Gandhi The Man

By Mr. M. K. Gandhi, Public Representative of Gandhi, Press No. 5-4-4, Panchgiri, 4, 20, 1938.

Available at the District Office—Press 4

CONTENTS

	Page
A. I. S. A. Branches	72
Working Committee's Resolutions	73
THE CHOICE	74
WOMEN'S LITIGATION	75
MINISTER'S GOODS	76
MR. GANDHI THE MAN	77
THE CHOICE	78
WOMEN'S LITIGATION	79
MINISTER'S GOODS	80



HARIJAN

Editor: MARGARET BOWEN

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sewak Sangh

1190

Vol. VI No 10

POONA - SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1938

[ONE ANNA]

AERIAL BOMBING AND BRITAIN

"The House of Commons last night passed without dividing a motion," said a press message from London, dated February 3rd, "declaring that the growing horror of aerial bombardment of defenceless civilians should be expressed in an international agreement to co-operate in its prohibition, and urging the Government to exert its influence to this end." Mr. Eden, the then Foreign Secretary, "associated himself with the motion, and hoped that its acceptance by the Commons would serve once again to call the attention of the world to the difficulties in this respect which confronts it." "Unless something could be done to meet this menace," he added, "in the latter part of the century the people of the world were going to live like troglodytes."

There are people who doubt whether the British Government, in view of their past actions, are well fitted to undertake the task mentioned in the foregoing resolution. The general reader in India may not be fully aware of the fact that some years ago, in 1918, at the gloomy session of the Disarmament Conference at Geneva, a clause (Article 24) proposing the abolition of air-bombing was supported by all nations except Britain, and it had fallen to the lot of the same Mr. Eden to put forward, as the head of the British Delegation, a parenthetical remarking "air-bombing for police purposes in certain outlying districts" (namely the North-West Frontier of India and the territories held under mandate from the League), and the same Mr. Eden, who now expresses horror at "this menace", signed in favour of employing "the method of air-bombing" in "inaccessible mountain districts" for "the policing of these areas", and made the astounding statement that if the British Delegation agreed to the abolition of this exception, "it would be doing it at the expense of the health, life and limb of those in these areas, for which the United Kingdom had to bear a measure of responsibility, or, what would be even more disgusting deception on her part, in respect of areas as to which she had recently given up responsibility." Nevertheless Andrews has, in his recently published book *The Challenge of the North-West Frontier*, quoted from the Minutes of the proceedings of the Conference to show that with the exception of Britain and Iraq, all nations — Netherlands, Sweden, Poland, Switzer-

land, Norway, China, France, Afghanistan, even U. S. A., Germany and U. S. S. R. — were agreeable to the abolition of this parenthesis, and the Norway delegate characterized the text within the parenthesis as "extremely dangerous". But the refusal of Britain virtually killed the clause, and a golden opportunity to abolish air-bombing was lost. And two years later, Lord Londonderry, the then Air Minister of Britain, in what Mr. Andrews has called "an incredibly foolish speech", delivered in the House of Lords, said: "I had the utmost difficulty at that time, and the public outcry, in preserving the use of the bombing aeroplane even on the frontier of the Middle East and India... I felt certain that when the threat of abolition was mentioned practically they would be discovered to be inapplicable in the state of the world today. We could not put the clock back. Limitation, not abolition, was all we could really hope for. Limitation, I believe, was the ultimate policy, which I continually urged." Is it very wonder, therefore, if the world believed at the time, and still believe, that it was Britain, and Britain alone, which stood between the world and the abolition of aerial bombardment? "When we look at the events," says Mr. Andrews, "which have happened since the Air Disarmament Conference was closed in this manner, it is not difficult to realize how this perverse insistence upon the bombing of undefended North-West Frontier villages has in the end had to be met explosive power, not only for India itself, but for the world at large." That is an effect the world pronounced by the whole world.

It is not to say that British statements were not even then aware of the unspeakable and indescribable horror that dropping of "incendiary bombs of liquid fire" would shower on helpless, defenceless men, women and children. In November 1933, Mr. (now Earl) Baldwin told the House of Commons and the country, in words which have often been quoted,

"that all the experts he had consulted had informed him that there was no defence against air raids. Even if one side had a greatly superior air fleet, the bomber of the other side would always get through. Therefore aerial warfare would take the form of reprisals — each side would carry out raids against the other, hurt his cities and slaughter his women and children."

And what can be more poignant and touching than the following uttered by the same statesman in the House of Commons—curiously enough, at the same hour when the Air Minister was harping in the other House of the same "in preserving the use of the bombing aeroplane"? These sentences are memorably words:

"I tell the House that I have been made almost physically sick to think that I and my friends, not citizens in every country of Europe, 1,000 years after our Lord was born, but, should be spending our time thinking how we can get the mangled bodies of children in hospital and how we can keep the parents free from going down the drains of the people—I believe that an oppressor may be upon even now at the midnight hour, when we may within a hour march in on our feet and be loaded from the world the most brutal, cruel and poisonous of man's knowledge that has ever been known in the world."

Was this, however, "the most fearful terror" only for the "civilized world and not for the "barbaric and cannibalistic hordes, already re-buffed" by "wild and cruel ball rifles"? This method was cheaper, argued Mr. Eden in 1918. With what force, then, could the British Government pretend against the world bombardment by Italy in Abyssinia and by Japan in China, if these two Powers put forward the same argument of cheapness? This is a patent inconsistency on the part of the British Government, and has not escaped the notice of fair-minded Englishmen and women who have admitted the claims of it. I still quote the words of two three of them, writers of international fame:

"When, for example, it is suggested that bombing and bombing aeroplanes should be totally abolished, the reply is at once made, especially by Great Britain, that aeroplanes, provided they do not exceed a certain range and carrying capacity, are to be considered either as agencies of police force or offensive military units. Are they not far cheaper and more effective than the methods of burning, bombing and shelling? Do they not do more effectively than by dropping bombs than by poison expeditions by land? Great Britain is prompt to protest against bomb-dropping upon people whom she regards as civilized, but more anxious are another method, and it is even argued that the aeroplane is a universal weapon because, innocently used, it strikes far more terror than it does material or human damage. In any case, the air force of the world has come to a prodigious size in recent years, and aeroplanes have, from the standpoint of constant struggling with ancient military techniques, the expense merit of being remarkably cheap." (J. D. D. Cole and M. I. Cole *Europe Today* p. 115.)

The quotation that follows contains some very incidental but true remarks.

"Needless to say, if the British Empire retains business for its own purposes, its death

will not trouble them. And where do 'anti-flying regions' begin and end—would Shanghai for example? The region which is far as 'anti-flying' is a home to be maintained. It was evident even at the first debate that this imperialist reservation had destroyed the hope for peace in the air."

It is hardly open, as the British Government contends, that bombing from the air enables it to maintain its authority as "striking regions" at small expense and with a negligible loss of life—among its own citizens. That is not the least of the expenses to the public. It involves complications with United Italy. The success of publicity on their terms becomes dangerous too soon. In the old days, because land aeroplanes were really so noisy and so slow, here, our strategists on such reports was compelled to study the interests and even the propensities of striking populations, to maintain diplomacy, and even to think out a constructive economic and educational policy which might in the long run "win" without trials from their rough ways. Such people are apt to be considerable dangers, mainly because they are extremely poor. From this ordinary necessity one is deprived, if one has a reputation of freedom at all. To destroy a village from the air is very much less troublesome than to destroy it. Moreover, there is available from military eye-witnesses collected evidence of the suffering that sometimes attend these operations, to make the general public extremely sceptical of the official contention that they are really "bloodless." (J. D. D. Cole and M. I. Cole *Europe Today* p. 115-6.)

This was the attitude of the British Government till recently. Has it now undergone any change? Evidently not, because on the 6th of February, even before war had passed after Mr. Eden's speech, Mr. Oswald Gore, the Colonial Secretary, made a statement in regard to "the action against non-combatant civilians" taken by the British Government in the Asia Provinces, in which he said:

"Such measures are undertaken only in the last resort when other means of protection have failed. Adequate warning is always given to the inhabitants so that they may remove themselves from the area affected, and as a result, the number of casualties has been very small. I am convinced that in all circumstances this is the most effective and most humane method of dealing with the situation." (11.)

What is "the most fearful terror" for the people of Europe as "the most effective and most humane method" for these "civilized" people? How are these conflicting statements from members of the same Cabinet to be explained? The answer is given by an outspoken Englishman who says:

"It is clear that as regards air armaments the Government has been not so much enlightened and half-hearted, throughout the Government

Conference, a double-faced and double-tongued One that was turned to Government and to public opinion; it spoke eloquently of the interest of civil workers and of the Government's interest to include these workers. The other face kept its tongue in its cheek and was not his last against all attempts to bring about the very thing which the Government publicly professed their desire to encourage. And it is the worst it was the day Ministry, like the Assembly, that occupied."

C 5

A Whistle-blower Report on Page 4 B

"NEGOTIATIONS NOT CONCLUDED"

Weekly issued the following statement to the Press on the 15th inst.

"I regret to inform the public that the negotiations that I have been conducting with the Government of Bengal through Sir Kinnaird have not yet been concluded. I must confess that my arrival in Calcutta was ill-timed, as the Ministers were all busy with the Assembly work, and as it was known that I should come back before the end of March, I felt it was unnecessary to continue Sir Kinnaird's work during the time of my arrival. Had I taken the precaution of writing to him, I could not have found myself in Calcutta as an independent agent. I have now to write a letter to Sir Kinnaird, summarizing my suggestions which, I am assured, will be considered by the Government as speedily as possible. Our debate demands takes a process which, it is expected, will be completed within two months. It is hoped, however, that the decision may be taken much earlier, and if it becomes necessary for me to return to Calcutta, I shall do so without hesitation, provided, of course, that my health permits it.

Meanwhile I must repeat that all agitation for the release of detainees and prisoners should be suspended while negotiations continue. I must also state that it is not conducive to the success of the negotiations if public demonstrations are held in honor of those who may be discharged. In my opinion, it is more dignified for Congressmen to remain calm. I have now written of speeches and addresses in reported in the papers, which is not doing any special of anti-release.

I may add that whilst I have been under the special pressure and discussion with these three officials to see release for my own position, the Government have made it plain to me that whatever the pressure might make in me will not be allowed to determine their policy. They think that it will be improper for them to have their minds so much influenced as I may seem. I fully appreciate the Government view. My talks with political prisoners themselves are purely for my own personal satisfaction.

In so far as the 14 Bengali prisoners are concerned, they gave me of the 'prisoner' I had with them the following letter: 'During your last visit you expressed your desire to be acquainted with our details even on certain things. After giving full consideration to the matter we can only confirm what we said then. As long as we are in detention we are unable to discuss our own and foreign and political opinions. Particularly when the talk of release is in the air it affects our state of mind—except to say anything that may have some bearing on the position of our own release. We hope you will appreciate our standpoint and readily concede that we mean no personal disparage.'

It was agreed by these four other prisoners that not signed the letter but they continued discussion with the ministers expressed above, and the letter was a letter very similar to the foregoing."

FAMINE IN BIJAPUR

To The Editor, HARJAN
Sir,

On behalf of the famine-stricken district of Bijapur I approach you with a request for mentioning in your esteemed journal HARJAN the awful state of the Bijaipur district and an appeal to the public to help our Committee financially to relieve the distress.

I shall give you in brief the situation of the district, the needs, and the constitution and working of our Committee.

Bijapur is a backward district and often suffers from the bad effects of famine due to insect-borne and untimely rains. Last year I believe and a part of the district were famine-stricken, this year the whole district is affected. The Government of Bombay declared on February 3 famine in 52 out of 1,174 villages. The other 148 villages are also partly affected. There has been shortage of food because of the extent of 15 lakh and consumption of 14 lakh of crops. The affected area is 1,380 sq miles with a population of 2,50,000 and people surviving 3 lakh. The working population number about 80,000; which some 21,000, which the Government of 1938. The forest area is only about a few of some but has no grain. The fodder has to be imported from outside. The Government is doing the best but by giving out loans and starting relief works. We are supplementing their efforts by taking the following measures of relief:

- (1) Starting fodder depots and selling fodder at cheap rates and free supply to some good plough and water cattle.
- (2) Free supply of seeds when the monsoon breaks.
- (3) Free supply of clothes to destitute and laborers.
- (4) Supply of milk to babies in areas of laborers on relief works.
- (5) Help to poor people of respectable families.
- (6) Marketing farmers by giving them work and selling the collected products.
- (7) Starting cheap grain shops.

Rs 55,000 were spent last year; but due to the great increase in the extent of relief operations, it is estimated that two lakh of rupees are needed. The people have no sustaining power; seeds are being sold at a nominal price, no immediate help is needed.

Our Committee consists of both officials and non-officials. Prominent Congressmen, including the representatives of the District and Taluka Committees, are members. I am working in collaboration with Mr. H. S. Kumbhar, Secretary of the Karmachi branch of the All India Students' Association. The accounts of the Committee are audited by a Government auditor. I can assure you that every penny donated to this Committee will go to relieve the distress. It is the only Committee in the district doing this work.

The situation of things will give you an idea of the present pitiable condition in this second successive year of famine. Some mention in your esteemed journal will attract the attention of the generous public and contributions and will greatly help our cause. There will be help coming to us in cash, cloth and grain if you use your pen in our cause.

F. G. KIDWANE
Hon. Secretary.

Dist. Famine Relief Committee, Bijapur

HARIJAN

Apr. 14

1938

THE LESSON OF THE RIOTS

Since the publication of Gandhi's article 'Our Failures', a good deal of criticism has appeared in the press. The bulk of it was dealt with by Gandhi in his last week's article. There is just one aspect which was passed on Gandhi's attention by friends, viz. that there were ample demonstrations of brotherly feeling during the riots, and that that is why the riots did not spread further. Thus it is mentioned that whilst during former riots Hindus and Mussalman loathes became armed camps opposed to one another in battle array, as that innocent women and children had to go without food for some days, at Allahabad the Congress Committee organised relief and Hindu and Muslim workers went through storm centres with food for people who were starving. Pandit Sunderbhai's letter now printed is a long narration of the part played by the Congress and other workers, and there are portions in it which deserve to be reproduced.

"Up to the 17th," he writes, "I had no apprehension that the riots would spread. You know I lost all the 17th procession and the beating of those and the application of sec 144 C. E. O., I withdrew and made a point of visiting every place where there had been any trouble. I spent the whole night visiting storm centres, with a view to stopping preparations for further fighting and rioting. At 10 o'clock I was in Balapur, a Hindu locality, at 11 o'clock in Banapur, a Muslim locality where 40 to 70 men armed with knives were pending the night. They said they would be approached, they were there only as the defenders. I explained to them how a defensive attitude might soon change into an offensive one, I removed their misapprehensions and gave them various hints. This seemed to reassure them. At 1 A. M. I went to the teachers' quarters. I found there ten people full of excitement, but not unwilling to listen to reason.

There were some Muslims who wanted to burn Mussalman houses and our men. We helped them, but we laid stress on people being protected by their neighbours whenever they gave them the assurance of protection.

On the third day there was a meeting of Hindus and Muslims, attended by Congressmen, members of the Muslim League and Hindu Sahis, under my presidency. From Committees for various localities were invited and they unanimously started with Pandit Sunderbhai Malviya and Mahomed Malviya on behalf of the Hindus, and Kisan Baburao Shanwar Uda, Jethmal Uda, Kisan Baburao Abdul Ganyavikhan, Nohar Mahomed Elpis, Kishu Shamsar, Bhai

Abdur Rahman and Shah Uda on behalf of the Mussalmans, worked earnestly and strenuously. Many of them had no members of the Muslim League. The Committees did very good work. The District Magistrate also helped and at one place he was with us in forming the Committees.

On the 14th and 15th March the Kalpal Dera fair is held. The place where the fair is held is a Hindu locality right in the heart of the city, but surrounded on all sides by Muslim population. Holding the fair seemed to be out of the question. There was the water crisis, there was Section 144, and there were two dead bodies found on the 14th. The officials first advised permission to hold the fair. Later they refused and gave the permission on my assurance that I should protect my life if anything untoward happened from the side of the Hindus. Then I approached the Mussalmans. They received me kindly. The permission I have mentioned helped a good deal, but one who shall be named helped the most. He said he would stand ready to beat Mussalman loathes, and that he would protect his life before I did when if anything untoward happened. Well, the fair was held, thanks to the co-operation of the police, Congress workers and volunteers, Agawal Saw Sahai volunteers and others, but thanks principally to the Mussalmans who kept their promise to me that there was no breach of peace. I cannot speak too highly of Pandit Sunderbhai Malviya's services in the connection.

Let me tell you, Sirs, that there was not one, both Hindus and Muslims, wanting who at great risk of life, helped in protecting life and property when the people were almost working under a curfew with my eye open. I must mention one incident. There is a narrow lane, at one end of which the bulk of the population are Hindus and at the other the bulk are Mussalmans. Hindus are better in number. Many times bands of Mussalmans came, beat on sticks. The situation was saved by a retired Government servant. Being a Mussalman he appeared to his colleagues to stand, as to walk over his dead body.

I will not go into the circumstances that led to the riots, but at the root were of course mutual distrust and ill will and want of real courage. I must say a few words about the part played by the Congress. Up to a certain point the Allahabad Congress Committee supported itself of its last very well indeed. But our shortcomings also were clearly revealed. Having a few chapters, there was a good deal of excitement feeling and violence in thought amongst ourselves. Otherwise we should, without the co-operation of the Muslim League or the Hindu Sahis, or police or military aid, be able to prevent riots or to quell them in an hour.

I must not close the letter without an expression of my proud and grateful recognition of the real courage of Pandit Sunderbhai Uda. He was with me throughout the night of the 13th

On the 19th also he worked shamelessly and impartially. On the 19th he was attacked and severely wounded. When I went to console him with (who is hardly fit) showed she was proud that he had received injuries in the cause of the country."

We do not think these long extracts from Pandit Sunderlal's letter affect in any way the position taken up by Gandhiji and repeated in these columns to the effect the Congress stood of non-violence was compromised in that the Congressmen were not able to deal with the riots non-violently and that the aid of the police and the military had to be sought. That there were a few cases of leave men going about the affected areas, with their lives in the palms of their hands, provided but a slight blemish to the gloomy situation. But Pandit Sunderlal makes no secret of the atmosphere that produced the riots—the atmosphere of communal strife, of violence, of looking to the police and the military as the only guardians of peace. This atmosphere cannot vanish until there is an atmosphere of active and corporate non-violence to take its place. That cannot be created until the Congress as an organization and as represented by every one of its four-score members purifies itself and is based on the true foundation of the creed of non-violence. "We have thousands of members on the Congress register," said Gandhiji, as he was talking the other day to a friend. "Do they know the implications of the form they sign when they become Congress members? Are all of them genuine members? Is not the existence of bogus members by itself a breach of the creed of non-violence? Where the members are genuine, were they called upon by the Congress Committee of the previous to do their part in quelling the riots? Why don't we then call upon them? And if and when we call upon them, how many thousands out of ten thousand will respond? If even five, say even one, thousand respond, and go forward to stand between the fighting camps, the heads of some of them will be broken, but they will be the last. No more heads will be broken. But the implications of the creed must be recognized. A true Congressman should be incapable of seeking the aid of the police and the military as their saviors. Yet if we insist, if our non-violence is the non-violence of the weak and not of the strong, it would be far better to change our creed than allow the world to believe that we are non-violent in thought, word and deed. It may be that we really accept non-violence in deed only, and in so far as we are selfish with the others are concerned. It would then be well to make this change in the creed rather than and under false colors."

That was the burden of his speeches at Delhi on the subject, and that is what he has been telling everyone who visits in Congress circles, since his return from Delhi.

WEEKLY LETTER

Gandhiji's Health

I wish I could say that there has been a change for the better in Gandhiji's health during the week under report. But various things, apparently trifling-looking, have continued to disturb the situation between, and there have been violent seas and falls in the blood pressure. His system has become very much like a most sensitive barometer which records the slightest changes in the atmosphere. The Gita runs 111-12 nervousness, peace, man's real nature, which is beyond all control. His protest to live up to the spirit of wrong and of evil-doer immediately with the good and perfect, is beyond control, and the scene we who speculate his current surroundings realize this the better. It was that protest that occurred itself at Delhi, on the occasion of the Ford incident, also, the realization of this has come to me rather too late, for a recent letter Mianji puts the position in a way that it is impossible to better.

"It is the mental atmosphere and moral darkness that must be getting on his nerves being! The meaning of violence is, I believe, the only direct help. Gandhi is prepared to the awakening or feeling of those around him that Raj's conduct is not to be done. I believe more and more that the nearer we can approach to Raj's state, the further we can push his side. I used to feel it deeply with a sort of half-sister, but now it stands out like a moral truth. We can kill him with our moral death, or save him into a life all up by awakening to his voice. That help us."

The Joy of Education through Work

Though the formulation of the idea of imparting education through work or a vocation is new, the idea is not new, and has been unconsciously or occasionally worked out by master minds. There is a passage in the life of Parvati by Vallabh Bhatt which throws considerable light on the subject and reveals the joy of education through work. In 1814 Parvati was made Professor and Dean of the new "Pashu shastra" or Lillo. In his opening address he spoke eloquently on the new innovation then introduced of allowing pupils to carry out experiments in laboratories. "Where is your father will you find," he said, "where will you find a young man whose curiosity and interest will not immediately be awakened when you put into his hands a potato, when with that potato he may produce sugar, with that sugar alcohol, and with that alcohol ether and vinegar? Where is he that will not be happy to tell his family in the evening that he has just been working out an electric telegraph? And, gentlemen, be convinced of this, such studies are seldom, if ever, forgotten. It is equivalent as if geography were to be taught by travelling, such geography is remembered because one has seen the places. In the same way your sons will not forget what the air we breathe is containing when they have once ana-

brand it, when in their hands and under their eyes the admirable properties of its elements have been revealed."

There is a joy in creation which is almost divine, but that joy cannot be felt until the maker creates himself through his creation. Those who fear that the Wardha scheme of education through a basic vision might well be a shallow creed do not know that it is the education imparted through an intelligent understanding of the vocations and the things it creates that will bring real joy to the work and turn the present-day education which is a shallow creed into a thing of ever-renewing joy.

Education-voc-vocation

Not education through manual work is a different thing from education *via* manual training which is being given in various institutions in the country. These institutions were in reply to the outcry against modern education which was said to make book-worms of boys and girls, incapable of doing anything with their hands and feet. In so far as they were so eager to show others they were good enough, but they could not in the nature of things be popular. The parents who wanted their children to go in for a literary education would not bear the thought of their wasting their time on manual work, and manual workers felt that their children got nothing new by going to schools. The new scheme, if handled by capable teachers, is sure to make an irresistible appeal to parents in rural areas. Parents in urban areas may well keep their children away from these schools.

I had the occasion to see two schools of the *vocational-voc-education* type during our stay in Bengal. Of these Ushagram is situated close to an urban place like Amritsar but in an area which is rural. Mr and Mrs. Williams who are in charge of the school have endeavored their utmost to give the school a rural character. The school houses are all mud houses, some with thatched roofs and some with corrugated iron roofs, made partly by the students themselves. The architecture of the place is ideal, however as Mr. Williams has devised and introduced *sepia tanks* on the premises each designed to serve about ten inmates living in a cottage, and constructed under Mr. Williams's supervision, by students themselves and hence costing only Rs 15 each. They are good enough for use for eight to nine years. Mr. Williams has indeed specialized in the construction of *sepia tanks* and has persuaded one or two neighboring villages also to have *sepia tanks*. He held a fortnight's class last year where 75 workers, coming mainly from Bihar, were trained in the construction of *sepia tanks*. This is the most substantial part of his work. He has introduced various crafts in the school like basket-making, weaving, book-binding, and now paper-making. The school has also a small press where the school magazine is printed. Within the compulsory training in these crafts is a *utilitarian*

feature. It cannot be said to satisfy in any way the conditions of the Wardha scheme.

Another school of the same type is in Tein-sai, a school of Calcutta and thus a typically urban one. It is known as the Panchal 841 Polytechnic. It is a free polytechnical school, preparing boys in seven years for mechanization and also giving them a compulsory training in any two of these urban crafts—book-binding, cane-work, tailoring, carpentry, smelting and electro-plating, weaving, shoe-making, watch and cycle repairing, photography, motor-driving and so on. The boys and girls are taught free, and after they have learnt a craft they are given something by way of remuneration for their work. I was specially struck with the cane-work, tailoring and book-binding departments, and I was told that in spite of the whole course being concentrated in seven years and vocational training being compulsory, the school has sent out good results in Matriculation examination. Many of the boys who have passed out of the school are, I was told, earning an honest living.

What all this is very good, it is not the Wardha scheme. For instance, education through the craft of tailoring would mean an education in geometry and generalized measurements, drawing, mechanics of the sewing machine, and so on. More knowledge of weaving and weaving may be enough to make one fit enough to obtain a living, but not an intelligent artisan knowing the science and art of tailoring.

A Different Type

In striking contrast perhaps to this is Shri Satish Chandra Dasgupta's experiment in training Harijan workers. In his Sodapuri Ashram he has got a number of crafts besides carding, spinning and weaving. There are book-binding, watch-making, button-making out of shells, paper-making, and so on. About twenty workers stay on the Ashram grounds for training. After they have passed a couple of courses selected by them they go out to be in charge of a Harijan school where they teach the children the sciences. They have learnt, *Satish Chandra* not only gets them to do these crafts, he gives them three periods each day imparting education through these crafts. He I have mentioned, but it may be that I am mistaken, for I have not had occasion to watch any of these classes. My own impression is strengthened by the fact that *Satish Chandra* is one of those persons who having learned that *patent machines*, *science*, which change all one's situation, has now made his *hand-loom* and is getting her do all the jobs he wants done. And thus she does *unwillingly*, for she knows that she is no longer being used for *marketing ends*—which would have been the case if he had continued to be Manager of the Bengal Pharmaceutical Works—but for the noble end of helping the poor and down-trodden of India. He has brought his wonderful mechanical brain to the help of his knowledge of science, and he has created

colleges factories by devising cottage machines on the model of the bulky factory machines. Thus his tannery and his automobile-factory are models of schemes turned to the poor man's use.

In paper-making he is making all kinds of experiments. Waste cloth and waste paper are readily made cellulose easily convertible into paper, but what about bamboo and other raw material? The traditional method of preparing the pulp by beating the raw material in a disk is regarded as wasteful of time and inefficient and wasteful. He is therefore trying to prepare pulp cheaply by subjecting the raw material to high heating pressure. This gives him wonderfully good pulp and he has also found out an easy process of recovery of waste pulp used in the process of pulp-making. The ultimate result he has not yet arrived at, but he bids fair to revolutionize the industry of paper-making by the hand.

He has studied medicine and indigenous drugs and prepared cheap remedies which, after a considerable amount of study, can be prepared by anyone anywhere. In the neighbourhood of Solapur he has different centres where much of his village laboratories work is going on. During the year in the centre itself worth Rs. 42,000 was sold, hand-knitted shoe worth Rs. 44,000 was sold, plating oil (ghangreess) worth Rs. 52,000 was sold, and also cow's glue worth Rs. 80,000, along with Rs. 71,000 worth of tanned skins, fat, galls and fish manure.

Among the cottage industries I have mentioned match-making. He is the first in India to try match-making as a cottage industry scale. He takes discarded newspapers into match boxes, makes match sticks out of bamboo splinters, puts them dipped into sulphur solution in the city, and prepares matches which are as good as any in the market. But about this match industry more in a future note.

His brother Keshabchandra, who has also settled at Solapur, has turned his attention to the basket-making industry. There are three said to be a rising trade in making baskets out of cane-bark. The industry has been all but ruined by the flood of cheap and shoddy Japanese stuff. The brothers are devising cottage tools for basket-making, they have made improvements in the existing ones, and their ambition is to make the craft worthy of being taken up in schools working under the Wardha educational scheme. Keshabchandra is also having experimenters breeders and produce good honey.

With his noble wife and son, who have dedicated themselves to the cause as much as Keshabchandra himself and his brother, and with a few other workers Keshabchandra has turned the Solapur Ashram into a busy hive where the things made are numerous enough for a State exhibition. Such a one was got up for Gandhiji who found time to pay Solapur a visit one

fine morning. Both the families stay along with the students who share the same food in the same kitchen. It may interest the reader to know that the servants get Rs. 4 per month for food and clothing. The board comes to Rs. 4 per month, [except], which has no doubt of intelligence, sacrifice, adventure and creative talent, and still be the work-hour to the whole country, if she will be equipped, if the energy of her people will flow along constructive and fruitful channels, and if constructive problems like Keshabchandra can capture the imagination of the many people whose energies will soon be released for public work.

H. D.

Notes

Call to Marjan Devan

The recent press note, issued by the Government of Bombay, and reproduced in these columns the other day, on the use of wells and tanks by Marjans on the same terms as non-Marjans, is in some ways more important, than the Marjan Temple Worship Bill passed by the Bombay Assembly some time ago. That was just an exciting measure. To make it really effective, the trustees, who used to plead the existing legal difficulty as a bar to their desire to open the temples to Marjans, will have to make good their promise. It may be months before we find the trustees coming forward to take the advantage of the new legislation when it becomes law. But the press note in question will not brook even a day's delay in the enforcement thereof. The language of the note could not have been more explicit and more mandatory. "Government consider that the time has now come for taking more effective action to safeguard these fundamental civil rights of the scheduled caste. All officers of Government are accordingly enjoined to deal severely with all cases where the scheduled caste are prevented from enjoying their rights in this respect." The stringent action proposed in deterrent punishment for the offence of fouling drinking water of the Marjans, and the enhancement of sentences where a magistrate has been for some reason or other lenient, the immediate stoppage of grants on the failure of local bodies to carry out the declared policy of Government, and even the dissolution and suppression of deliberately defiling and mischievous local bodies.

But in order that even this stringent action may be possible and of real effect, the public and the Marjan caste will have to be wide awake. The Government have appealed to Marjan Devan Sangha, Depressed Classes Mission and all social workers "to co-operate with them to obtain for the scheduled caste free and unobscured use of all sources of public water supply in EVERY TOWN and VILLAGE in this province." The duty of the Marjan caste is clear. They have immediately to set about

preparing data of the disabilities wherever they exist and of bringing them promptly to the notice of the Government. There used to be a time when even a wretched Harlan would find to get relief when he approached Government officials. The present press campaign makes it impossible for a Government official to be heedless to a complaint received from the victim or the servants of the Harlan, and there has not been now but to thank themselves if there is any town or village where Harlans fail to get the drinking water facilities that the rest of the community enjoys. For the sake of the Harlan the press note should be published in the form of handbills in their thousands in the three languages of the province and be widely distributed among Harlans, with an appeal by the Harlan Secret League to the Harlans that they should not rest content until their grievances are remedied.

This press note will have to be followed by similar ones in respect of all matters affecting the welfare of the public and civil rights, and we are glad that Government have promised this. We would ask all the other Governments to copy the example of the Harlan Government in taking this forward step in the removal of untouchability.

'Cleanse the Congress' Campaign

Students members of the Congress, most of them with and without and graduates, have issued a commendable appeal to the youth of the country for helping in what they call a "Cleanse the Congress" campaign. They note the fact that interested people have evaded the make of the Congress by themselves paying the four-anna membership on behalf of ignorant people of over twenty and dead people. These friends hail from Visagapatnam, but they rightly say that

"From the reports we have been receiving from other places it is clear that these things are happening in other places also, and that there is a growing feeling all over that the state of things must not be allowed to continue and that something must be done to save the Congress organization from this degradation. It would be a matter of polluted names and disrepute, of undue influence, corruption, nepotism, fraud and mismanagement are allowed to come into play in the Congress elections."

Now it behoves the youth of the country to save the Congress from these poisonous evils which, if neglected now, will undoubtedly render the Congress and may also state it absolutely. We have right to be in place wherever it is necessary a vigorous "Cleanse the Congress" campaign, for which Congress Vigilance Committee should be organized.

The members who start on the matter should put pledge themselves not to seek any position of office in the Local Boards, Municipalities or Legislatures for one year. They should also write

a resolution that each of them should endeavor to obtain at least 200 signatures and one Congress primary members of the Congress every year and should always be vigilant about maintaining the purity and integrity of the Congress organization.

Let not personal propensities and party prejudices weigh with the Harlans who join this campaign. Let this matter be understood to be an absolute split and in all honesty."

This is a very good idea, and if the youth will take up the campaign in right earnest, they can bring about the cleansing of our Congress activities in very little time. The friends have proposed a simple pledge which they themselves have signed. Here is a copy of the pledge:

"1. I am a primary member of the Congress.

2. I shall endeavor to collect at least 100 genuine primary Congress members every year.

3. I undertake not to seek election to Local Boards or Legislatures for one year.

4. I solemnly agree to stand by truth and fight not all demands and compromise in the Congress cause without fear or favour."

We would suggest two changes in the last name. The word "name" should be substituted by "pledge myself" and at the end of the clause the words "and with strictly non-violent means" should be added. We hope they will correct their pledge accordingly, that is to say if the changes appeal to them, and that the movement will be taken up everywhere in the country.

One thing more will be necessary. This kind of volunteers will have to find out, by checking Congress registers, how many of the members are students, and how many boys, and to request the Congress office-bearers to remove the latter. In cases where the Congress register is overweighed with the student membership, the general rule will all resign and seek the consent of the Working Committee for the formation of fresh Congress Committees.

M. D.

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CONTENTS

	Page
ARMED Forces and Harlan	C. R. 71
"Innocentness" Not Concluded	M. R. Gandhi 75
Faith in Harlan	P. G. Mahesh 75
THE LASSER OF THE BOSS	M. D. 80
WISDOM LETTER	M. D. 81
BOYS	
CALL TO HARLAN BOYS	M. D. 84
"CLEANSE THE CONGRESS"	
CLEANSE	M. R. 86



HARIVAN

Editor: NARADAY DIXIT

Under the Auspices of The Shree Swam Singh

Vol. VI No. 11

PUNJAB - SATURDAY, APRIL 13, 1929

[COT. AREA]

KISSANS AND SANTHARIS

"The difference between your view and mine is based on the question whether the Santharis System is to be accepted or not. I say it should be accepted, and if it cannot be accepted, it would not stand. You say that it is impossible of being accepted." In these words Gandhiji summed up the difference between the Santharis school, and what may be called the Satyagrahi school, before an informal meeting of Congress Congressmen. At the end of the various questions that arose on the subject like the Santharis mental difficulties, and the charges to those questions naturally reflect the philosophy which the reply holds. Thus one of the questions that arises may be

"The Santharis and Santaris are the instruments of the bourgeoisie. They have always sided with it and are an obstacle to our progress and freedom. Why should not the obstacle be removed?"

To this Gandhiji's reply selecting his plainest words was this: "They are indeed part and parcel of the bourgeoisie. But they are its helpless tools. What they for ever remain so? We may do nothing to put them away from us if they change their mind, their service can be without for the nation. If they will not change, they will die a natural death. If we have sympathies to us, we will not forsake them. We have to be doubly careful when the Congress has power."

Q—But can't we say the system of Santarism is an anachronism and should go, by non-violent means of course?

A—Oh course we can. The question is 'must we?' Why can we not say to the Santarism, "There are the evils which we ask you to remove yourselves!" I think that this process itself is human nature.

Q—Would you say that the Permanent Settlement should remain?

A—No, it has to go. The way to make the Kissan happy and prosperous is to educate them to know the means of their present condition and how to mend it. We may show them the socialist way or the violent. The latter may look tempting, but it is the way to perdition in the long run.

Q—But don't you agree that the land belongs to him who tills it?

A—I do. But that need not mean that the Santarism should be wiped out. The man who supplies labour and soil to us must a tiller as the one who labours with his hands. What we also do, or should, is to remove the present terrible inequality between them.

Q—But the remedying process may be very long.

A—Obviously the longest process is often the shortest.

Q—But why not parcel out the land among the tillers?

A—That is a hasty thought. The land is today in their hands. But they know whether their rights are how to exercise them. Supposed they were told nothing to move out of the land or to pay the dues to the Santarism, do you think their money would be lost? Surely much will still remain to be done. I suggest that that should be undertaken now and the rest will follow as day follows night.

That led up to the question of the Kisan Sabha, their relations with the Congress, their scope and their function.

"My opinion," said Gandhiji, "is clear-cut, having evolved among the Kissan and labour all my life. There is nothing constitutionally wrong in the Congress allowing the Kisan Sabha to work independently nor in allowing the effectiveness of the Kisan Sabha to be effectiveness of the Congress for they will come in the usual way. But my study of separate Kisan organisations has led me definitely to the conclusion that they are not working for the interests of the Kissan but are organized only with a view to capturing the Congress organization. They can do even this by leading the Kissan along the right channel, but I am afraid they are subverting them. If the Kissan and their leaders will capture the Congress by doing nothing but unselfish Congress work, there is no harm. But if they do so by making false promises, stirring meetings and so on, it would be something like the Partition."

"But the main question is whether you want the Kisan Sabha to strengthen the Congress or to weaken it, to use the Kisan organization to capture the Congress or to serve the Kissan, whether the Sabha is to be a rival organization

working apparently in the name of the Congress or are carrying out the Congress programme and policy. If it is really a vital competition and Congress organisations only in name, its strength and energy will be stifled in reaching the Congress and those of the Congress will be stifled in reaching the Kisan Sabha, with the result that the poor Kisans will be ground between the two millstones.

M. D.

WHAT RURAL REVIVAL MEANS

In my notes last week on Sri Balish Chandra Dasgupta's work I gave a few figures of his Ashram's productive activities. The picture would be incomplete without the interpretation of these activities in terms of the money they add to the pockets of the poor. Dasgupta asked for these figures and Balish Babu has been good enough to furnish them promptly. The number of spinners and weavers and other artisans that their supports is now well-known. The A. L. S. A. Report, which I have been summarising in these columns, is an eloquent testimony to this. The figures that Balish Babu has given provide a similarly eloquent testimony to what revival of village industry in a group of villages means for the villagers in that area.

Rice-husking

16,000 man-days of rice husked at six annas for each man-day of rice husked (as rather for each man and a half man-days of paddy husked) meant altogether Rs. 4,750 of wages given to the women. 100 of such huskers are on the roll, though the number is sometimes more, sometimes less. Two women husk one man-day of paddy in 4 hours, earning annas 4. This means that for an eight hours' day each of these women can get four annas. Other processes help them to add an anna and a half, making their total income five and a half annas a day.

Oil-pressing

Three thousand man-days of oil was extracted during the year. This means 4,000 man-days of gowli pressed and Rs. 1,000 wages earned by the oilmen. Ten oil-presses are owned by the Sadganga Ashram and 20 plants belong to private oilmen. The Ashram supplies these with the seed which is pressed under the supervision of the Ashram workers. The party of the oil is thus secured. The wage for pressing one man-day of seed is Rs. 2. As we have seen above one man working with two bullocks can press 20 annas of oil in a day and thus earn 10/annas annas. This means six annas for the feed of the bullocks means for each plant-owner a net wage of six annas a day.

[The A. L. V. I. A. has investigated thoroughly the various methods of oil-pressing in India, and has devised ways and means to secure the maximum yield of oil and minimum expense. Thus the construction of the plant has been so improved as to enable two

men to man two plants at a time. Perhaps Balish Babu may find some of these methods of benefit to his work in his own area. Even his energies are limited, and the labour of workers in fields not covered by his might prove very helpful to him. Balish Babu had no hesitation in promising to study the new methods and adopt the best points in them. In fact Balish Babu's study may well be of benefit to Sri Bhambhai Patel who is carrying on these experiments at Magerwadi, as a mutual exchange of notes is always helpful.]

Milk Production

The Sadganga Ashram collects cows' milk in the area of its operations under hygienic conditions and turns it into ghee. This secures the purest supply of ghee, which is in an great demand on the oil 15,000 man-days of milk of the value of Rs. 30,000 was purchased last year. The cows are not good milkers—the average yield being 2½ annas, each now giving 1½ man-days during the six months' lactation period. One thousand cows were thus obtained, their owners getting Rs. 15,000—each yielding annually Rs. 30 plus a calf and manure.

[It would have been better if Balish Babu had been able to furnish the actual yield in this case. For we have to demonstrate to the owners of cows that the cow is as good an economic proposition as a bullock. Also it will not do for Balish Babu to not content with the cows. He will have to devise methods for improving the breed and make the cows better milkers. He being an expert farmer and his capacity for taking care of the rearing of cows was after the bullock is secured make him best qualified for demonstrating over a large area that the cow is an economic proposition.]

Manufacture of Hand of Matches

I have already referred in these columns Balish Babu's new adventure of manufacturing of matches by the hand. I invite the attention of the readers to Balish Babu's illuminating article on the various manufactures of matches in India. In the April number of the MODERN REVIEW. In fact I would suggest to Balish Babu to have a cheap reprint of that article and other valuable matter that he has given us regarding the legislative measures for wants for the protection of the industry. He should make copies of this booklet available to every Minister of Industries India, and all representatives interested in the revival of rural crafts and introduction of new crafts should also have a copy. In this article he traces the history of match manufacture, and shows how the Swedish Match Co threatens to smother all competition from Indian firms and capture for itself the Indian market. With the Indian Act, which was introduced in 1914, matches began to be taxed heavily and the prices were skyrocketing, but competition with Indian industry continued to be keen, so much so that the match prices have now reached the bottom for the manufacturer. Balish Babu, seeing about for an industry in which school children may participate so that the industry may maintain

them and their teachers by only 4 hours' daily labour, thought of the manufacture of matches in cottages in order to protect the industry the Government, on the recommendation of the Tariff Board, had regarded 180 gross units as regular units, though these are regular factories. Balish Beha thought that if some of newspapers going to waste were converted into match boxes, a waste product would be utilized, and match sticks could be easily made from bamboo splinters available everywhere. He tried the idea and found it not only feasible but full of great possibilities. I shall let Balish Beha describe the possibilities:

"Where a fully equipped automatic factory employs one man, a village unit making from one to ten gross per day will employ 18 men. There are now ten to eleven thousand men employed in the industry in the smaller and the larger factories. But if all the matches were made in cottages, it would employ 18 times that number or one lakh people in villages. But if all these matches were made in substantial schools it would keep two lakh or more students employed, who would not only be receiving free education on the produce of their labour, but would be maintaining their teachers as well. If a school if so minded, the boys may send a small amount every month to their parents to compensate for their absence from field-work, which most parents would appreciate."

Balish Beha then describes in detail all the processes involved in making the finished article. The curious reader must go to the article itself which is illustrated (The illustrations, by the way, are capable of much improvement.) He has devised nine factory instruments for cutting the boards (made out of newspaper) into boards of the standard size, for splitting bamboo, for making splinters and peeling them, for grading them, and hand-filing of splinters for dipping them into paraffin and in the tin compounds. These processes are all done at Solapur, but the rest of the processes, from dipping to packing, require to be conducted in a licensed factory under the present Excise regulations which make cottage manufacture on a small scale impossible, because of the prohibitive licence fee. He therefore suggests amendments in the existing legislation in the shape of a graduated licence fee and enhanced rebate for units smaller than the present large "cottage" units as called. This is the change that Balish Beha suggests in the existing law regarding houses.

"Annual licence fee will be on the stated daily output applied for, and rebate in manufacturing capacity, which will be payable for every licence to manufacture matches or to manufacture splinters and veneers or to import splinters and veneers for each year or part thereof. The following scale will be observed:

1. A fee of Rs 15 per annum for factories making up to 18 gross per day with hand appliances.

2 A fee of Rs 18 per annum for every 18 gross or part thereof, for factories making up to 180 gross per day.

3 A fee of Rs 36 per annum for every 36 gross or part thereof, for factories making over 180 but up to 540 gross per day.

4. A fee of Rs. 180 per annum for every 180 gross or part thereof, for factories making over 540 but up to 1,800 gross per day.

5. A fee of Rs 360 per annum for every 360 gross or part thereof, for factories making above 1,800 gross per day."

I shall refrain from going into more details. The question is worthy of the study of our Congress Members and being taken up in right earnest. The whole of our match consumption, it must be remembered, are met by these small cottage manufacturers.

M. D.

'Towards Dry India'

[By "Anaya." Published by Dinshah Publishing House, Thyagarayanagar, Madras. Price Rs 1-4-0].

This is, as the author calls it, the "story of liquor and efforts at prohibition." The first one-third of the book briefly traces the history of prohibition on liquor consumption in India since ancient times, and through the Middle Ages, and the progress of "increase of the facilities for drinking and, as a matter of course, to an increased consumption of liquor with all its attendant evils," as the direct result of the British Government's crime policy since the advent of the British rule. A chapter is then devoted to a very brief account of the Congress campaign for prohibition, and another chapter gives a summary of the discussion in the Legislature on the Madras Prohibition Bill passed last year. The Appendix contains the full texts of the Madras Prohibition Act, all correspondence and press notes of the Madras Government in connection with the Act, and the Rajah Cheluvu's Report on the working of Prohibition in his district. Those who are interested in this subject will find some useful information in the book, and in the absence of any books on the subject worth mentioning this is to be welcomed as a useful publication.

C. S.

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H A R I J A N

Apr. 25

1938

MARTIAL & MORAL

(By K. K. Gandhi)

It is often forgotten that the Congress has only moral authority to back it. The ruling power has the martial, though it often dilutes the martial with the moral. This vital influence has come to this first stage the assumption of office by the Congress in seven provinces. This assumption is either a step towards greater justice or the total loss. If it is not to be a total loss, the ministers and the legislators have to be watched at their own personal and public conduct. They have to be, like Chamber's wife, above suspicion in everything. They may not make private gains either for themselves or for their relatives or friends. If the relatives or friends get any appointment, it must be only because they are the best among the candidates, and their moral value is always greater than what they get under the Government. The ministers and the legislators of the Congress must have to be fastidious in the performance of their duty. They must always be ready to risk the loss of their seats or offices. Offices and seats in the legislatures have no merit outside their ability to raise the prestige and power of the Congress. And since both depend wholly upon the possession of morals, both public and private, any moral lapse causes a blow to the Congress. This is the necessary implication of non-violence. If the Congress non-violence is merely confined to abstention from wearing physical hurt to the British officials and their dependents, such non-violence can never bring us independence. It is bound to be worked in the final hour. Indeed, we shall find it to be wisdom, if not positively harmful, long before the final hour is reached.

There is considerable force in the argument of those who have conceived Congress non-violence in this narrow light when they say that it is a hollow shell.

If on the other hand non-violence, with all the implications, is the Congress policy, let every Congressman examine himself and reconstruct himself accordingly. Let him not wait for instructions from the Working Committee. After all the Working Committee can act only in so far as it interprets the public mind. And non-violence is not a quality to be created or expressed to order. It is an inward growth depending for sustenance upon intense individual effort.

I have received several letters offering the writers' names for inclusion in petitions ready to be signed themselves at times of striking

and the like. To these writers I would suggest that they call themselves themselves, farm, hand, traps, and begin working in accordance with the suggestions I have made. Let them not confuse themselves merely to propensities for emergencies, but for the daily walk of life in all its dimensions, personal, domestic, social, economic, political, religious. Only then will they find themselves more than ready for dealing with emergencies on their own localities or home. They may not also, except indirectly, at interesting events happening hundreds of miles away from their scene of activity. That ability will come, if the right beginning is made in the first instance.

WEEKLY LETTER

Gandhi's Health

I am writing this a week before these lines will appear in print, as I have to be out of headquarters for some time. And it is quite likely that when these notes are published Gandhi may be in much better health, after a few days restful stay in Wards.

But writing today I cannot give as bright a report as I would wish to give. "I am at the end of my resources," he said to the prisoners, "and although I am ready to return to Bengal if the Government of Bengal wants me, very much, I am afraid, will depend on my health."

"But the success or failure of his mission must affect his health. Don't you think so?" a friend asked me. Answer to this question depends on what you mean by his mission, and what you mean by the success or failure thereof. The mission is the mission of non-violence, and not merely that of the release of a few prisoners or detainees. The detainees are not yet out, the prisoners may not be out until Heaven knows when. But that by itself would not much matter to him, if it did not also affect the position of non-violence Government, we now know, will not allow their policy to be determined by the assurance that Gandhi may be prepared to give on behalf of the prisoners and the detainees, and Gandhi appreciates their position. He appreciates it, because there is obvious generosity in not wanting Gandhi to be the hostage for these British' future conduct. And yet Gandhi wants the assurance for his own moral satisfaction. The very knowledge that a strong body of men have shared the method of violence, must mean much to him whose supreme motive is to promote an atmosphere of peace and non-violence, and whose ambition is to be able some day to harness the energies of those brave men and women in the cause of non-violent peace. That assurance has been given by the vast majority not, as Gandhi said, as a diplomatic spark, but in a whole-hearted manner, and that means an small success.

As regards this mission with the Government, details are not available, but nothing between

the loss of the statement he issued in the press on the eve of his departure from Bengal, can say that the outlook is not without hope inasmuch as the negotiations have not broken down. "I have found my task here Herculean," he said to the Congress friends in Calcutta, "and I am sure any other person would have shrunk away from it. I have the patience of a Job, but even that was on the point of being exhausted. But now I have a ray of hope bright enough to light my path to Wardha. I now want your hearty approval, not mechanical consent to my suggestion to stop all demonstrations and receptions and addresses, in order that the ray of hope may be multiplied a hundredfold."

That approval has been, I am thankful to say, given, thanks to the hearty co-operation of the Non-Resident, Mahadeo Malhotra and others after full and careful deliberation.

No Hunger-strikes

One more ray of hope may also be indicated. I was privileged to be with Gandhiji on all occasions when he visited the prisoners in various jails in Calcutta, and though I am not at liberty to report all that passed between them and Gandhiji, one thing I may perhaps give, both in the interest of the cause and for the convenience of the country. When Gandhiji visited the political prisoners in Alipor Jail some months ago, they were fresh from the Andamans, and were anxious to go back to hunger-strikes if they were not released, or rather if Gandhiji judged that he had failed in his mission. But they promised to do nothing until Gandhiji definitely told them that he had failed. What was to be the position now? How long were they to wait?

The question was asked, and Gandhiji's reply was accepted, let it be said to the prisoners' credit, in the best possible spirit. "There should be no hunger-strikes," said Gandhiji to them, "on any account. Though there are circumstances conceivable in which a hunger-strike may be justified, hunger-strikes in order to secure release or release of prisoners is wrong. And if you resort to it while I am carrying on negotiations, you will stop my wings. But why think of a hunger-strike when you have got me as a good substitute for a hunger-strike? My days are numbered. I am not likely to live long, maybe I may live a year or little more, and let me tell you that much of that time is going to be given in order to secure your release. I want to see you discharged before I die. That is the word I am giving to you, and I want you to give me your word that as long as I live to work for you, you will not go on hunger-strikes. I cannot have power or control so long as I have not secured your discharge. You have to believe what I say. Man believes and then his function is not that of a lawyer but of a human-being

and a witness of non-violence. Non-violence will not spread so long as you prisoners are kept in prison, and that is why I have staked my life for the mission. No thought, therefore, of hunger-strikes please." The word, *satyagraha*, in my, was given.

"See in the Service of War"

What may be termed a "crashing blow to morality" (in the words of a correspondent) is being delivered as will be apparent from the following note from the American Commission by Robert Halliburton, reproduced in that organ of the Peace Pledge Union, *Peace News*, which is now being issued in a much larger size than before.

"Thousands of young men in the schools and colleges have recently accepted their determination not to participate in any war their respective Governments may declare.

In spite of this stand, industrial chambers believe that half of the eligible male citizens would voluntarily volunteer, and that the other half would be forced to enlist by the exigencies of the powers and means of girl citizens.

At the present time, war (like U. S.) threatens most seriously, at taxpayer' expense, hundreds of Reserve Officers Training Corps units in high schools and colleges. In order to popularize this activity, young girls are elected as honorary officers to inspect. The duties of the system are pleasant.

Wearing a smart uniform, the stands with the training officer and the college president in the reviewing stand during parades. Seated at side, the major wears of inspection, observing members of uniform and correctness of carriage. He disapproved at more activities than anything a man can could try.

During the World War a young young woman entered the morning office as a military morning division by giving a line to every boy who volunteered. Newspapers reported a 'has guard' organized by college girls for the benefit of war victims.

The municipal controlling action of women makes it possible for the financial interests who promote war to remain effectively in the background, taking behind the skirts of women. Government women was not in danger, American boys were.

But the propaganda made the women think they were in danger. It induced them readily to think that young men were willing to fight for them, and it induced the young men's ready to think there was some young woman for whom he could fight.

That was the general idea, but American youth had been making progress. The old game did not work so well, so the last 18 days of American participation in the World War showed. During this period, when it might be expected that millions would have been at white heat, only about 40,000 men volunteered.

That same conception (for the army) is again of which the war trap continued.

The Navy actually selected young women to serve in domestic and other office work. They wore a specially designed navy uniform.

One result, or perhaps purpose, of this was to exert a certain pressure for refinement on the party men with whom they associated at the office or outside the office. How could an otherwise young man refuse to behave when his girl friend was usually selected in the cream flower of the country?

The girls went out in blouses too severely. They did not know that they were serving the interests of high finance. For there it was high finance.

Some things these young girls did not know. They did not know that they were sending their young men into the jaws danger of sexual infection and that women make use of another kind of woman. (Some women officially provided prostitutes.)

It seems likely that if the mothers, sisters, wives and girlfriends of the world could see that place of women there would be fewer wars. At least there would be less lust in the victory.

Violence will stop at nothing. It will stop at everything. It conquers the body, or rather it has no body at all, and it carries to its death everything and everything, as matter how excited we dare. When the struggle of women which we universally regard as the preservation of all that is sacred and dear are threatened for its destruction, no more terrible tragedy can be conceived. When we realize this, we can easily understand the emphasis that Gandhi has placed all these years on the Indian women's special mission for all the constructive activities that make for civilization. No wonder Gandhi has during the last week uttered those significant words that came "Rajni's heavenly and earthly are unseparated, equalled perhaps in some manner by Mahatmas. But divorced from purity and knowledge they would work terrible havoc. Joined in purity and knowledge they would be the activities of India. My advice is the selfish one of borrowing the wonderful heavenly and earthly of Rajni in the name of what I hold dear."

H. D.

The Annas per Day

Sgt. Jaganram Dave, who is in charge of the moral reformation work in the Baschi Thikna and the neighbouring areas, has introduced for some time past the announced wage rates for players, who bring muskies to the Baschur) i.e. the forest tribes. The daily spinning wage for eight hours' work is at present 3 an. 4 ps. This also is wages has, contrary to the fact he had anticipated, not only attracted more spinners but the Khadi produced has also well been sold out. This has encouraged the workers to advance a step further and they now propose to raise the

daily spinning wage to six annas. The following figures show how the proposed change will work out.

Wages for a day of eight hours

	Present wage	Proposed wage
Spinner	3-4-0	6-0-0
Carder	3-4-0	6-0-0
Warper	3-4-0	6-0-0

Two of course will mean a rise in the Khadi line produced, and the following comparative figures will show what rise in prices will be effected by the proposed change:

PRICE OF 1 YARD OF BAKHAR KHADI

	OF 100 YDS.		OF 100 YDS.	
	AN	AN	AN	AN
	Present Rate	New Rate	Present Rate	New Rate
Coarse				
10	4 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0
12	4 14 0	1 7 0	1 10 0	1 10 0
14	1 14 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0
16	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0
18	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 10 0

The proposed change will be put into effect as and to the extent that cotton comes in for the Khadi. Sgt. Jaganram has appealed to the present workmen to continue their support and to not assume that the additional money that they will get will go to add to the chronic miseries of the poor artisans who, the Khadi workers too confidently say, are all Khadi-workers and have a spinning character. He also expects to enlist the support of new customers. Let us hope that he will meet with an adequate response and that the experiment he proposes to launch will be a success.

C. S.

Gandhi's Interview with the Viceroy

Gandhi had an interview with the Viceroy at Delhi on the 15th inst. At the conclusion of the interview the following commentary was made:

"Towards the end of March, the Viceroy wrote to Mr. Gandhi to say that it would give him pleasure to meet their acquaintance before His Excellency moved to Simla, and to suggest that it might be convenient for Mr. Gandhi to pay him a visit if he could pass through Delhi on his way from Calcutta. His Excellency added that he had no special business to discuss with Mr. Gandhi but would welcome the opportunity of seeing him again.

"Mr. Gandhi replied that he had pleasure in accepting His Excellency's invitation, and the interview took place this evening. The meeting which was of a very cordial character dealt with general topics and lasted about an hour and a half."

MR. DALY'S LIFE

By Gandhi

A commentary prepared for printing here and given to the first part of Gandhi's "Autobiography".

Printed by J. Narayan and printing Co., 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100.

Available at Harjia Office - Page 5.

KHADI — A YEARS PROGRESS

II

It will be seen from the foregoing as also from the following figures that there are nearly half as many Khadiweaver women as there are Khadis and the number of Khadi women is even greater than that of the Khadis.

Certified Organizations

Services	Spinning				Weaving			
	Men	Women	Boys	Total	Men	Women	Boys	Total
Akhies	Not Reported				Not Reported			
Bihar	—	Not Reported			5	—	—	5
Bengal	—	24	117	141	70	—	25	95
Karnatak	—	557	35	592	25	1	125	151
Punjab	—	1215	210	1425	5	115	20	140
Uttar Pradesh	—	1877	1801	3678	—	5	267	272
Tamil Nadu	—	Not Reported			Not Reported			
U. P.	—	Not Reported			Not Reported			
Other	—	Not Reported			Not Reported	Reported		
Total	—	4897	2478	7375	95	121	215	331

Special efforts were made during the year to increase the number of Khadiweavers among the artisans; indeed that was one of the conditions of loan to their wages, and these efforts have met with considerable success as the following will figures show:

Khadiweavers among Spinners

A. I. S. A. CENTRES

	Total spinners	Total sps. Khadiweaver	Khadi produced	Balance Spinning	Khadi produced from own yarn	Khadi sold	Partial weavers	Typing
1927	54120	17618	185000	45504	475449	24022	81521	5740
1928	55123	21627	211211	33496	56078	2207	10011	2018
CERTIFIED ORGANIZATIONS								
1927	22421	17627	18700	2871	122	515	912	12180
1928	21551	20714	20000	1434	—	2715	3449	15054

Khadiweavers among Weavers

A. I. S. A.

Certified Organizations

	Total Weavers	Khadi weavers	Partial weavers	Total Weavers	Khadi weavers	Partial weavers
1927	11545	1645	4526	18128	287	1591
1928	7921	2715	4278	1294	55	1845

*Incomplete

Production and Sales

The Production and sales of Khadi of the A. I. S. A. Branches have increased considerably during the year as will be seen from the following comparative figures for 1927 and 1928

Value of Production of A. I. S. A. Branches

Services	1927	1928
		(in Rs.)
Akhies	1,72,324	81,922
Bihar	—	2,495
Bengal	2,95,862	3,44,641
Karnatak	—	21,225

Organized, Khadiweaver

Karnatak	—	1,220	16,70
Karnatak	—	81,204	12,887
Karnatak	—	2,72,324	1,85,245
Karnatak	—	49,277	75,214
Karnatak	—	5,15,840	5,85,543
Karnatak	—	1,25,800	1,22,558
Karnatak	—	22,554	81,261
Karnatak	—	7,000	8,728
Tamil Nadu	—	8,41,240	4,55,888
U. P.	—	1,85,215	1,85,125
Uttar Pradesh	—	85,245	12,125
Total Rs.	—	22,72,545	25,12,558

Weight in Lbs. of Production of A. I. S. A. Branches

Provinces	1937	1938
Andhra	81,399	81,397
Assam	2,394	1,311
Bihar	1,11,131	8,63,381
Bengal	71,946	81,344
Gujarat, Kathiawar	1,381	1,844
Karnatak	20,349	22,718
Kashmir	1,21,399	71,391
Kerala	22,344	24,344
Maharashtra	1,12,399	1,22,399
Punjab	1,24,391	1,24,391
Rajasthan	21,391	21,391
Sind	1,399	4,397
Tamil Nad	1,22,399	1,22,399
U. P.	1,24,399	1,21,391
United	24,397	24,397
Total B...	11,12,391	11,12,391

* Incomplete.

No. Vols. of Production of A. I. S. A. Branches

Provinces	1937	1938
Andhra	1,12,399	1,22,399
Assam	2,391	2,391
Bihar	1,24,391	1,24,391
Bengal	1,22,399	1,22,399
Gujarat, Kathiawar	1,391	1,391
Karnatak	1,21,399	22,407
Kashmir	1,22,399	1,12,399
Kerala	1,12,399	71,391
Maharashtra	1,22,399	1,22,399
Punjab	1,24,391	1,24,391
Rajasthan	1,22,399	21,391
Sind	1,399	4,397
Tamil Nad	1,22,399	1,22,399
U. P.	1,24,399	1,21,391
United	24,397	24,397
By yls. Total	11,12,391	11,12,391

* Incomplete.

Net Sales of A. I. S. A. Branches

Provinces	1937	1938
Andhra	1,12,399	1,22,399
Assam	2,391	2,391
Bihar	1,24,391	1,24,391
Bengal	1,22,399	1,22,399
Burma	1,22,399	1,22,399
Gujarat, Kathiawar	1,391	1,391
Karnatak	1,21,399	1,21,399
Kashmir	1,22,399	1,22,399
Kerala	1,12,399	1,12,399
Maharashtra	1,22,399	1,22,399
Punjab	1,24,391	1,24,391
Rajasthan	1,22,399	1,22,399
Sind	1,399	1,399
Tamil Nad	1,22,399	1,22,399
U. P.	1,24,399	1,21,391
United	1,391	1,391
Total B...	11,12,391	11,12,391

These figures must serve to show unambiguously that Harjan has made a remarkable all-round progress during the year under report. Production in terms of value has increased by about 12 per cent, and in terms of weight and length by 14 per cent. The sales too have increased by 22 per cent, which means that sales have kept pace with production; and these statistics go to the lengthening that a rise in wages would affect adversely the production and sale of Harjan have been selected. It is a tribute to the growth of the Harjan movement that they have continued their support to Harjan in spite of a rise in prices. In fact it has at times been found difficult to meet the steadily rising demand for Harjan, and let us hope to see in the coming year a still greater rise in both production and sales.

M D

Vishwanath Nagabhusan

This is how the Andhra honoured their leader whose birthplace they knew better than any-one else and whose death they are mourning today. But were they really known? His left hand did not know what he gave with his right hand, and so many were his secret charities to the students and the poor that his memory will be treasured by every one of those who were the recipients thereof. The Congress cause and the Harjan cause were both dear to him, and both had his generous monetary support. For years he was president of the Andhra Harjan Bank, and he had set upon numerous plates for Harjans in his workshop. Humane people have earned thousands from pot nostrums which have cost them nothing. Hari Nagabhusan never made a secret of the fact that his 'Amrit-sagar' did not cost more than a trifle, but he placed all that he earned from it at the feet of the Daridranayaks. A true businessman as he was, he was a true patriot. He went to jail at the age of 23, and twice again after that, and he made of the names of the Andhra and their language a jargon. He built ANANDAPATRA, or Loknayaka. He built the KURAN, and the Andhra organ has led us into a phase in educating the people that the Maharashtra KURAN.

M D

CONTENTS

		Page
DR. J. K. LAKSHMI	M. D.	10
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	11
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	12
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	13
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	14
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	15
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	16
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	17
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	18
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	19
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	20
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	21
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	22
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	23
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	24
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	25
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	26
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	27
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	28
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	29
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	30
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	31
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	32
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	33
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	34
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	35
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	36
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	37
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	38
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	39
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	40
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	41
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	42
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	43
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	44
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	45
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	46
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	47
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	48
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	49
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	50
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	51
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	52
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	53
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	54
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	55
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	56
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	57
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	58
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	59
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	60
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	61
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	62
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	63
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	64
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	65
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	66
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	67
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	68
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	69
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	70
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	71
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	72
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	73
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	74
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	75
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	76
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	77
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	78
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	79
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	80
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	81
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	82
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	83
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	84
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	85
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	86
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	87
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	88
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	89
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	90
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	91
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	92
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	93
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	94
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	95
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	96
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	97
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	98
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	99
DR. K. L. LAKSHMI	M. D.	100

Printed and Published by Anant Vinayak Patil at the Anant Vinayak Press,

Room No. 4191, Pargana College Road, Poona 4.



HARIJAN

1190

Editor: MANAGATY DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

VOL. VI No. 13]

POONA — SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1938

[ONE ANNA

WEEKLY LETTER

The Longed-for Visit

Last week I was able, at long last, to pay the visit to the Frontier that we have been longing for all these years. Grandpaji would have gone there in early April, had it not been for the visit to Orissa and the prolonged stay in Bengal. And as he failed, he thought it well to send me for a few days to meet the two Brothers, and I was grateful for the opportunity.

As the train winds its way through the hilly country from Nawabpuri, the scene around is bleak and bare and desolate. Within a couple of hours we pass through Tardis, the famous ancient city with a stunted post. One little incident of Badshah's rule here has been a little waste even in these days? The mind refuses to think so. I had no time to sleep at Tardis and see the post in the ancient monument. As the train passes through a mountainous tract, one sights on emerging from it something like an Aachen pillar on a hill. But it might well be the monument of a bloody victory of a much later day than the peace edict of that Badshah's reign. Within a little while the train crosses the Punjab boundary and enters the Frontier where the river at Attock separates the two boundaries. Even here the country has the same unrelieved desolate look, though the river was earlier with turbid mountain water and rushed in swift, unbroken, impetuous majestic remembrance of the temperament of the Pathan whose country one enters there. Not until one arrives at Nowshera are one any vegetation, but now the scene changes and lovely gardens of houses and palaces and peach trees late view almost right up to Peshawar.

As this time I had come by myself and not with Grandpaji, I had a better opportunity of seeing men and things. Quite a number of friends were good enough to pay me a visit and request me with their view of the state of things. I had ample opportunities of seeing the Prime Minister Dr. Khan Sahib and other Ministers as also men of various shades and schools of thought. With its population of 51 per cent of Mussalmans and 5 per cent Hindus, Sikhs and others, the Frontier is beset with a task that no other province is faced with.

For a vast majority to keep a minority contented should not be a difficult task, and it would appear that but for the situation in the Punjab and in other parts of the country Dr. Khan Sahib's task would be less difficult.

Badshah Khan

Having seen the elder brother, I drove with him to their home where the younger brother Khan Sahib Abdul Gaffar Khan was, staying. He was not at Timarnai. "Badshah Khan," someone told me, "is hardly to be found at home. He is wandering from village to village" and it was with some difficulty that we found him in a neighbouring village. He was doing his afternoon work, and we were told to wait until he returned from the masjid. There were a number of friends and relations at home, but while they had not gone for their work, Khan Sahib, who never allows one of the five daily prayers, had gone to the masjid. Even since 1915, he is popularly known as Badshah Khan amongst his people who regard him as their king.

I had heard about the fast and I requested him to tell me all about it, which he willingly did. "There was a death in a certain village," he said, "and the relatives of the deceased were very keen on not saying the prayers before the body was carried to the graveyard. I was in a hurry to leave for another village and so I suggested that the prayers should be said in the nearest masjid. The Muslims in the village, however, insisted that the prayers should be said in the mosque which was some distance from the village. I pleaded with them and said that I had been to Mecca and Medina and there was no objection to saying the funeral prayers in a masjid. But the Muslims maintained that the practice was against the shariat and that I was speaking in ignorance. We yielded. On our way back to the village the Muslims began calling me all kinds of names. This enraged the people and they fell upon the Muslims. Some of the Khudai Khidmatgars who were there on the spot intervened and named the Muslims. This was a terrible act, but then they proceeded to do what was not their business. The Muslims had knives and spears on them, and the Khudai Khidmatgars wanted to wrest them from them, but they should use them against the people. I was walking a little distance in front

of these people, and as soon as I heard that there was a little trouble I rushed to the spot and found the Khaki Khimnagurs in the act of wrestling the weapons. I told them that this was highly improper and that as I could not punish them I must punish myself, and declared a complete fast for three days. This had an almost effect. Everyone there was shocked. With tears they appealed to me to give up the fast and offered to take the punishment upon themselves. I explained to them that it was no use their doing so, that they must stick together and resolve never to repeat the thing, and left for Pohnaia.

The fast was not the Islamic one, but a complete fast with permission to take water and salt. The Pohnaia, who are hospitable to a fault and would not let a guest go away without making him eat something, could not bear a strike fast of this kind. They eat in various places, and Khan Sahib was having numerous invitations assuring him that the招待 would not be repeated.

A Pohna Village

We then set out on Khan Sahib's horse, going for villages in the east, driving through vast expanses of a country of fields meeting with wheat and barley and punctuated with lovely gardens. At every mile or two the Khan Sahib would drive into a village, introduce me to the Khan, tell me something about his history, and start for another. I saw them there in their simple mud huts—with and roof both of mud. Many of them had their windows and balconies full of marigolds. The Khan Sahib said that the Pohna women observe no purdah (excepting the aristocratic families), but I saw no women's faces. As for the fields in the village there is a wonderful spirit of democracy. The nearest servant in the house and the lowliest field laborer comes and greets you and offers to shake hands with you. Every child in the village gives the British Khan his or her greeting, and the British must return the greeting. "Khan Ali," they say. "Tui black, Tui black," replies the Khan Sahib. The first greeting corresponds to "How do you do," the return greeting means literally, "I hope you are not tired" (i.e. I hope you are free from all worries).

Generosity is hardly a strong feature of these villages, and the attitude and the poverty do not help to improve it. In the evening we walk out through the fields along footpaths and sandridges. "How smiling is this land," says the Khan Sahib. "We have bumper crops. There are plenty of fruits. Pohna wheat is your part you price and my fancy price for, grow here in abundance and go to waste. There is a quality about the grain we grow here that makes the cow's milk particularly rich. A cow gives as much as 14 quarts a day. And yet there is plenty of unemployment, and these

fields do not get enough to eat." And yet their hospitality is lavish. "We Pohnaia would waste any amount of money over entertaining guests, but if you ask them to contribute any hard cash, they would not do so. They are temperamentally incapable of giving any cash."

Everywhere they inquire when Gandhi is coming. I tell them about their devotion. "This sort of talk with your talk of Gandhi and Khan Sahib," I say to them. "No," they reply. "When we go out with them we need not take them." "But why must you take them even when alone?" I ask. "There are what we call blood heads, and one never knows when one may be attacked. But British they will not touch," they say and laugh a hearty laugh.

I am offered my tea in the proper style, and I am surprised to see the beautiful sunset in front of me. The Khan Sahib explains: "The low prostrated the power, but in the poorest land, and even the field laborer will not go to the field without having a drink of his devotion. The Khan drink it in proper style."

There have been deaths in two villages. We go there. At one place we sit solemnly, the Khan Sahib makes a will for a field prayer for the deceased, then some other caller does the same thing, and the visit comes to an end. At the other place, there has been a death of a child. The will for prayer is made twice, three, four times. Then the offering is taken by the Khan Sahib who speaks to them on the value of the revival of handicrafts, being content with whatever the village can produce and so on. There is a friend there in California. His American accent betrays his American education. He had gone to California for the study of agricultural industries and is interested in bee-keeping. "There are five hundred Pohnaia in California," he says.

Many of the Pohnaia are clad in khaki. They are Khaki Khimnagurs. They wear red shirts with no darts, otherwise like the Khan Sahib they wear a shirt and pyjama of cotton grey. Khan Sahib has not the Indian and it has become popular before the crowd of soldiers breaks up one of the horse heads on their staying to eat. I ask the Khan Sahib whether it is a custom to give something like a state-dinner after death. "No," he says. "But the honored family is supposed to do no cooking, and so some relative of the family undertakes to do the cooking. He feeds the family and also the guests who break bread with the honored and sympathize with them in their sorrow. The practice was to go on doing this for days together. I protested against it and now it is fast dying out. The Muslims are interested in collecting up all kinds of maps and expeditions, and they come at me because I am now working for their abolition."

TEACHERS TRAINING SCHOOL UNDER WARDHA SCHEME

The model for opening the first training school for teachers under the Wardha scheme goes to the U. P. Government. It is a combination of the Wardha scheme and Shriyoga's Vidya Mandir scheme. The school is to be conducted under the supervision of the newly formed Hindustani Talim Sangh (All India Education Board) in terms of the Congress resolution at Haripore. Shri K. B. Wasmall of the Normal Training School, Wardha, is to be the superintendent. The local members of the Sangh are helping in the organization and fitting in the education with the Wardha scheme. Shri Vinoba Bhave of Patwadi Ashram is directing the training in working and spinning as basic craft.

The Minister of Education, Shri Keshavnagar Shastri, invited Gandhiji to perform the opening ceremony. Out of over 1,000 applicants 246 candidates were selected for training which is to last for 14 months. During this time the candidates are to receive Rs. 7 per month, and later as teachers Rs. 18 per month with free residence. They are under contract to serve for 15 years on the same conditions. Here is the pledge:

"I, *[name]*, having been selected as a stipendiary student into the Vidya Mandir Training School, Wardha, do bind myself, in consideration of such selection and of the payment of my stipend of Rs. 7 per month, to complete the prescribed course of study in the said school on training stipendiary, and to abide by the rules laid down for the conduct of students, and I further bind myself to serve as a teacher in the Central Government and State, or any Vidya Mandir recognized by the Education Department, and faithfully, according to my skill and ability, to perform my duties as teacher, and to observe the rules made by the Education Department regulating the conduct of teachers.

I agree to serve as stipendiary for five years, and if my work is found satisfactory I may be continued. After confirmation, I agree to serve for 10 years more.

I agree to the condition that those shall voluntarily be as teachers from the Vidya Mandir in service. It shall be a life-long work for 15 years, and if at any time I misbehave myself, or do anything which is against the committee designated me to continue as a teacher in the Vidya Mandir, my services may be dispensed with after due notice. The period of such notice will be fixed by rules.

I agree that my remuneration as a teacher of a Vidya Mandir shall be paid out of the endowment funds and salaries shall not be less than Rs. 18 per month in value. If the endowment proves, I may be given more.

I, *[name]*, agree—

(i) to reside in the Vidya Mandir and educate children of a village according to the syllabus and curriculum prescribed;

(ii) to be faithful secretary of a Vidya Mandir trust or committee and to maintain its regular accounts;

(iii) to be in such charge of the property of a Vidya Mandir as the committee or trust may like;

(iv) to do such social service, village uplift work, education, as may be entrusted to me;

(v) to look after the physical uplift and welfare of the children of a village;

(vi) to be a keeper of the village library and museum;

(vii) to give a national salute to all the teachers of a village, and

(viii) to perform such other duties as may be provided from time to time.

I also bind myself, in the event of my failing to serve as a teacher in a Vidya Mandir during the training period of two years, to submit to Government such amount as may have been received by me as stipend during the period of my training.

I further agree that, if the amount due from me under this bond is not paid as demand, it may be recovered as an arrears of land revenue."

The following is the summary of Gandhiji's historical address to the candidates:

"Your pledge is staggering. The fact that there were over 1,000 applications is a proof of patriotism. I wish it were. It is proof of terrible unemployment among the educated or the semi-educated. It is also proof of the planner that demands Government employment. I know that people apply for clerkships or teacherships in the hope of getting in their legal pay in legal ways. I hope that no one of you entertains any such hope—I do not know that with all my patriotism I could bind myself to serve as a teacher for Rs. 14 per month. You must distance from your minds the thought that there may be profits left over in your schools to be divided amongst you. If, therefore, there is dispute among you who expects of the contract, you will ask the Minister to release you. I promise to plead for you. Having said this, I tender my congratulations to those who hold to their contract. I hope that God will give you strength to abide by your pledge.

You know that the scheme of that education has been drawn up in pursuance of the Congress programme. Now the Congress is pledged to you. Beware, by no means and treacherous means. Therefore the collection of these national system is the foundation of the scheme. And if you do not have them in your daily contact with your people and a character is keeping with them, you will feel and so will your school. You know what India is doing in Germany. Be proud of a nation of which is making an

ment. The other day we were told that the crowd was their job! The boys and girls there are taught the virtues of violence from the beginning. They are taught to hate the enemy even in their settlements, and you will find that the examples have been chosen with a view to inculcate the military spirit. If we remove this crowd, we must compensate the necessity of inculcating the spirit of violence from within. The same thing is happening in Italy. We must be honest even as they are honest. I have no doubt that if the violence is rooted with all its implications and becomes popular throughout India, a class revolution will have taken place and thereby will be a certainty."

M. D.

H A R I J A N

April 36

1948

AWAY WITH CHILD MARRIAGES

The victory against the evil of child marriages is not new. It was originally confined to a few social reformers who had no touch with the masses among whom the evil was really prevalent. Then there was an awakening amongst the masses too, and as a result we could have what we might call 'bottom' legislation against the evil—the Sarda Act. But there is no doubt that it was in advance of what public opinion, and that is why the defects of that law were exploited to the extent of making it nugatory. Shri Ram Banaji Mehta, Convener of the Anti-Child Marriage Sub-Committee, All India Women's Conference, has published a paper in which she has collected some valuable figures. Until 1935, she has shown, the number of child marriages went on the increase. Thus the average number of marriages per year of persons under 15 years from districts between 1871 to 1911 was as follows:

Years	Age	Girls
1871—1881	15-16	5,845
1882—1891	15-16	6,022
1892—1901	15-16	7,325
1902—1911	15-16	9,541
1912—1921	15-16	9,788

And here are the figures for child widows for 1931:

Age group	No. of widows
0-1	1,545
1-2	5,774
2-3	5,485
3-4	6,451
4-5	15,618
5-10	1,26,403
10-15	1,70,158

In the same year 1931 there were 8,664 married girls and 789 widows under the age of 5, and in 1931 there were 44,882 married girls

and 1,113 widows of the same age. These figures deserve to be posted a little more in order to find out if the disease is not endemic, in which case intense propaganda could be started in the postwar communities. But even if we were to describe as mendacious the figures of married girls and widows under the age of 5—they reflect only the gross ignorance and superstition of the people among whom they obtain—the figure of 1,11,311 of widows of 15 to 16 years of age is appalling. The cry of the ordinary against the Sarda Act was great, but public opinion has gained much strength during the period between 1929, when the Sarda Act was passed, and 1935, which records the passing of two important measures remedying the defects of the original Act, that opposition was negligible, and Spt. B. Das's main Bill was passed by 87 votes to 18, and Spt. Lakshman Narasimhaiah bringing under the operation of the Sarda Act offenders from British territories "trapping over the borders of the British territories" in the Native States, was passed almost without a protest in a dissentient voice. More than is the operative section of Spt. Lakshman Narasimhaiah's Bill.

"(1) The provisions of this Act shall apply also to any offence committed under the Act by any British subject within the territories of any Native Prince or Chief in India in the same manner as if such act had been committed in British India."

We come now to Spt. B. Das's Bill which was intended to facilitate the more effective enforcement of the Sarda Act by (1) giving the courts discretion to issue injunctions against marriages arranged in defiance of law; (2) permitting the court to take proceedings upon its own motion; (3) enabling the court to take measures for the prevention or consummation of such marriages.

That the Bill as it emerged from the Select Committee and was passed into law does not meet all these objects is to be deplored. The operative sections of the Act are given below.

"(1) When the Court takes cognizance of any offence under this Act upon a complaint made in writing, it may for reasons to be recorded in writing, at any time after examining the complainant and before issuing a process for compelling the attendance of the accused, require the complainant to furnish a bond, with or without caution, for a sum not exceeding one hundred rupees, or security for the payment of any compensation which the complainant may be directed to pay under section 226 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1930, and if such security is not furnished within such reasonable time as the Court may fix, the complaint shall be dismissed."

"(2) The following section shall be added to section 22 of the said Act, namely:—

"If (1) notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in the Act, the Court may, if satisfied from information laid before it

through a complaint or otherwise, that a child marriage in contravention of this Act has been arranged or is about to be solemnized, since an application against any of the persons mentioned in sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 of this Act prohibiting such marriage.

(3) No application under sub-section (1) shall be served against any person unless the Court has previously given notice in such person, and has afforded him an opportunity to show cause against the issue of the application.

(3) The Court may, either on its own motion or on the application of any person aggrieved, suspend or alter any order made under sub-section (2).

(4) Where such an application is returned, the Court shall afford the applicant an early opportunity of appearing before it either in person or by pleader, and if the Court rejects the application wholly or in part, it shall record in writing its reasons for so doing.

(5) Wherever knowing that an application has been filed against him under sub-section (1) of this section, desists such application shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to one thousand rupees, or with both.

Provided that no woman shall be punishable with imprisonment."

We are afraid that clause (1) newly added to section 12 by the Select Committee weakens the section. Where the Court is satisfied that there is sufficient likelihood of an illegal marriage being performed, it ought to have power to issue temporary injunction without notice, for the notice would in some cases be a notice to the offenders to fulfil their evil design before the issue of the injunction. This avoidance of notice was insisted upon by members like Sri K. M. Joshi, Mr. Asaf Ali and Mr. Abdul Qayyum, and it is a pity that it should not have found favour with the Select Committee. More deplorable still was the deletion by the Select Committee of the following section in the original Bill:

"(12) Upon conviction under this Act and in addition to the penalties provided therein, the Court may require the husband of a female child (or, if he is a minor, the person having charge of him or any person whatsoever) to furnish a bond, with or without sureties, for the separate living, custody and maintenance of the wife and for preventing the consummation of the marriage until the court is to a child or until such later date as the Court may appoint."

This was a most wholesome provision intended to remedy in some measure a successful delinquency of the law, and we are glad that all the members who have appended signatures of dissent have protested against the omission of this provision, and that Mr. Gokhale has even

reserved the right to reintroduce this section. We hope he will do so.

The Law Member, however, gave an assurance on the floor of the House that in case the notice before issuing an injunction proved in course of time to be definitely ineffective, the Government would be willing to review the position.

Christian Esquemoir Joshi Khas, who is keenly interested in the question, says:

"I am quite sure that it is the education of women that will mean very much more to us than any amount of social legislation in the realm of law and other social reforms. I feel that it will be very very difficult to enforce the condition for the non-consummation of marriage with the girl in a manner in the present state of our country. I would almost prefer child marriage to be declared null and void for I think that would be the better evil. The hardship, in either case, at the present ignorant condition of our people would fall on the girl."

But even the stringent enforcement of the Hindu Act will not mean the disappearance of child marriages in India. The reformers cannot sit content until all marriages of minors under the age of 21 are made illegal. As Sir Henry Craik said: "Marriage is a sacrament indeed, but a great deal more than a sacrament. It is a contract for lifelong association, and surely it is up to the State to do what it could to ensure that both parties get a fair deal. It is not a fair deal when one party is too young and too ignorant to know the implications of the contract." A girl of 14 and a boy of 16 are certainly no better than children in deciding a matter of life and death, and no society calling itself civilized should tolerate those marriages, much less the consummation of such marriages.

M. D.

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A. I. V. I. A. TRAINING SCHOOL.

1. The students pass of the All India Village Industries Association Training School for Village Workers will begin from 15th June 1938.

2. Admissions will be closed on the 1st of June, and students must present themselves at the school not later than 15th June.

3. The course will be as far as may be for a period of 4 months, of which one month will have to be spent in villages for practical study. In the next 3 months training in one of the following two industries, together with some theoretical knowledge for village work will be given. Not less than four hours a day will be devoted to training in the industry.

1. Paper-making

2. Oil-pressing

Theoretical knowledge in the following subjects will be given during the course:

1. Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi

2. Rural Economics

3. Health, Hygiene and Sanitation

4. A. I. V. I. A.

5. Book-binding

6. Education through Crafts.

Students will be examined at the end of November, and if found necessary the course may be prolonged.

4. A special course in the following selected industries will be given during September to April. The period of training in each industry will be for a month. Students who have completed the six months' course will also be allowed to take up this course if they so desire.

1. Paper-binding and Paper-printing

2. Book-binding (not during December and January)

3. Gun-making.

5. Applicants for admission should not be less than 12 years of age and should have a healthy body and be fit for hard manual work. On arrival here such as the Committee requires will undergo preliminary examination and will be expected to pass a test equal to what is known as the elementary middle course, and may be rejected if they do not possess adequate knowledge. They should have a working knowledge of Hindi or English, should be habitual workers of their own hands and should be prepared to do manual work such as sanitary service (cleaning of latrines, sweeping, etc.), kitchen work (cooking and grinding, etc.), spinning and such other work as may be required under the discipline of the school.

6. Applications for admission, written in the applicants' own handwriting in Hindi, or in English or in the provincial language, should be sent immediately to the undersigned, Magarwal, Wardha, G. P. They should be accompanied by two recommendations, preferably from A. I. V. I. A.

or A. I. V. I. A. office-bearers. A sum to cover the return fare from Wardha should be sent in advance as deposit. When the return fare is less than Rs. 10 the amount to be deposited shall be Rs. 10.

7. No one should come before receiving a letter of admission from the Secretary of the Training School Committee.

8. Students will be required to provide themselves with their own bedding, clothing and eating utensils (one loti, one tumbler, one bakra and one metal plate) and working materials and test-books.

9. Tuition will be charged at Rs. 5 per month. Lodging will be provided free. A certain number of free tuitions will be allowed, and a few scholarships of Rs. 7 to cover board will be granted to deserving students who know spinners. In the case of students paid for by Provincial Governments or Indian States fees to cover board and tuition for the six months' course will be Rs. 30 and for broken periods at the rate of Rs. 15 per month.

10. Students will have to provide themselves with sufficient funds to meet their incidental personal expenses during their period of training here, including about Rs. 5 for the cost of officers for a period of 4 months.

T. D. BHATT

Secretary,

Training School Committee,
Magarwal, Wardha.

GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT

Gandhiji issued the following statement to the Press on the 23rd inst. :

"I observe that the forthcoming interview between Shri Jinnah and myself is not only attracting very wide attention, but is also inspiring high hopes among some. There there are people who gravely warn me against this visit and against building any hope on the interview. It is better, therefore, for me to take the public into my confidence and tell them why and how I am waiting upon Shri Jinnah on April 25.

He has himself published my first letter to him, showing my attitude on the question of communal unity, which is as dear to me as life itself. In that letter I clearly stated that all before me was darkness and that I was waiting for light. If anything, the darkness has deepened and the prayer became more intense. Add to this the fact that for some, some of which I know and some of which I do not, for the first time in my public and private life I seem to have lost self-confidence. I seem to have detected a flaw in me which is unworthy of a votary of truth and ahimsa. I am going through a process of self-inspection, the results of which I cannot foresee. I feel uplifted for the first time during the past 25 years to a degree

of depend, I do not consider myself in for negotiations or any such thing for the moment.

There is no need for any speculation as to the cause of my dependency. It is purely internal. It comes from within. It must be now clear that, if I repeated the forthcoming interview as between two politicians, I should not entertain it to my present dependence. But I approach it in no political spirit— I approach it in a spiritual and religious spirit, using the objective as its broadest scope.

My education is not sectarian. It includes all that I know to be best in Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism. I approach politics as everything else in a religious spirit. Truth is my religion and shame is the only way of my justification. I have repeated once and for all the decisions of the sword. The worst weaknesses of innocent persons, and the speeches I read in the papers are hardly the thing leading to peace or an honorable settlement.

Again I am not approaching the forthcoming interview in any representative capacity. I have purposely divested myself of any such. If there are to be any formal negotiations, they will be between the President of the Congress and the President of the Muslim League. I go as a Hindu worker in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity. It has been my passion from early youth. I cannot come at the subject of Muslims as my friends. I have a devoted daughter of whom no more than a daughter to me. She lives for that unity and would cheerfully die for it. I had the son of the late Muzaffar of the Juma Masjid of Bombay as a staunch inmate of the Ashram. I have not met a truer man. His morning dawn in the Ashram rises in my eye as I write these lines during midnight. It is for such reasons that I wait on Shri Keshu.

I may not have a single stone returned to achieve Hindu-Muslim unity. But Keshu himself is strange ways. He may, in a manner least known to me, both find himself through the interview and open a way to an honorable understanding between the two communities. It is in that hope that I am looking forward to the forthcoming talk. We are friends, not strangers. It does not matter to me that we see things from different angles of vision. I ask the public not to attach any exaggerated importance to the interview. But I ask all lovers of communal peace to pray that the God of truth and love may give us both the right spirit and the right word and use us for the good of the dumb millions of India."

HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH

Minutes of the first meeting of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh held at 9-15 a. m. on the 13th April, at the bungalow of Seth Jankmal Bajaj, Wazir, Dr. Zakir Husain presiding.

The following members of the Sangh were present:—

1. Dr. Zakir Husain; 2. Seth, Anba Das; 3. Sp. T. S. Ashwaththaman Chettyar, 4. Sp. Yashu Shrivastava; 5. Sp. V. V. Ashkar, 6. Sp. Dhanrajadas Das; 7. Dr. Abul Husain; 8. Sp. Shaktichandrase Jajee, 9. Sp. Keshavnath Kulkarni, 10. Rajkumar Anant Karm; 11. Sp. J. S. Keshavnath; 12. Sp. J. C. Deshpande; 13. Dr. M. Nigam; 14. Sp. Mahesh Prasad; 15. Sp. O. Ramachandran, 16. Prof. K. G. Nayak; 17. Sp. Keshavnath Varma; 18. Sp. E. W. Aranyasam.

1. The question of the constitution of the Sangh was first discussed. The provisional constitution submitted by the Secretary was discussed clause by clause, and accepted by unanimous consent, with the necessary additions and alterations.

The following is the draft constitution as passed by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh:

Resolved passed by the Indian National Congress at its Harpootam Session:

"The Congress has emphasized the importance of national education ever since 1920, and during the non-cooperation period many national educational institutions were started under its auspices. The Congress attaches the utmost importance to a proper reorganization of mass education, and holds that all national progress ultimately depends on the method and content and objectives of the education that is provided for the people. The existing system of education in India is admitted to have failed. Its objectives have been self-national and antisocial. Its methods have been antiquated, and it has been confined to a small number of people and has left the vast majority of our people illiterate. It is essential, therefore, to build up national education on a new foundation and on a nation-wide scale. As the Congress is having new opportunities of service and of influencing and controlling state education, it is necessary to lay down the basic principles which should guide such education and to take other necessary steps to give effect to them. The Congress is of opinion that for the primary and secondary stages a basic education should be imparted in accordance with the following principles:—

1. Free and compulsory education should be provided for every person on a nation-wide scale.
2. The method of instruction must be the mother tongue.
3. Throughout this period education should continue—read more form of manual and pro-

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double work, and all other activities to be developed or trading to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft scheme, with due regard to the enrichment of the child.

Accordingly, the Congress is of opinion that an All India Education Board to deal with this basic part of education be constituted and for this purpose requests and authorizes Dr. Zakir Husain and Shri K. W. Arjunayagam to take immediate steps, under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji, to bring such a Board into existence, to take up work on a consolidated manner a programme of basic national education and to recommend it for acceptance to those who are in control of state or private education.

The said Board shall have power to frame its own constitution, to raise funds and perform all such acts as may be necessary for the fulfilment of its objects."

NAME

1. In accordance with the above resolution, an All India Education Board, named the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, is hereby formed.

OBJECT

1. The object of the Sangh shall be to work out a programme of basic national education as indicated in the above resolution and to take all the necessary steps for its adoption on a nationwide scale.

FUNCTIONS

1. For the fulfilment of this object the Sangh shall

- Frame suitable courses of study for basic education
- Conduct, aid and supervise institutions of basic education.
- Conduct, aid and supervise training centres for teachers.
- Prepare and publish suitable literature
- Carry on extensive research work
- Organise propaganda.
- Take necessary steps for the acceptance of the programme of basic education by those in control of state or private educational institutions.

2. Raise funds and perform all such other acts as may be necessary for the furtherance of the object.

3. The Sangh shall work under the advice and guidance of Gandhiji.

3. The Sangh shall consist of members not less than ten or more than twenty-five, who shall subscribe to the Constitution and sign the pledge (as given in Appendix A.) The Sangh shall in the first instance consist of the following members

1. Dr. Zakir Husain (Chairman) 1. Shri. Asha Devi, 2. Shri. T. S. Aravamudan 4. Shri. Vinoba

Bhave, 3. Shri. V. V. Aravamudan, 4. Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyaya, 5. Shri. Saradendra-Narasaini Dasgupta, 6. Dr. Abid Husain, 7. Shri. K. R. Krishnakumar Jagan, (Treasurer), 18. Dr. S. Jaganmouli, 11. Shri. K. R. Krishnakumar, 12. Rajkumar Anant Kumar, 13. Shri. J. B. Kishore, 14. Shri. J. C. Kishore, 15. Dr. M. Kishore, 16. Shri. Narasimha Das, 17. Shri. Narasimha Das, 18. Shri. O. Narasimha Das, 19. Prof. K. D. Nayak, 20. Shri. Narasimha Das, 21. Shri. K. W. Arjunayagam (Secretary)

4. Any member of the Sangh may, at necessity arise, suggest names of new members for election by the Managing Committee.

5. The Sangh shall meet at least twice a year, and when required by the President or Secretary or by resolution of the President signed by at least five members of the Sangh.

6. Five members shall form a quarter of the Sangh.

7. The Secretary may circulate any proposals among the members of the Sangh, and if a two-thirds majority of the members agree, the said proposal shall have the force of a resolution passed at a meeting of the Sangh.

8. With the exception of the object, the Sangh shall have power to amend, change or add to any provision of the Constitution by a two-thirds majority of its members.

9. Any member who, in the opinion of the Managing Committee, departs from the pledge or is guilty of dishonourable conduct shall cease to be a member of the Sangh, such decision of the Managing Committee being final.

10. Any member absenting himself from three consecutive meetings of the Sangh without due intimation to the Secretary shall be considered as having resigned from the Sangh.

OFFICERS

11. The following shall be the first officers, who shall hold office for seven years.

President: Dr. Zakir Husain.

Treasurer: Shri. K. R. Krishnakumar Jagan.

Secretary: Shri. K. W. Arjunayagam.

After the expiry of the first term of office, succeeding officers shall be elected every three years by the members of the Sangh, from amongst themselves. Existing officers shall be eligible for re-election.

(To be continued)

CONTENTS	Page
TABLET LITERATURE	M. D. 10
TRAINING BOARD, CHAND	
WAGNER, ROBERT	M. D. 10
WAGNER, ROBERT	M. D. 10
A. I. T. L. A. TRAINING BOARD	T. D. Board 10
WAGNER, ROBERT	10
WAGNER, ROBERT	10



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Vol. VI No. 13

PRINTED — SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1938

[ONE DOLLAR]

WEEKLY LETTER

The Travel

I deliberately alter the usual heading "Gandhi's health" for the one at the top. So many of my friends have asked me what steadily is the meaning and the sense of the dark edge of the wall that he seems to be passing through. "If anything the darkness has deepened, the paper has become thicker. Add to this the fact that for reasons, some of which I know and some I do not, for the first time in my public and private life I seem to have lost self-confidence. I seem to have detected a flaw in me which is unworthy of a victory of truth and ahimsa. I am going through a process of self-interrogation, the results of which I cannot foresee. I had hoped for the first time during the past fifty years in a slough of despair. I do not consider myself fit for negotiations or any such thing for the moment." What, these friends have asked, can be the meaning of these fatalistic words? I wish I could tell them. This certainly everyone around him knows that it is an unprecedented travel that he is passing through—some even travel as recorded in the Harpish decision of 1931 and the Poona Decision of 1934. Is the flaw he refers to a reference of the force that can be detected in us day in and day out? Who can tell?

The New Education

At a meeting of the newly created National Education Board, Gandhi gave the latter meaning and objective of the new education. Even here he was so full of the mood of depression that possesses him that he said at the end: "When the New Education Scheme was launched I was full of self-confidence in which I now feel I am lacking. My words had power of which they seem to be bereft today. This loss of confidence is due not to things without but to things within. It is not that my senses are paralyzed. My intellect gives me good work for my age. Now it is that I have lost faith in non-violence. That faith is burning brighter than ever. But I have for the moment lost self-confidence. I would therefore ask you not to accept anything from me implicitly. Accept only what serves convenience to you. But I am sure that if we could contact even two schools on the right line I should share with you."

The right line he indicated is the earlier part of the discourse. "We have to make of this training school a school for winning freedom and for the salvation of all our life, of which the chief use is in our personal troubles. For this purpose we shall have to concentrate on non-violence. Higher and Gandhi's schools accept as their fundamental principle violence. Once is non-violence according to the Congress. All our problems have therefore to be solved non-violently. Our arithmetic, our science, our history will have a non-violent approach, and the problems in these subjects will be solved by non-violence. When Mahatma Rajendra Prasad delivered his address to the Indian Mills Institute on Tuesday I remarked that whereas generally history is a chronicle of things and their wars, the future history will be the history of man. That can be so in only one respect. Then we shall have to concentrate not on city industries but on rural industries, that is to say, if we want to keep all the 700,000 of our villages alive, and not only a fraction of them, we have to revive our village handicrafts. And you may be sure that if we can impart educational training through these crafts we can bring about a revolution. Our institutions will have also to be prepared with the same end."

"I want you to give your ideas confidence to what I am saying and repeat what does not appeal to you. If what I say does not appeal to our Mahatma brothers, they may repeat non-violence. The non-violence I want is not non-violence limited to the fight with the British but is to be applied to all our internal affairs and problems.—true active non-violence from which will come the Hindu Muslim unity and not a unity based on mutual fear like the past, the present, between Hitler and Mussolini."

That Tragedy

I have had many letters of sympathy from friends who read that article "A Tragedy" in these columns. Whilst some have said that they would not perhaps have behaved differently from me, at least two or three of them have said that I misunderstood, however unwittingly. There is one letter in which out of sympathy for me a strange plea has been advanced: "Mishtunad has unnecessarily come down upon Gandhi, you and the Indian so severely. All know that you Indian people don't mix with Europeans, and

with them, even live with them. For the so-called Valdivara you are all as good or as bad as Harjane. Did not the pastor in Port know that the ladies who went into the temple were all Harjane or as good as Harjane? They knew. For was the very fact that these ladies who were de facto Harjane were allowed to go into the temple in of sufficient importance? I fail to see how it retards the progress of the cause, if indeed it is not a little step towards the goal." Of course, the pastor knew, but therein lies the tragedy. I am sure that even if there were a few more Harjane with the Ashura women, even then they would have been allowed to go in. But that would have been because of the name and fame of Gandhi. The pastor would very well have said "There are always exceptions. But when you come with a huge error of Harjane, when you even ask them to store the gates of the temple, we have to refuse." That is to say, "if you have adopted one or two Harjane, we will tolerate it, but if you adopt the whole crowd of them, well therein lies the rub." It is clear that one potent weakness of the women having gone as far as that refused to admit the vast number of Harjane did not apparently affect them. That is what troubled Gandhi to the quick. The friend also fails to see how Gandhi's various pains as that woman was mentioned in the language of the Gita, "Detachment means freedom from the pains of sorrow and joy, happiness and misery. Was not Mahatma's soul consumed for a moment with the pain? Could not his disapproval of the act have been more kindly and less condemning both to you and him? Where was the mental pain—*manasah*?" Well, that extreme agony was temporary and the pain soon followed, as soon as he saw that all the wrong deeds resulted the same. But it is not for those who act, to determine the extent of the shock that their error will give to one who loves them.

In rebuking another and who sympathize, another found his written with a deeper understanding of Gandhi's principles than I betrayed at the moment. I gratefully reproduce that letter.

"I could not restrain my tears when I read your article in this week's HARMON. I only met it today and my heart bled for you. I can well understand the agony you went through and how it is a moment of desperation you wrote as you did to Raga. But now it is all over and you, and with you all of us, have to learn the lesson. He would have no learn from such mistakes. I do not understand what still pains you. Raga had to be deeply wounded by the incident. Apart from the fact that it is in his nature to grieve over the sin of others—especially of those nearest and dearest to him—the thought that his life's struggle and teaching had not really touched those who were so near to him would naturally make him feel that there had been something lacking

in him. And that either you are to stand here without the person concerned would again trouble him terribly. That he rebuked you for your want of judgment only betokened the high esteem in which he holds you and the high standard he expects from you, and in rebuking you thus he rebuked himself no less. Thanks for his overlooking him for you and for all who are near and dear to him. That you failed to see the love does not mean that the love was not there. That you refused it would again hurt Raga, and he must have rebuked himself again for his inability to have made his acting quite clear to you. I can realize what suffering Raga has been through too. But there must be no grief or sorrow or doubt now—as I am sure there isn't—only a greater understanding and a greater desire to serve."

Let me assure the friend that I see the error no less than I saw the love very soon. Having looked in the cupolas of that love all time, temporary clouds may make one blind. But like the Sun who shines even when the sky is overcast the sun of love is there with us through night and day.

M. D.

HINDUSTANI TALIMI SANGH

(Continued from the last issue)

Managing Committee

14. There shall be a Managing Committee, consisting of not less than five and not more than seven members.

15. The following shall be the members of the first Managing Committee with power to add two more members from amongst the members of the Sangh. This Managing Committee shall hold office for seven years.

1. Dr. Zakir Husain, 2. Prof. K. D. Bajpai, 3. Sri. Pandit Shriv, 4. Sri. Jagan Chav, 5. Sri. K. W. Arpanayagam

The President and Secretary of the Sangh shall also be the Chairman and Secretary respectively of the Managing Committee. There shall form a quorum of the Managing Committee.

After the expiry of the first term of office, the Managing Committee shall be re-elected every three years by the members of the Sangh from amongst themselves. The retiring members of the Managing Committee shall be eligible for re-election.

Thereafter in the Managing Committee named by death, resignation or otherwise, shall be filled from amongst the members of the Sangh by the remaining members of the Managing Committee.

One who agrees to be a member of the Sangh shall also agree to be a member of the Managing Committee.

16. The Managing Committee shall be in full charge of the affairs of the Sangh, shall maintain proper accounts which should be duly

will be usually, and shall meet from time to time as may be required by the Chairman or the Secretary or on a requisition of two of its members.

Correspondents

17. Writers in the field of national education who are in sympathy with the objects of the Sangh may be styled as correspondents by the Managing Committee.

18. The headquarters of the Hindustani Talmil Sangh shall be situated at the village Bagpur, District Wardha, C. P. It shall be open to the Managing Committee to change the headquarters from time to time as may be necessary.

19. The Sangh shall have the power to frame bye-laws not inconsistent with the constitution for the furtherance of the objects of the Sangh.

II. The Sangh will consider the question of the functions of the Sangh, as laid down in the constitution, and after a full discussion of the programme of work and the machinery necessary for carrying out the above functions passed the following resolutions:

(a) Resolved that the Sangh generally approve of and adopt the syllabus prepared by the Sahit Namsa Committee, and appoint a Curriculum Committee to consider and recommend changes and additions in the said syllabus. In the light of the experience gained, this Committee shall also work out details of co-ordinated schemes of basic education, control rural basic units other than those given in this syllabus. The Committee shall consist of the following members, with powers to co-opt:

1. Dr. Sahit Namsa, 2. Sh. Vinod Narsa, 3. Prof. K. G. Sahyade, 4. Rajmohan Anant Khar, 5. Shri Jaha Devi & Sh. H. W. Arjuna-rahm (Convener).

(b) Resolved that the Managing Committee take steps to start a few experimental schools and teachers' training centres under its direct control and management. It was decided for the present to start two such centres—a school of basic education at Bagpur, and a teachers' training school at Janta. Wile, Wardha, Dist.

(c) The Managing Committee shall make necessary arrangements to advise and supervise private experiments in basic education wherever requested to do so.

(d) Resolved that the Sangh appoint an editorial board whose functions shall be as follows: (i) To select, prepare and publish suitable educational literature for teachers in the basic schools. (ii) To publish a monthly bulletin in Hindi and Urdu. (iii) To publish literature, as may be felt necessary, dealing with educational problems in general.

The following shall be the members of the Editorial Board, with powers to co-opt:

1. Dr. Sahit Namsa; 2. Sh. Rajmohan Kulkarni, 3. Sh. N. Majum, 4. Dr. Abid Namsa, 5. Prof.

K. G. Sahyade, 6. Sh. G. Thakurkar, 7. Sh. Mahesh Parikh, 8. Shri Sahyade Narsa; 9. Sh. H. W. Arjuna-rahm; 10. Sh. Jaha Devi (Secretary).

(e) Resolved that a delegation consisting of Shri J. N. Kulkarni, Rajmohan Kulkarni and H. W. Arjuna-rahm, be requested to meet the Minister on the 15th May and on subsequent dates as necessary.

(f) Resolved that the Sangh appoint a Committee to frame curricula and deal with all other matters relating to the training of teachers for basic education. The following were elected as members of this Committee with powers to co-opt:

1. Dr. Sahit Namsa, 2. Dr. Abid Namsa, 3. Dr. Jandhara, 4. Sh. H. W. Arjuna-rahm; 5. Prof. K. G. Sahyade (Convener).

III. Professor Sahyade was requested to prepare a scheme of research work in connection with basic education and to submit it to the Sangh for consideration on the following day.

IV. The Secretary next presented the budget for the year March 1938 to February 1939. This was passed.

V. The following names were then suggested to form a Council of Advisors to the Sangh, and the Secretary was authorized to approach them for their consent:

1. Dr. Rajmohan Narsa Dugra,
2. Pt. Mahesh Mahesh Mahajanya,
3. Shri Narsa Narsa,
4. Shriya. Prashant Chandra Ray,
5. Sh. Akbar Khyari,
6. Prof. Khar,
7. Mahesh Anant Khar Anant,
8. Sh. G. Sahyade-rahm,
9. Sh. Narsa Narsa,
10. Sh. Narsa Narsa.

The meeting was then dissolved with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

A. GAZETTE.

On p. 10 of the last week's HALLIAN, instead of the heading "Weekly Letter" please read "Hindustan News—1."

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H A R I J A N

May 7

1948

CASHING FAST SACRIFICES

There is no end to the woes of our Ministers. A sort of omnipotence was attributed to them when they accepted office, and anyone who had any reference, friend or foe, felt that he must go straight to the Minister. A Prince Minister once told me that his poor uncle brought a rubber's card bearing the name of a man with a double degree. The Prince Minister thought he must have come to divine education as he professed to be an atheist. But imagine his surprise when he found that the rubber came with a complaint against an educationist who was making life hell for him and would simply not be opened. If parents were about the lack of water supply in their villages, or proper roads, or the absence of a school or a well, one can very well understand it, in fact the Minister is the proper person to whom to apply. But when the educated people approach Ministers with the complaints of the kind I have mentioned, the limit is reached.

The bulk of their post, however, is made up of petitions for jobs. Many of them are appeals against action, but take a number are from those who claim to be provided with posts as a matter of right, and when they find they begin meeting a grievance against the Congress. Some of these claims are apparently just. Thus a post master, who was dismissed during the Emergency days of 1931 for no other offence than that of wearing khadi and that his daughter contributed Rs. 1 to the Vardhaji Fund, and who welcomed his dismissal then, now feels that under Congress Government he should be reinstated. There is no doubt that if the Government had an impartial treasury, provision must be made for men of this kind. But let us consider the other side of the coin. For one taking the Postal Department is not a professional department. Even if it was, a man who was a Government servant in 1931 would be too old to take up the same job after seventeen years, and then of course there are the Government Service Rules which prescribe the maximum age limit to be 55.

Another class of applicants are those who resigned their services in response to the nation's call and who want to be reinstated. The nation, let it be remembered, did not call upon Government servants to resign. But that is a more detail. Here let us take a typical application (In fact I am going to quote from an actual application.)

"I joined Government service in 1918 as a clerk in the Special Staff Branch of the Collector's Office, and after working for 4 years I resigned my appointment in obedience to the Congress call. Ever since I have been in the service of the Congress, as propaganda worker, Congress Secretary, etc., I suffered two terms of imprisonment in 1930 and 1932, but am now unemployed and cannot make both ends meet. Had I continued in service I ought to have been something different because a co-clerk of mine is a submagistrate and a few others are on the list of submagistrates. I therefore request that I may be provided with an appointment either in the Revenue Department or any other Department, giving me that grade and status which I would have got had I been in service all these years."

Now this is a tall order, and one which our Ministers resisted this kind of claims as strongly as possible. If these applicants resigned in response to the nation's call, they did so without a regret and as a matter of sacrifice at the altar of freedom. If they now want to be reinstated, and not only reinstated but to be put on the same grade as they would normally have been if they had not resigned, they would now recast their sacrifices. Well, sacrifices can never be recast, and if they can, freedom can never be won with that kind of sacrifices. And if those who resigned must be reinstated, why are the thousands of those who were fired be compensated, and the tens of thousands who suffered imprisonment be also compensated for the loss they sustained because of several years' unemployment? Are those who lose their honour and descent during wars of freedom ever compensated? Do they make those sacrifices with a view to future material gain? No, liberty is something pure and sacred which costs everything as gain and earned as debt and not made with a view to cash them at a future date in terms of Government service.

M. B.

"PRICE FOR GAINING LIBERTY"

The following is the text of the statement issued on April 26th by Gandhiji on the Mysore strike.

"I enjoy the privilege of friendship with Mr. M. S. Gannal. I know that he is anxious to liberalise the administration of Mysore. I have found him to be willing to listen to the advice and suggestions of friends. And I know that the tragedy which has been enacted in Mysore horrified him with distress.

I have read the communications issued by the Mysore Government. It does not need conveying to me that for the advice that I am about to tender, I do not need an accurate knowledge of all the facts surrounding the tragedy. Seeing that I receive pressing letters, deputations and wires from representative people of Mysore for redress, and seeing that I know so many workers of Mysore who look to me for a solu-

ture of their difficulties, it would be wrong on my part at this writing journey to extend myself unnecessarily with sending letters or even telegrams of advice.

One or two facts stand out prominently. There has been firing upon an unarmed crowd, resulting in several deaths and many more being injured. I will assume, though the information received by me on behalf of the public is to the contrary, that there was some provocation. We can never know with absolute certainty whether the firing was justified. There is no case which can give an exact definition of justification. It must always be a matter of opinion, and opinions always have a touch of varying.

What I, therefore, venture to suggest to the Mysore Government is that they should not be satisfied with making an inquiry, however impartial it may be. The demonstration that is going on in Mysore about the national flag is a symptom of the times.

I must confess that I was not aware of a popular awakening in Mysore on a wide scale, as there undoubtedly is. It gladdens me, as I hope it gladdens the Mysore authorities. I suggest, therefore, that the best and only remedy for the Mahasab and his advisers, Sir Kinnaird, is to direct the Government of the state away and to make popular representatives responsible for the administration of Mysore. The responsibility must be on the broadest scale possible if it is to ensure peace in Mysore. It has been suggested that the State being backward, responsibility can only be a plant of slow growth. I have never subscribed to that doctrine. It is not a compliment to the State. One would expect them, with all the natural advantages in their favour, to show much greater progress than is necessarily British India.

To the leaders of the people of Mysore I will say: These tragic deaths and injuries inflicted upon innocent persons would be a small price paid for the liberty of the people. They may make an enquiry and the injured and the heirs to the deceased may receive compensation. But if I were a Mysorean, I would not lay stress on personal gain. I would see these sacrifices for gaining the liberty for which they had been made voluntarily or involuntarily. They should also remember that one condition of success is the retention of a truly non-violent spirit and atmosphere under every conceivable circumstances. I have been told that the people have been behaving with exemplary non-violence and that the crowd heavily outnumbered the police. If that is proved to be the case, I for one will rejoice over the loss of life. It is the necessary price paid for gaining liberty."

The Power of Non-violence (By Richard D. Gregg)

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FRONTIER NOTES

II

Talbot + Bala

The Khan Sahib was good enough to take me for a little sight-seeing too. Close to the boundary of Madras is a hill crowded with Buddhist ruins. The ascent is a few hundred feet and quite easy, and the ruins are protected under the Protected Monuments Act. But also there is little there now which remains to be protected. Buildings there are mostly in ruins, but the walls made up of thin square and oblong stones of stone are still intact making us wonder how they have held together all these centuries. There is very little of the hill that is without these remains, and it is quite likely that in some remote time it must have been a most populous centre of civilisation, and ample sites of temples. In a place are collected all the figures that have survived the ravages of the old British water-borne, but there again one leaves a day early to see that all of them, without an exception, are broken or disfigured. Some of them must have been the images of Buddha. The delicate carving of the parrots is still to be seen. The whole place gives one the impression of well-serviced machines with not working bolts or proper pieces and makes one sigh for the days that are no more. The old British in charge of the ruins took me down an underground cellar and said: "This is a dungeon where prisoners used to be kept." He is talking nonsense, said the Khan Sahib. "I am sure this was no dungeon. It is quite likely that heretics were kept here in the manner and in extreme winter, and the whole place gives one the impression of a house of God than anything else." It did seem odd and good to see the Khan Sahib regard with respect and admiration the relics of a faith which is not his. "Is it not on the top of things, Khan Sahib," I said, "that you should preach the gospel of wisdom where centuries ago the same gospel was preached by Buddhist monks and priests?" Khan Sahib smiled in appreciation.

The Higher Pass

The other place Khan Sahib took me to was the Higher Pass about which one has heard so many legends that one feels one must visit it if one should happen to go to the Frontier. As one can wheel the way along the narrow road that passes between two mountain ranges, the Khan Sahib began to talk about. Many has been poured his water over this military road and the military outposts and forts on the road right down to the Afghan Frontier. Here and there on the sides of the hills are memorial tablets to soldiers killed in fighting the Afghans. Khan Sahib was all this and says: "Is it not a tragedy that we should not have been able to guard this narrow pass against the foreign

invader? How readily dismantled and seemingly small we have been? To my mind the problem of defence of the Frontier appears to be so preposterously simple, if we were united.

'And why these fights with the tribes?' he asked, as he stared on the tribal villages—so remote almost-remotely—closed in with mud walls on either side of the road. The way to the distance on high tops of hills stood men with rifles but dressed like the Afridis. 'These are Khatkhat' he said, 'drawn from the tribes, and they are paid something to guard the road. These Afridis are plain simple fellows like the Pathans, loathable to a fault. They speak Pushto and apart from their blood-heads they are well educated and shrewd. Why should it be difficult to make up with them? Why should they be bribed, and bombed when they cannot be bribed into submission?' I am here now planning Khan Sahib's Dada, but there was an unexpressed agony behind it all which no words can convey. 'They want to make friends with us, and if we could solve the problem of their cot, they would live peacefully and amicably. But we are not allowed to go near them.'

'Look at the way they live,' he said, as he pointed to small huts in distant rocks. 'They are their cows, they have no other dwellings, and you can imagine what they would get to eat, and yet they are brave and long-lived. I tell you I do not understand all your talk of vitamins and vitamin-deficiency. Find me a people whose food is more deficient of vitamins than these half-starved Afridis, and they are stronger and longer than that of the people who suffer from no vitamin-deficiency.' I smiled incredulously. But the Khan Sahib went on. 'No, they are strong because they are pure and not civilization-spoiled. Aiding is non-existent, for the penalty is death.'

'And what are those white flags flying over their habitations?' I asked. Well if the British have their memorial tablets, the Afridis have their martyr flags. 'They are memorials of those who have died honourable deaths or died fighting with the British,' explained the Khan Sahib. It is with these people that innocent were engaged, and bombed in the latest weapon being used to subdue them. How little it is was clearly shown by General Sir George Mackinnon in his *Reminiscences of the Indian Frontier*.

'One of the disappointments of modern times is the uselessness of the Air Force in handling the problem. It was hoped that aviation might have been found. But it was soon realised that bombing has no material effect against tribal skirmishers and desperadoes. Even machine-gunning like we can send rock and tang. The Air Force pilots on the North West Frontier have been the substitution of the world in their names of the Europeans in Tibet during occupation. They fly most daringly into the mountains. They do, it is true, bring notice of tribal gatherings, they can poke their noses up

tribal valleys, and they can overlook, to the huge expanse of the clouds, but that unfortunately is almost all. In the late Pathans trouble the results of their activities, in three-weeks beyond peace, was in the nature of things trivial. Even punitive bombing has now been reduced as of little avail. To bomb unarmoured means destruction of families. To bomb after warning is absurd. Disposal is the matter of moments, and half the year the tribes live in peace.'

This, of course, apart from the moral aspect of the case which military men need not consider!

Pathans

I was in a hurry to be back and could not go to Kohat and see the Kohat Pass and the Bala Pass in the Independent Territory. Even Pathans I had very little time to see. But two spots I was taken to have about in my memory.

The Sikh friends invited me to see their Garodwan, which is a unique one. Two to three hundred people are led down every morning and evening at the Garodwan, Jaipur, and I am told numerous students take advantage of this free feeding. There is no restriction of caste and creed and no one is turned away. 'Did you do you message then?' I asked, 'Are you called by the hungry and the needy of whom there is no death in our country?' 'No', said the friend in charge. 'The Lord provides and the Lord feeds, which is other words means that people give and people feed. In fact we have found that the more the harder the more are our people from people.' It runs schools and hospitals, gives scholarships to students, and renders such other social help. The Garodwan is situated in the most thickly populated locality, but the place is very well kept.

Quite an unhappy contrast was afforded by a place called 'Panch Tirth' meaning five sacred places, associated with the name of the five Pathans. These are natural powerful springs full of refreshingly cool water in summer which however hot boiling water is winter. They are very much used by devout Hindus, and yet the place is so ill kept that it is a shame to think in charge of it. There are several such springs in the vicinity. Some of them are under Sikh management and they are better kept. Apart from our duty as Hindus to keep places held as sacred scrupulously clean, public sanitation and cleanliness demands that these places should be made real centres of attraction for all who should like to use the springs for bathing.

N D

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Notes

"Even in Pomegran—"

Readers will remember that I had some months ago to perform the painful duty of expelling from these columns what I called "a daring fraud." The saying friend Shikhar Kale, who had defrauded and exploited the overflowing goodness of Pandit Malaviya, owed his work before Pandit, and implored me again and again to intervene and plead with Pandit for mercy so that he and his brother who had enjoyed scholarships on false pretences (they had, it will be remembered, turned Madhwa to win scholarships!) may not be frustrated. I refused to do anything of the kind but said that I would not mind if Pandit forgave him. But poor Shikhar was even in process pleading else were. He begged the following letter in my name a few days ago and sent it on to Malaviya:

"1 Windsor Park
Colaba, 18th April, 1938

Reverend Panditji,

Kindly excuse me for the trouble I am presently giving you. While at Warburton I learnt during the middle of last January, through Mr. Shikhar's letter that his brother had been expelled from the college. His object in writing to me was that I should request you to excuse his brother. I did not reply him although I felt much for his brother's plight. I was thinking whether I should or should not write to you: sometimes more important matters dragged away my attention from this point—as much so that I forgot it. When I reached home a number of persons repeated the matter before me and are pressing me since then to write to you. During the past fortnight or so I could gather much more information relating to Mr. Shikhar, which, being of a non-defensible nature, shall not be put in black and white. Please excuse me for the same. Consequently, as far as I could, I have found out that his brother has nothing to do with his students. My request, therefore, is that you may, if there be the least chance and possibility, kindly allow him to appear at his coming examination so that he may at least be able to be really innocent, and to the best of my knowledge he is, for punishment shall be made fit.

Will you do the needful and oblige?

Yours sincerely,
MAHADEV DESAI

P. M. M. Malaviya,
Deccan Hindu University "

The forgery is so daring as the previous forgeries, but it lacks the candour of the previous ones. He ought to have known that Panditji could not now be taken in. But failure to realize this simple fact also means that the thing has become a disease with him, and he

cannot help it just as a kleptomaniac cannot help taking even though he may have thousands in his pocket. Again let readers beware, and yet let them not judge. He knows not what he does.

How Long It Keeps

As there is ignorance among the public as to the keeping quality of the juice of date palm, if it is collected in lined pots, some "hint" for 12 hours without any bad effect." The Agricultural Department, Calcutta, says that juice obtained from coconut and palm-tree palm will keep for 3 hours after it is drawn from the tree. If it is boiled for a few minutes soon after tapping, it has been found to keep on without deterioration for about 4 hours." The Bombay Government Chemist says that if the date palm juice is tapped in lined earthenware pots, it does not show any appreciable alkaline fermentation for nearly six to seven hours, though possibly acid fermentation takes place in about two or three hours' time."

Thus it would appear that also, it is unfermented today, remains innocuous at least for three hours in all Indian climates if the pots are kept scrupulously clean and well lined. This may be done by total abstinence and others without the slightest intoxicating effect. If the Provincial Governments were to run bottles for also and other non-alcoholic, they are likely to be popular and self-supporting. It is clear that more has to be removed on the premises. Excessive drinking should decrease a hazardous process whereby without impairing the quality it may be proof against fermentation and thus be safely sold in bottles to be carried home.

M D

Exhibition for the All India Village Industries Museum

The building of the Imperial Gandhi Memorial Museum for Khadi and Village Industries at Nagpur, Warburton, is nearing completion. The Board of the All India Village Industries Association has recommended that Gandhi be requested to open it during the next Gandhi Jayanti. It is thus for us now to collect exhibits so as to arrange and place them in order. We invite persons who have in their possession such articles as will further the object of the Museum to donate or lend them to the Museum which is a national institution.

It is not intended to make this Museum one more addition to the existing institutions which are only collections, however valuable, of curios and rarities. There has been a long felt need for a central organization which would furnish specimens both from past and present art, craft, designs and workmanship and be an alternative

medium which would help in certain ways the enlargement and enrichment of village life through the industries. Therefore the exhibits that are asked for should be such specimens as show the high water mark of attainment. Every exhibit should have a detailed description of its due points along with a short historical note about it. If persons are in doubt as to whether their exhibits will meet our needs, they should send to the description and ascertain from the unchanged of the exhibit should be described. The space at our disposal is small for us all India Museum, and therefore it is advisable to send the articles after acceptance. The exhibits relating to handicraft and village industries should be confined to: specimens of finished articles, tools, instruments and raw materials used, drawings available in their districts, and, if possible, photographs and pictures showing the environment where these industries are being carried to and other related information.

Magasavelli
Wardha, C. P.

J. C. KUMARASWAMI,
Organiser & Secretary

[It is to be hoped that this appeal will receive a generous response from all hives of handicraft and other village industries. M. K. C.]

ACTING GOVERNORSHIP OF CHINA

Quaid's issued the following statement on 15th April.

"The appointment of Mr. Dain, a subordinate of the Orissa Government, to be the acting Governor Orissa is preposterous a crime of the first magnitude. The matter looked small at the surface. The fact that he is to resign after the proclamation of the acting appointment has been regarded as sufficient statement for an educated mind. In my opinion it is no statement. If he is revealed to his original permanent post, not only would there not be anything wrong but if the Mandates wanted to be strict, they might take a strict delight in their question acting Governor becoming their subordinate. The whole of the acting like as a subordinate official becoming an acting Governor of his province with whom the Ministers are expected to work and almost daily submit documents for his signature and have him to preside at their meetings.

It is inconceivable and unbefitting and reduces autonomy to a farce. If the autonomy is real, and is to blossom forth into full freedom, nothing should be done by superior powers after the previous style. Every one of their acts must conform to a rule or convention. It must not depend upon the whims of the Governor-General or even the Secretary of State for India. Wherever the practice of autonomy depended upon the existing obedience, willing or unwilling, from the ruled, the prestige of the superior authority that has voluntarily divided itself of autonomy and sustained autonomy should remain in charge

carrying the majority vote with it. There is no other way that I can think of for the healthy growth of autonomy and the avoidance of friction.

The Floor and the Governor have bestowed unlimited power upon all the Ministers of India. They have given no cause for the exercise of the more than ample powers reserved under the Government of India Act. The prestige of the majority party depends upon never sleeping over the rights of the people, ever allowing a single error on the part of the superior authority to escape their vigilant eyes. Looked at in this light, the Congress, it seems to me, cannot allow the appointment to pass unchallenged.

I know that the Orissa Ministry has threatened to resign as soon as Mr. Dain accepts the gubernatorial chair. I understood too that an Indian Ministry will be appointed to carry on the Government. I suppose that as soon as the action appointment is over and the Governor returns from leave, by some arrangement the present Ministry will be reinstated. That won't be his play. The Congress will steadily lead to submit to any such arrangement. The government of a province is not like a play of children. The Congress is discovering what a thankless task it is, how serious it is. The real Ministry, who represents the real majority of the Orissa legislature, cannot look unamused on the administration of their province passing into the hands of new irresponsible persons appointed at the will of the Governor or acting Governor as the next may be. I do hope, therefore, that the minute will be taken before it is too late. There are many ways of doing it gracefully. But there must be a will before a graceful way is found. I hope it will be."

GOVERNOR CANCELS LEAVE

The following communication was issued by the Secretary to the Governor of Orissa on the 14th inst.:

"In view of the instability of the political situation which he would be bound to leave to his successor, His Excellency the Governor of Orissa has not felt justified in proceeding with his original plan, and considers that he has in the interests of the province no option but to ask for the cancellation of the leave granted to him. The Secretary of State has acceded to his request with the concurrence of the Governor-General."

CONTENTS	Page
Recent Letters	M. D. 20
Executive Council Cases	M. D. 20
General Paper Discussion	M. D. 20
"Page for General Discussion"	M. D. 20
General Paper - II	M. D. 20
General Discussion of Cases	M. D. 20
General Council Cases	M. D. 20
Notes	
"Page for General Discussion"	M. D. 20
General Paper - II	M. D. 20
General Discussion of Cases	M. D. 20

HARIJAN

Editor: MANKDEV DESAI

Editor for Asiatics of The Harijan Sewak Sangh

Vol. VI No. 14

POONA — SATURDAY, MAY 14, 1931

[ONE ANNA]

FRONTIER NOTES

III

Gandhi's Health

The dark night of the soul continues, I am distressed to say, but it may well be the deepest darkness that precedes the dawn. For it was in walking alone with one who has driven every moment of his life to walk with God

Maybe high depression or dependency had something to do with his inability to cope with the programme that Kharasab had arranged for him. But the journey through the Punjab had washed him out completely. The Punjab weeds, always snarly and uncontrollable, deeply would not believe that he was ill, would not believe that his brief warning, issued on the eve of departure for the Frontier, to avoid noisy demonstrations and receptions at stations, could have been seriously meant. When they were reminded of this they laughed, almost warning you to feel that the warning was meant to be ignored. How else could they behave like? At some stations the die and noise was so great that Gandhi had to stuff his ears with cotton. Even when the trains left the stations there was something but relief, for people stood on footboards and roared out for anti-kafirs. This was an added annoyance. When with the Punjabis understood that these demonstrations meant no credit on them as their province. That at best they are an expression of love that is blind and injudicious, and that their enthusiasm might on some days break out into violent demonstrations to the utter misery of all? Without discipline there can be no peace; and even if it comes it cannot endure.

The Stay in Peshawar

But if you consider the arranged programme was a mere disappointment to many, it meant for Gandhi some little rest in the excellent weather of Peshawar, some opportunity to meet various people which he might not otherwise have had, and what is better, an opportunity of coming into close contact with the Brothers in the midst of their active surroundings and their work. The stay has been wonderfully quiet. I may say that in this matter as perhaps in many another this province affords a complete contrast to the neighbouring

province of the Punjab. The reaction in Peshawar was ideal. Crowds of people lined the route for miles, but there was no rush, no scramble for darshan, few voices and shouts and remarkable discipline. At Dr Kharsab's place where we are staying, no crowds disturb Gandhi's work and rest, though crowds do attend the morning and evening prayers. And these prayers have been a perfect revelation. I was surprised for hundreds of men and women coming out in the morning and gathering in Dr Kharsab's compound from early hours. Some of the officers I have got up at 5 or earlier and have their work and bath before coming to the prayer. There is no scramble for darshan, no noise during the prayer and none after. The most disciplined attention of the Pathans and the Frontier Khads and Khads is a thing that other provinces might do well to learn.

The Belief in God

A professor of Islamia College came with a question that was troubling him and is troubling many of the present generation — belief in God. What was the basis of his belief, if Gandhi had it, as he knew he had it? What was his experience? "It was never by a matter for argument," said Gandhi. "If you would have me convince others by argument I am doomed. But I can tell you that I am sure of His existence than of the fact that you and I are sitting in this room. Then I can also testify that I may live without air and water but not without Him. You may pluck out my eyes, but that cannot kill me. You may stop off my nose, but that will not kill me. But that my belief is God, and I am dead. You may call this a superstition, but I confess it is a superstition that I have, even as I used to say the name of Rama in my childhood when there was any cause of danger or alarm. That was what an old nurse had taught me."

"But you think that superstition was necessary for you?"

"Yes, necessary to sustain me."

"That is all right. May I now ask if you had anything like a prophetic vision?"

"I do not know what you call a vision and what you will call prophetic. But let me give you an experience in my life. When I succeeded

my feet of 21 days in, yet I had not realised about it. On relating to her the previous night I had no notion that I was going to announce the next morning a fast of 21 days. But in the middle of the night a Voice woke me up and said 'Go through a fast.' 'How many?' I asked. '21 days,' was the answer. Now let me tell you that my mind was unprepared for it, disbelieved for it, that the thing seems to go so clearly as anything could be. Let me tell you, one thing more and I have done. Whatever striking things I have done in life I have not done prompted by reason but prompted by instinct. I would say God. Take the South East March of 1930. I had not the ghost of a suspicion how the basis of the Salt Law would work itself out. Pandit Murlidhar and other friends were looking and did not know what I would do; and I could tell them nothing, as I myself knew nothing about it. But like a flash it came, and as you know it was enough to shake the country from one end to the other. One last thing. Until the last day I knew nothing about commencing the 24th of April 1930 as a day of fasting and prayer. But I remember about it—there was no Tulsa or Tulsa as in 1930—and I felt it was just the thing to do. In the morning I shared it with C. R. and announced it to the country. You know with what a wonderfully spontaneous response."

Implications of Non-violence

Hardly nowadays does Gandhi accept addresses, and he has hardly ever accepted an address of welcome from a Government or semi-Government college. But even in the broken health he had not the heart to refuse an address from the Islands College students and from the Newlands College Paderborn. One or two voluntary statements in the former address made Gandhi's task of replying to it easy. Thus it was said therein: "You have inspired the greatest man amongst us—Eusebius Dufferin. When it was with your inspiration and guidance that he has succeeded in winning the winning sports in our province into a disciplined body of men." Further, "You have lifted this great struggle of freedom to the highest moral plane. Your theory of non-violence has revolutionised the technique of struggle of the oppressed and the oppressed nations of the world, and has opened out wonderful possibilities for each nation to realise their best selves." The address also referred to the problem of Hindu Muslim unity and wished Gandhi success in his mission of peace.

"It is well," said Gandhi, in the course of his remarks, "that you referred to the problem of Hindu Muslim unity, and I would ask you to consider what you can do to furtherance of that great cause. There is no doubt that the work belongs essentially to you of the younger generation. We are now getting old and will soon be gathered to our fathers. You have there-

fore to shoulder the burden. How you can help in achieving the great object you have yourselves shown in your address by your spontaneous welcome to non-violence and to Gandhi's work. I do not know if your reference was deliberate and if you knew the full implications of what you were saying. I do hope you know what you were saying and that you fully weighed your words. If you have, then I should like to take you a step further. An Urdu newspaper has said that my mission in the Frontier Province is the emancipation of the Pathans. Whereas Gandhi has invited me here in order that the Pathans might hear the message of non-violence from my own lips, and in order that I might see the Khudai Khidmat-gars at close quarters and find out to what extent non-violence has permeated them. That means that the Khudai Khidmat-gars at any rate have as much fear as has been expressed by that Urdu paper. For he knows that true non-violence is mightier than the mightiest violence. If therefore you really know the essential nature of non-violence, and appreciate Gandhi's work, you will have to pledge yourselves to non-violence, and that in spite of the fact that violence is so much in the air and we are talking day in and day out of military manoeuvres and aerial action, armaments and moral strength. You have to realise that the power of successful non-violence is every day far superior to that of armed force. With an acceptance of non-violence was India free, it was part of my training and home influence in childhood. The superior strength I came to realise in South Africa where I had to pit it against organised violence and racial prejudice. I returned from South Africa with a clear conviction of the superiority of the method of non-violence to that of violence.

"If the method of violence takes plenty of training, the method of non-violence takes even more training, and that training is much more difficult than the training for violence. The first essential of that training is a living faith in God. He who has a living faith in God will not do evil deeds with the name of God on his lips. He will not rely on the sword but will rely solely on God. But you may say that a sword may also pass off as a believer in God saying he does not use the sword. Corruption is no sign of belief in God. The true man of God has the strength to use the sword, but will not use it knowing that every man is the image of God.

"Islam, it is said, believes in the brotherhood of man. But you will permit me, to point out that it is not the brotherhood of Mankind only but it is universal brotherhood, and that brings me to the second essential of the training for non-violence. The Allah of Islam is the same as the God of Christians and the Jehovah of Hindus. Even as there are numerous names of God in Hindustani, there are as many names of God in Islam. The name does not indicate

individuality but structure, and little man, too much, has tried in his humble way to describe rightly God by giving Him attributes, though He is above all attributes, indefinable, immeasurable, incomparable. Living faith in this God means acceptance of the brotherhood of mankind. It also means equal respect for all religions. It takes its dear to you, Hinduism is dear to me and Christianity is dear to the Christian. It would be the height of intolerance—and intolerance is a species of violence—to believe that your religion is superior to other religions and that you would be justified in wanting others to change over to your faith.

"The third essential is the acceptance of truth and purity, for one claiming to have an active faith in God cannot but be pure and truthful.

"Now let me tell you that your appreciation of Khandab's service and of non-violence makes all those implications if the appreciation is genuine.

"Those who claim to lead have to live up to all the implications and express them in their daily life. Now, you will not be the rank and file, but you will be leaders of your people. If you can live up to the ideal, you may be sure that no one will have any excuse for saying that non-violence is going to condemn you. Yours will be the non-violence of the brave."

Goodfellow enthusiastically returned to the same theme in his reply to the address at the Edwards College. In an otherwise well written address someone who drafted it had obviously lost himself to the use of the following sentence: "Here is a land where almost was preached thousands of years ago it was told to you, Sir, to ascertain in your own remarkable way the doctrine of Non-violent Positive Resistance as the most invincible weapon in the hands of the weak and the oppressed." That came from him the following total but pointed reply:

"Your address in one sense is praise of me. Well I have never found it easy to appreciate such praise, but let me tell you that there was no time in my life when I was too wise to appreciate such praise than I am today. For a serious sense of dependency has possessed me and I cannot get out over it. Well I mean have not to make a speech, and I was told that I need not give more than five minutes. But a sentence in your address compels me to devote a few minutes more than I had anticipated. The sentence about non-violent, positive resistance of some kind my memory took to Christian in South Africa in 1897. A meeting of European friends was convened to hear me speak on positive resistance, as the movement was then known. The chairman of the meeting then expressed positively the same statement as you have made in the address, viz. that positive resistance was a weapon of the weak. The reference jolted me and I immediately conveyed

of the speaker. In a moment, it was also surprising that you should have made the same mistake after all those years of Satyagraha in India. We may be weak and oppressed, but non-violence is not a weapon of the weak. It is a weapon of the strongest and the bravest. Violence may well be the weapon of the weak and the oppressed being stronger is non-violence nothing else is open to them. It is, however, true that positive resistance has been regarded as a weapon of the weak. That was why the name 'Satyagraha' was coined in South Africa in Johannesburg. The movement there drew positive resistance.

"Positive resistance is a negative thing, and has nothing to do with the principle of Love. Satyagraha proceeds on the active principle of Love which says, 'Love those that hatefully use you.' It is easy for you to love your friends. But I say unto you, love your enemies.' If Satyagraha was a weapon of the weak, I should be deserting Khandab, for no Father has yet conceived his weakness. It was Khandab who told me that he never felt so strong and brave as when he, out of a free will, renounced the land and the rifle. If it was not the supreme weapon of the brave, I should seriously have hesitated to place it before a brave community like the Pathans. It is with that weapon that Khandab has led his faithful and moved the brave Afghans and the other tribesmen.

"I am glad to have had this opportunity of commending you. For the moment you realize it, you will realize yourself as workers in the cause for which Khandab and I are working. That it is difficult to carry conviction I agree. I find it difficult in spite of my constant practice of it for the last 32 years. But it brings peace partly of the highest type. Infinite patience is required—even the patience of emptying the ocean with a blade of grass."

More Praises

Knowledge Goodfellow hardly enters into discussion on technical questions, if only for the reason that he has very little time for this. But in substance what he saw as many saw there and where though he had not the health he had some time back, to answer questions of a more or less academic character. Take the following from a professor, "How is it," he asked "that many of the English positions are talking of defense and statement of defense?" And, "May it not be possible to carry position too far?" Supposing Afghanistan had simply surrendered and said to India, 'Be your own,' would the British have been ashamed and desisted from their designs? Goodfellow said they would."

"I shall take up the Afghanistan question first," said Goodfellow. "I can answer it only in terms of active militant non-violence. Now non-violence is the method, there is no end, and it is my conviction that it never fails. But if the Afghans had

(Continued on p. 114)

H A R I J A N

May 14

1938

HINDU MUSLIM UNITY IN ACTION

When Gandhiji spoke in Belgaum about the Hindu Muslim riots and the present-day way of quelling them, he said that the realisation to immediate action in the cause would not come all of a sudden, but was the culmination of entire steps towards Hindu Muslim unity taken for an indefinite period. In fact he suggested that an active worker in the cause ought to seek occasion for service in this direction.

A friend, who is not a member of the Gandhi Seva Sangh but who attended the Sangh meeting, related such an occasion on his journey back to South India and narrated his experience. He happened to be travelling with an aging old Musselman who had no ticket and who could not make himself understood to the ticket inspector. Our friend offered his services as interpreter and explained to the inspector the sorry predicament in which the old man had found himself. The inspector prepared an extra fare receipt for a ticket up to the next station and recovered the money from the old man.

But that had our friend to extend himself more in the old man. He talked from Mysore but was returning from Calcutta where he had been to meet a friend's mother. On his return journey, as he had left the train to have tea on the platform, someone talked with his coat and all that was contained in the pocket, including the ticket. The old man was crying and our friend felt more drawn towards him. He gave him food and plashed for him with every inspector that came, much to the annoyance of an Inspector who disbelieved the old man's story and would not let him go. In spite of all his help, however, the poor man was compelled to disembark at a station and left to shift for himself. Our friend was loath to trust him with some money, but his own resources were too limited to permit him to do this.

Another friend who attended the Sangh meeting described how she witnessed the 25th of April as a Hindu Muslim Unity Day—being the day on which Gandhiji met Mr. Jinnah. "We were all deeply moved," she writes, "to read Bapu's statement on the interview with Mr. Jinnah, and felt that the least that we could do was to have a joint Hindu and Muslim prayer. The Musselman friends agreed, and we all went to the local mosque to offer our prayers. The Mawlvi briefly explained the purpose of the meeting and prayed to God to bless the interview with success. This was followed by two Hindu speakers who associated themselves with the Mawlvi's talk. Then a Muslim leader—who

had just left his convalescent bed after an operation, stood up and said: 'We are members of the same family (Hindus being our elder brethren) and we are determined to live in unity and peace.' The proceedings were concluded with an Urdu hymn *Allah kare karam dila* *Khatiya, jama ul dila fir khatiya* *gila* *gila* *gila* *gila*, and recitation from the Koran. Let me also add that the convalescent Muslim friend has since immensely Bapu's suggestion for a volunteer corps to quell Hindu Muslim riots, and has asked me to enlist him as a volunteer."

On the same day, 25th April, came a telegram from a worker in far-off Travancore to say that he and his friends had observed the day as a day of fasting and prayer for Hindu Muslim Unity.

Numerous letters of good wishes were also received on the 25th, but more than the good wishes were those little acts of love and friendship which were accompanied with the prayer for Hindu Muslim unity. What is needed is a constant will for unity and peace, and the determination to carry it out into concrete acts of friendship. This will be enough to neutralise disruptive attempts, and will be a sure foundation for the greater unity that will ultimately be needed to establish a lasting peace.

M. D.

ABOLISH PHOOKA

The monstrous practice of phooka has been the subject of legislation in Bengal and the Punjab and also an all-India legislation. The monstrous is recognised by all but the few who practice it, but there have persisted it with impunity until now. The Anti Phooka Association in Calcutta, which has carried on a headlong campaign against the practice and for legislation, is willing to try again and again to implore the Congress Ministers to take up the question and bring in immediate legislation. To prove that the evil exists in the Congress provinces the Association has sent us a copy of the reports it has collected. Here are the facts.

Madras

"(1) Walah Subanghi Abdul Latif, Koda Fort, Vinnagupet, informed that a man named Daulaya was once practising Phooka on a milk animal. He was beaten so severely by the people of the locality that no police action was thought necessary.

(2) Coimbatore. The Health Officer, Coimbatore, moved among the millmen and heard so strongly that Phooka and Daulaya was known fully by them.

(3) Ellore. At the house of the Vice-Chairman of the Ellore Municipality and in his presence two gentlemen informed that they had seen both Daulaya and Phooka practised in milk animals in and around Ellore.

(4) Talloby. Information was received at the house of Dr. T. V. S. Shastri that Doodhna was practised in the suburbs of Talloby.

(5) Raghunandry. } Calves not very low in relation to the number of milk animals. Death of calves indicates that the evil practice is in vogue.

(6) Borewala. }
(7) Dampore }

(8) Madras. A case was detected by the R.F.C. & this shows that the vice exists. Report work and effort will cause many more arrests.

C. P. & Berar

(1) Nagpur. The last annual report of the R.F.C. & describes how cases of Doodhna were arrested. Mrs. Marshall, Honorary Secretary and Representative of the Nagpur R.F.C. A., stated that Phoska and Doodhna were commonly prevalent in the province but it was extremely difficult to detect offenders.

(2) Amravati. In the presence of Kamalesh Bala, Jai Ghar Hary. Magistrate, a report Talloby informed that Phoska and Doodhna were both practised in the suburbs of Amravati.

(3) Akola. } Information similar to that obtaining at Amravati was received. Death of calves also in these places.

(4) Akola. }
Majapur }
Harpur }

Orissa

Phoska, Doodhna and Dhara are commonly practised throughout the province.

(1) Bhadrak. The Sub-Divisional Officer of Bhadrak informed us that Phoska etc. was practised on almost every single animal in and around Bhadrak, Jagpur and Balasore.

(2) Angul. Several cases informed us that Phoska was commonly practised in the vicinity.

(3) Cuttack, Puri, Changan. Several gentlemen gave information that Phoska was rampant in these parts.

Bombay

(1) Mumbai. The record and statistics of the slaughter houses at Mumbai will bear ample testimony to the prevalence of Phoska. More than 34,000 cows are slaughtered at Mumbai every year.

(2) Bombay. Mr. Darwale and others employed and informed us that Doodhna is widely prevalent in the city and suburbs.

(3) Poona. Some information received is similar to the Bombay information.

(4) Ahmedabad. Practised in the suburbs only. The city is immune on account of the excellent management of the local Municipality.

Information regarding other places will be sent if necessary.

'Phoska' is defined as any process of blowing or inserting air or any other substance into the organ of generation of any milk animal with the intention thereby of making the animal yield the last drop of milk. The Bengal Bill makes the offence punishable with two years imprisonment or fine or both plus whipping. We have no doubt that everywhere similar legislation will be introduced.

"OTHER DAYS AND OTHER WAYS"

On a library shelf my eye chanced to fall upon a book with an attractive title and bound in Canadian homespun cloth. The contents disclosed attractive contents of the life in pre-industrialized Canada, and the sub-title of the book, *Schools of the Past in French Canada*, whetted my appetite to devour the contents, which I was sure would not let be a disappointment of the life in Indian villages. The author is Georges Touchard, son of a French Canadian peasant, a professor and parliamentarian, and is "of the soil stained... stained in the sense that the impact of the soil has marked him for ever, has sunk deep beneath the surface." He represents in the Canadian Parliament the peasants of Kamouraska whose life he has described in this book with intimate knowledge and deep emotion in a style which is like "the undyed product of a peasant loom, all honest material and straightforward weaving; a variety of shades and few coarse threads, pleasant to the touch and easy wearing." The affection shown by him makes the old Canadian peasant and the priest, the orator and the blacksmith, the shoemaker and the miller, the ploughman, the brewer and the cooper and the spruce live again in the flesh before one's mind's eye. The whole book is a lyrical tribute to life in pre-industrial days, a tribute to human toil. "All honour to the rugged work of the labourer, and a tribute to the merits of they who turn the furrows for it is they that regenerate the wheat from which comes the bread and the life of the whole of humanity." Again, look at this picture of the mower with the scythe: "Defying alike the heat of the sun, the pain growing in one's joints, and the fatigue of repeated whirrs, the hand of rugged endurance and always without ceasing this wall of laughing stress that steadily grows. It is like a frontier line retreating under the repeated blows of the scythes. From these figures of modest humanity stamping low or leaping in the accomplishment of a rude task (that is almost a miracle, a human race—the lyrics of conquering toil, of the noble work that provides the bread for our homes and for our others." The author describes the grainy and vigorous that accompanied this honest toil, and sketches the life of the toiler: "Night slowly envelops in the thick veil a house where remembrance and misery will never find a place. The rugged furrow is as fruitful of grain as it is sterile in hopes." Again: "There are no thorns in the pillow of the reaper."

How can we then turn to machines and money in the home of the ploughman and no thorns in the pillow of the reaper? But factory civilization has come and brought machines and money and thorns in its train. And the author, who is the son of the soil, gives out an unqualified cry at the murder of industrialization.

"How many have the wings," M. Touchard asks, "of the vision of placing humanism over

our country doorways? The very ones that in the year 1900 or thereabouts, the devil possessed himself to St. Dennis and insisted on having his eleven feet shed. The steadily built, round neck pole in Indian in the process of shoving him that he extracted from the wall was a pledge never to enter a doorway over which there was a horse-shoe. May the horse-shoe was our village doorways had the great demon of industrialization to produce wealth in the cities, which in the name of progress takes from us our young people and disfigures our countryside!"

He makes the miller tell his own tale:

"What was the price of milling in your day?"

"Millers took only the fourteenth bushel in the price of milling, and they lived better than today when they take every tenth bushel!"

"How is that?"

"Formerly there was more wheat than today. All farmers made it a point to grow wheat, to harvest it, to have the flour milled, and to take their own bread. One would have felt dishonoured to buy bread!"

"It is no longer like that?" I asked with a look of surprise.

"Also, as, the good mechanical mill, with their thorough sifting of flour, have developed among city folk the taste of white bread. Our countryfolk have adopted this taste, and the good bread made here, honest peasant's bread, which had a delicious flavor as of almond, and which had strong guarantees in the past, is now displaced by the white bread, which makes bread from and dissolves fully in the skin of white."

"And with mechanical milling and modern flour sifting, it is the best part of the wheat that is carried into the trough—and it is only with the help of pills that one can succeed in pushing today's bread through the bowel. The other 'bread' against your stomach before, and have now to find its way down."

And here is a peasant lamenting on the 'house condemned':

"And when winter came he sold wood and did every kind of odd job, repairing shoes and harness, carts and other things. The mother, a woman without an equal, careful and open her way, and each year was on her husband's hundred acre or so of my father, of himself, and of their child. The happiness of the young girls were piled high in the cupboards and deep in the chests. There was always flour in the flouring-trough, butter, butter and potatoes in the cellar. It was a family living comfortably and in happiness, a family highly respected throughout the township."

When there, the eldest of the boys, took half of the property everything was ship-shaped and running well. But later, down away by friends, the girls would have on long veils to the United States—They came back to the old home with all kinds of dry shoes. The spinning

wheel, the distaff and the loom became objects of pity, almost of derision, and were relegated to the attic. So it can be said that it is the fault of the womanfolk if the house is now deserted. The girls of the attic don't like to milk cows, to look after, or to help in housework."

And the feeling of selfishness that the factory civilization is threatening to destroy!

"Already from one side to the other the nation are calling to one another to join the masses of and lead the virtues of the deceased. In the city, who think of the dead, outside the very narrow circle of friends and relatives? Despite its weakness today the rural neighborhood still wears a surprising character of individual and ancient interest. On those who in cities live hardly a foot apart without ever knowing each other, dream without understanding of the farmer's privileged position!"

But I must stop. The lesson is more obvious perhaps in India than in Canada. In Canada men that industrialization had got out of employment have found work of some kind or other. Not so here. And industrialization here, even if it were possible, would be a remedy worse than the disease. We city-dwellers can do no better than rehabilitate the ploughman and the craftsman, and instead of setting ourselves aloof from them as we have been doing, depend more and more on them for our daily needs. "Our country will grow and prosper," says M. Bonchard, "only if the character of the great cities does not dominate the traditional virtues that stem from the fields, only if the plough continues to be recognized as the most essential and the most fruitful instrument of production. . . . The soil is made fertile only by the sweat of those who plough. It is ploughing is the point of close contact with the earth."

M. B.

FRONTIER NOTES

(Continued from p. 111.)

adopted the attitude of non-violence of the strong, I, a non-violence which breaks to pieces, but never lands, Masahini would have had no interest in Alpeenna. Thus if they had shortly said, 'You are welcome to retire as to desert or when but you will not find any Alpeenna ready to co-operate with you,' what could Masahini have done? He did not want a desert. Masahini wanted civilization and not defiance, and if he had met with the quiet, dignified and non-violent defiance that I have described, he would certainly have been obliged to retire. Of course it is open to anyone to say that human nature has not been known to rise to such height. But if we have made misapprehensions in playful adolescence, why may we do less in the school of the soul?

"Now about the English pastime, I know there are some great and glorious men amongst them, but they are thinking in terms of parliament as distinguished from unadorned non-

violence I am essentially a non-violent man, and I believe to the benefit of every trace of violence. An essentially non-violent man does not calculate the consequences. The English people you are talking of calculate, and when they speak of pacifism they do so with the mental reservation that when pacifism fails, arms might be used. With them not non-violence but arms are the ultimate reaction, as was the case with Winston Wilson's Fourteen Points. No, non-violence has to arise in England with the living faith to say that England, whatever happens, shall not use arms. They are a nation fully armed, and if they having the power deliberately refuse to use arms, there will be the first example of Christianity in active practice on a mass scale. That will be a real miracle."

M. D.

PROHIBITION AND PALM GUM

(By Guyanese Man)

With the advent of prohibition sponsored by the Congress Ministries in the major provinces, the problem of providing suitable employment for the tappers who were till now engaged in drawing toddy from palm trees is facing the advocates of prohibition. Toddy-drawers cannot be merely condemned for adopting this reaction. Their skill has been exploited by the State and the public to earn their ends. The public indulges not only the drinker but also those who have acquired unbecoming qualifications through the toddy business. In some areas the tappers are respectable though they are toddy-drawers by profession. For example the telugu-tappers in Central Provinces and the coconut tappers in Swetghat District of Bombay do not drink. The tappers cannot be easily absorbed in other industries as their number is large enough and unemployment exists everywhere. If the nation fails to utilize their present skill of tapping for some better purpose, they are sure to join the millions of under-employed agricultural labourers and thus increase the pressure on the land. The gravity of the tappers' problem can be imagined by noting their numbers. According to the 1926 census the total number of toddy-drawers in Madras Presidency is 124,124. The Bihar Revenue Department says that in 1929-30 the number of tappers engaged to draw toddy was 12,124 in that province. The Provincial Governments who have launched prohibition and who are enthusiastic about its success, should order a thorough census of the tappers which will enable the State to provide a suitable industry for them. But the real help must be rendered by the public to these tappers by directing their skill into a better channel.

It must not be overlooked that the sap, coming out of a palm, date, coconut, palmyra or sugi, when it is sprayed by a tapper, is quite sweet. This sap can be boiled into jaggery or sugar, which is as useful and harmless as the one made out of sugarcane, provided the

sap is not allowed to ferment. Why then not draw thousands of tappers to give up their profession of tapping which has been handed down from generation to generation simply because the sweet sap is meant to be fermented to suit the taste of the consumer? The tapper is condemned by the society wrongly. The persons who have derived various contributions for extracting juice from the sugarcane or those who actually extract the cane juice enjoy a good status in the society, though through fermentation and distillation an intoxicant drink, rum, is obtained from the sugarcane juice. The art of sugarcane crushing has been encouraged by the State through their agricultural department in each province. Similarly the art of tapping can be utilized for the economic development of the nation. It cannot be contended that tapping has been exclusively confined by the people for producing intoxicant drinks in India. Tapping has its brighter history. In our country jaggery is being manufactured out of the sweet toddy (sap of the palm) from time immemorial times. Even today palm sap manufacture is not an extinct but an extensive village industry in Madras and Bengal. One can realize the scope for employment of tappers in the palm sap industry from the following figures:

In 1929 Government of India inquiry showed that 124,124 acres were under palm, connected with sugar supply. In 1928, 18,000 tons or 1/4th of the whole annual quantity exported from India to England was date sugar. In 1928 Madras produced 25,000 tons of palm jaggery.

Madras Production

Year	Tons of Palm sap
1913-14	21,200
1914-15	21,700
1915-16	24,000

(Date Sugar Industry in Bengal By H. E. Arnold)

There is highly essential to effect a change in the taste of the public by popularizing palm sap instead of toddy. It is detrimental to appeal to the tappers, as it does in some countries, to abandon their age-old profession, which will only increase industrial unrest and unemployment in the country. Therefore the Government and the public should join hands to harness the tappers to the palm jaggery industry.

What the Provincial Governments Should Do

- (1) Except the tapping of palm for the purpose of manufacturing jaggery from the excise tax.
- (2) Lead free the palm in the Govt. forest areas to the tappers for making gum in the initial stage, after which a nominal tree rent may be levied.
- (3) Allow the tappers to collect light fuel free of any charge from the Government forests.
- (4) Undertake a scheme to trade all the tappers in palm sap making within a fixed period.
- (5) Start co-operative credit and sales societies amongst the palm sap manufacturers.
- (6) Carry on propaganda for palm sap.

What the People Should Do

(1) Consume palm gar and induce their friends, relatives and neighbours to do the same.

(2) Lend their palm trees to the tappers for more than the making palm gar.

(3) Learn the process of manufacturing palm gar and train the tappers in the neighbourhood. Also try to improve the quality of the palm gar if it is already being made.

(4) Exhibit samples of palm gar in all villages and social gatherings in the locality.

(5) Publish in the local vernacular papers their experiences in the consumption, manufacture and improvement of palm gar for the guidance of others.

(6) Try their best to devise ways and means to establish palm gar making as a genuine village industry in their locality without attempting at centralisation and large-scale production.

A. I. V. I. A. BOARD

Extracts from the Proceedings

A meeting of the Board of Management of the A. I. V. I. A. was held at Waridra on the 26th April 1938 when there were present:

Sr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh; Sr. Laxminath P. Agar, Sr. Vallabha L. Mahla; Sr. Bhadrachandras Jais, Sr. Shankarbal G. Basker; Sr. J. C. Kumarappa.

Sr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh was raised to the chair.

At the last Board meeting sub-committees were formed and deputised to recommend to the General Committee a programme for the development of village industries. As the former Committee had been following a policy which was criticised, the committees were directed to carry out our programme, and therefore the preliminary programme of work submitted by the Association was in effect a plan to supply the need of workers by getting workers trained in accordance with our plan. Training in the following industries was suggested by us: Paddy husking and flour grinding, gar making from coconut date, palmery and rope, palms, bee-keeping, oil pressing by bullock chakris, paper making from village waste, soap making from vegetable and indigenous materials, tanning and bone staining. Some Governments have acted on our scheme with modifications. It is too early to report any progress yet. (Further details as regard to our schemes will be found in our Annual Report for 1937 to be published shortly.)

On the 24th March 1938 there were on our rolls:

360 Members, 40 Agents, 3 Certified shops.

The following agencies were cancelled under Agency rule 50

Name	Area covered by Agency
1. Baku Singhwardi Prasad.	Palmia Town and a few neighbouring villages.
2. Sr. T. N. Ramchand Menon.	Pozumal Taluk of the Malabar Dist.

3. Sr. Shreeji Mendhara.	Colicut and neighbouring villages.
4. Sr. Madharlal B. Shah.	12 miles round Dindaul.

Sr. Laxminath P. Agar pointed out that many of the certified shops did not submit their reports and accounts regularly and suggested that the certification rules should be so modified as to make such shops conform strictly to our regulations. After discussion it was decided that to future every shop desiring a certificate from the Association will have to deposit with the application for certification Rs 10 along with the certificate notification fee of Rs 1. At the end of the year when renewal of certification is sought, accounts should be submitted and a fee of Rs 1 per thousand of sales during the year should be paid. If proper reports and accounts are not sent in within three months of the close of the year, the deposit will be forfeited. If the certification is withdrawn after all dues have been paid, the deposit will be refunded.

The Board considered the proper date for opening the Museum would be the anniversary of the death of the late Mahatma Gandhi. A few members suggested that the ceremony may be performed during the Gandhi Jayanti Week. In the meanwhile it was decided to find a suitable and collect exhibits.

To be in charge of the affairs of the Museum the following joint committee of the All India Spinners' Association and All India Village Industries Association was constituted: Sr. Jaganmala Baijn., Sr. Shankarbal Basker, Sr. J. C. Kumarappa, the first two representing the All India Spinners' Association.

J. C. KUMARAPPA
Secretary

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CONTENTS

		Page
FOREWORD	-	M. 3
SHORT MESSAGE FROM CHAIRMAN	-	M. 1.
ADDRESS	-	M. 2.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 3.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 4.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 5.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 6.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 7.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 8.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 9.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 10.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 11.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 12.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 13.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 14.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 15.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 16.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 17.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 18.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 19.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 20.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 21.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 22.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 23.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 24.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 25.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 26.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 27.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 28.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 29.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 30.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 31.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 32.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 33.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 34.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 35.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 36.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 37.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 38.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 39.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 40.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 41.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 42.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 43.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 44.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 45.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 46.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 47.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 48.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 49.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 50.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 51.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 52.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 53.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 54.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 55.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 56.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 57.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 58.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 59.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 60.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 61.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 62.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 63.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 64.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 65.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 66.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 67.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 68.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 69.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 70.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 71.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 72.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 73.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 74.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 75.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 76.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 77.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 78.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 79.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 80.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 81.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 82.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 83.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 84.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 85.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 86.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 87.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 88.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 89.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 90.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 91.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 92.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 93.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 94.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 95.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 96.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 97.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 98.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 99.
QUESTIONS	-	M. 100.

Printed and Published by ANAND VINAYAK PUBLICATIONS at the Aryavastha Press,

House No. 60/2, Narayana College Road, Poona 4.



HARIJAN

Editor: MANABENDU DAS

Under the Auspices of The Indian Social League

Vol. VI No. 15

POONA - SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1931

[ONE ANNA]

FRONTIER NOTES

IV

Among the Pathans

The cancellation of the Frontier tour programme was as great a wrench to me as it was to the people of the province. For I wanted Qashtil to come into intimate touch with the Pathans, and that he could not do unless he went right into the interior of the District. But neither would the Khan Sahib let him go without giving him a glimpse of the Frontier village life therefore arranged brief tour of the Peshawar District. We went north to Shah-Jadai, and thence further west to the Khan Sahib's own village Peshawar, and thence further west to Mardan.

The Frontier landscape is by no means uniform. Right from attack to Nowshera, as I have already said, are black desolate mountain wastes. In the extreme west is Hazara with the rolling uplands and forest-clad hillsides, on the extreme north is Chitral and the Afghan Frontier with its towering peaks and solitary lakes of Kohistan, and on the extreme east are the barren grey hills of the tribal territories. Between these are the fertile valleys of Peshawar and the Swat. In the south are the Districts of Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, also bounded in by mountains and mountain ridges. These last we could not touch, as the road from Peshawar was over two hundred miles, and Qashtil could not possibly stand that motor journey.

The way from Peshawar to Mardan via Shah-Jadai and Chitral was through numerous villages, and it was a sight to see the whole of the countryside either on the march or standing alongside the roads to greet Qashtil escorted by their beloved leader Father-in-Afghan Pathan Khan.

A familiar picture of the Pathan was given some years ago by the late Ramsey MacDonald. "The Pathan," he said, "is a delightful fellow. He has no bones and no conscience. He looks you in the face as one gentleman looks another, and is as interested in you as you are in him. His words are perfect, his face is as handsome as a woman's. The fact that he is likely to be shot one day by a neighbour from behind a bush seems to rub his thoughts above the mundane affairs of life, and he swaggers along

prepared to take poison when it comes. He holds life at a low rate, he is a humanitarian. There has been nobody like him since the peace between England and Scotland was concluded and the Borderers and the Highlanders both laid the world aside in consequence. Even the bloodiest Arabickian cannot despise him. He is a man and a brother amongst white men."

But Ramsey MacDonald did not see the Frontier province in 1920-21, nor did he know the Pathan as, for instance, the Khan Sahib knows them. It is true that he has no bones and no conscience and he looks you straight in the face, and when he is delighted to greet you rushes forward to shake hands with you—even the mother cat among them. For I saw for the first time crowds of women leaning as they greeted their leader and Qashtil, and the very old among them blessing both with signs of joy. It is also true that he "holds" life cheap, and a Khan with a revolver and a cartridge belt is a familiar figure. But we can leave that to the Pathans, under the guidance of the most towering among them all, would have defences at the British, hear his three and Madras, and stand fortuitously while his brethren were being hurled down from the upper story of a house down the steps, or made naked, or being doused in water. Pathan Khan had said that not a finger should be raised, and for them his word was law. "Mata, Mahatma, is a village which has been the scene of recent repression," said the Khan Sahib, "and it is where repression has been fiercest that you find the spirit of the people at its best. Don't be carried away by the fact that the Pathan is a brave belly fellow. Even he used to cover before a half-penny-two-penny policeman. Our movement drove this fear out of the Pathans and they greet him now even before the military. These women also took an active part, though they were not arrested."

These demonstrations of welcome, hearty, spontaneous, disciplined, were a proof of their regard for Qashtil, but more than that they were a proof of the wonderful hold the Khan Sahib has over the masses of people, their loyalty to him, and their readiness to do his will. Every address of welcome made mention of one thing in the shortest possible terms, viz. that should a Civil Disobedience campaign be found to be

1190

necessary in future, the Pathans would not be found waiting in spite of the tortures that they might have to go through.

I have no room here to mention the instances of their overflowing hospitality. At every village we found groups of people waiting with a sheep fat roast or a sturdy man to be presented to Ghandiji, as also with their oven-baked bread with a diameter of not less than one village where houses were burnt down by the police during the last campaign, a Jigal was waiting to welcome Ghandiji at the place where a new house had been built on the ruins. An old Khan presented Ghandiji with a coat of lambskin wool. "What am I to do with this?" asked Ghandiji. "Wear it to winter," straight came the reply. "But I am coming back here in winter," said Ghandiji. "Why not keep it for me until then? I have an acknowledged to keep it." The old Pathan laughed a merry laugh and said, "Surely you are not serious?" "Yes, I am coming to winter, and I want you to keep it for me until I come." "We will keep it then," he said. "Yes, as it properly," said Ghandiji, making the whole house ring with laughter. "Yes, indeed."

As we drove from Shabkadar to Utmanai, we passed a populous little village with substantial houses. "This is Tarangpur," said the Khan-sahib, "the home of the famous Raj, known as the Raj of Tarangpur, who is no more. He was a brave man. The British spent all kinds of stories about him. For instance I was questioned as the Raj's successor by Sir Michael O'Dwyer."

The Hindu and the Sikh

When I visited the Frontier some a week before Ghandiji, I had no occasion to see the Hindu and the Sikh in the Frontier villages. In fact the few villages I saw had hardly a single Sikh or Hindu resident. This time the Khan-sahib deliberately chose villages with a fair population of Hindus and Sikhs. In Utmanai itself, we had in our morning prayers a number of Hindus, men and women. In Kalabhoor, about 15 miles from Marjan, there is a Hindu population, with Badkhanasahab from the Pathans in their ways of life. In Shabkadar there is a large population of Hindus, and it was a pleasure to see hundreds of Hindu and Sikh women and children collected in the Hindu temple to see Ghandiji. It may be noted that the Sikh is known in these villages as a Hindu, though I am not sure that marriages between them are common.

Are these people happy? I wish I could say they are. They were afraid even to come near us. But I must not forget that they have Ghandiji's reports to reveal the Frontier. That will be the proper time to deal with what they have to say. The Frontier Province is unlike any other in India. It has problems unlike those of the others. They require delicate handling.

Some of them are made especially difficult by interference coming every morning to the ill-controlled independent territory inhabited by the Waziris in the north of Peshawar, always at their wit's end in order to stir out a costly living. "These story mills do not yield enough food," and so, unprovokedly remarks General Sir George Mackinnon. "It was that in the year of grace of 1916 we saw a few hundred of these hungry hordes brought by the Congress soldiers to come down and shoot up Peshawar, Nowshera and Attock and generally make Oahu within the border." No proof has been adduced for this malicious statement, but proofs are not wanting of the lawlessness and unscrupulous way in which these tribes have been dealt with by the British, proud of their hand "as strong as it was long." A non-violent approach has never been thought of, and suggestions of such approach are not countenanced.

But is it not true that the Pathan holds life at a low price?

The dying yelled down the gun

That village died, 'all folk is gone'

wrote Kipling. It is true and probably not true now. It was true right enough before the coming of Khushab Abdul Qadir Khan. He placed before them a new mode and a new way of life. But only the political aspect of the creed had been explained, and it was evidently a difficult work for the Khan-sahib to teach the Pathan that life is an indivisible whole, and that a rule of life if true in one department is true in other departments as well. I shall illustrate the remark by citing a concrete case. A couple of miles from Marjan is a village called Marjan where a short time ago three Sikhs—a lad of 21, an old man of 80 and a young man of 15—were done to death in broad daylight by three young Pathans. The victims had given no adequate reason for the deed of blood. We were told that a couple of days before the outrage passions had been inflamed by fiery speeches asking for vengeance for Shabkadar. Whatever may be the circumstances, the fact is that these three Sikhs had been shot down in the blazing light of the sun, without any serious attempt to catch the culprits, though the whole village knew who they were. An M. L. A. from Marjan told me, "This is a particularly difficult village, there have been some twenty-five murders here during the last year, and I find it difficult to approach the village after dark." The whole Sikh population is terror-stricken, so much so that they would not come near me where we were staying in Marjan but came and talked to me on the river where I had gone to bathe.

I am simply stating the problem with some of its difficulties. I know that it is not as all easy to appease things in the course of a half day, and that is partly the reason why Ghandiji has decided to pay another visit to the Frontier

and make a longer stay during which he can study the problems in company with the Khudai Khidmatgar, compare notes, and help him in formulating a constructive programme.

The Khudai Khidmatgar

During this brief stay we must have seen some hundreds, if not thousands, of the Khudai Khidmatgar or *Khud-pak* (red shirt) as they are popularly called. At every festival or tea, all along our route, stood these non-violent soldiers, no matter what hour of the day or night it was. The Khansabek had planned a rally of five to ten thousand of them, but the breakdown in Ghaffar's health upset all plans. There were no paid soldiers for their uniforms, they wore their own red uniform (rather cumbersome and clumsy), and neither training in a kind of semi-military drill. Their registers are being maintained, and some of them are on the Congress registers. Their discipline is strict and their loyalty to their chief is profound. It was something amazing to behold the Khansabek's hold on these people and his capacity to evoke emotion. I had heard Khansabek speak at Uda. His plain and simple Urdu is effective enough. But when I heard him address mass meetings in Peshawar I found out one of the secrets of his influence. He uses in addition to eloquence which most move people profoundly, and his simple fervor and earnestness carry quick conviction. It was because of this knowledge that Ghaffar devoted almost all of his speeches to the problem and implications of non-violence and addressed them especially to the Khudai Khidmatgar. Thus attending the political conference at Peshawar, attended by something like 20,000 people, Ghaffar said:

"In all your three addresses you have told me that you made a triumphant and unique demonstration of non-violence during the C. D. campaign, but I have to find out whether you have assimilated non-violence with all its implications. The principal purpose of my visit was to find out whether all that I had heard from the Khansabek about the Khudai Khidmatgar was true, and I am very sorry that I could not give all the time that was needed in order to find out the truth. One conviction I am carrying back with me, viz. the wonderful and affectionate allegiance of the people to the Khansabek as their General. Not only the Khudai Khidmatgar but I noticed wherever I went that every man, woman, and child knew him and loved him. They greeted him most familiarly. His touch seemed to soothe them. And Khansabek was most gentle to whomsoever approached him. The obedience of the Khudai Khidmatgar was unquestioned. All this has filled me with boundless joy. A general works with obedience. Khansabek has it by right of love unlike the ordinary general who expects obedience through fear. The question now is what our will Khansabek make of the tremendous power of which he finds himself in

possession? I cannot answer the question now. For our the Khansabek. Hence it is that, if God wills it, I should like to watch this wonderful machine about October, make prolonged stay and study in detail the working of non-violence.

The Address and Discourse on Non-violence

A remarkable feature of all the addresses given to Ghaffar was the emphasis on non-violence and the negation of British cooperation. In each there should be a campaign in future. A Peshawar address said "No one has so influenced the minds of millions of Frontier Pathans as you have," and another said "We promise to be with you right to the momentary termination of our struggle for freedom." These were the words used in the Muslim Congress Committee's address. "We assure you that we are never forgetful of the debt we owe to you for having stood by us in our children's plight. The recognition of that debt will enable us long as there is one Pathan child living in this land. We are ignorant, we are poor, but we lack nothing because as you have taught us the lesson of non-violence, to observe which we regard as our duty, and whom because we have seen with our own eyes in every part of India." And the address at Kalamia was a wonderful exposition of the meaning of non-violence. I am sorry I have not with me the original address, but I summarize it from my notes taken as the address was read. "The non-violence you have taught us is capable of preparing us for the highest revolution. It implies brain courage and bravery. It is one of the best of men, it makes men humble and God-fearing, and above all it enables us to solve our problems, especially that of communal tension and poverty and unemployment. It will help everyone to earn an honest livelihood."

And naturally therefore all other topics took a subordinate place and Ghaffar addressed himself exclusively to this subject at Charsadda and continued talking about its various aspects at the meetings he addressed subsequently. At Charsadda, the Taluk where Utmanial-Khansabek's village — is situated, there was a wonderfully quiet meeting, over ten thousand people sitting speechlessly and in an orderly manner at ten o'clock at night. This is what he said:

"I really wanted to make the acquaintance of those of whom I had heard so much. I wanted to see with my own eyes how the Khudai Khidmatgar live, move and work. The Khansabek was also here. That I want see all these and verify to what extent they had assimilated non-violence. That conviction I am afraid cannot be worked on during this brief time. But let me tell you that my desire to live in your midst has increased. I thought I am thankful that I have been able even to come to Utmanial and Charsadda and to see you all. Khansabek and Dr.

(Continued on p. 136)

H A R I J A N

May 21

1939

THE CHAURICHAURA SPIRIT

Much of our past is still being collected to us from the Frontier where it was originally collected, and a batch of cuttings sent to us a fortnight ago was received only today. One of these contains the following news from South India:

"The Barga colony in Telipyer situated within the limit of Madhupur Taluk, about seven miles off Dindim, was the scene of great confusion yesterday when a police officer and a constable were accompanied by a mob, armed to the teeth and were present after some hours.

When two policemen went to the colony to effect the arrest of a woman in connection with a case of theft dug before yesterday night, they were attacked by the mob that surrounded them. One of the constables, however, escaped and informed Mr. G. R. Rangarajan, Asst. Sub-Inspector of Pandur Station, camping at Kallidindi village near by. The latter at once proceeded to the spot and on the mob offered resistance in his reaching the other policeman, freely stripped of his uniform and bound to a peg in a cattle shed, brought his revolver into use. Two persons received injuries and the mob themselves scattered, closed in on the officers, detained him and he was also secured to a peg in front of the colony. He was also robbed of his gold ring, wrist-watch, and a silver watch-chain.

The local constable at Pandur station who was apprised of the situation rushed with armed constables the same night to the spot and effected arrest of two persons surrounding the Sub-Inspector and the constables and secured them at about 5 A. M.

Yesterday Mr. E. Varadaraja Aiyar, Inspector of Police, Tiruvannamalai, accompanied by Mr. T. M. Dorai Pillai, Sub-Inspector, along with a party of armed constables also went to the place and effected the arrest of 15 more persons and recovered all articles except the maggot watch. A case was registered against the arrested men for offences under Sections 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353 and 354 I. P. C., and all the 15 accused were produced today before the First Class District Magistrate at Tiruvannamalai for remand."

The case is not grave, and one may not lightly draw comment on the basis of the case from the strictly legal and political point of view. But it may not be impossible to judge and comment on the trend of events and the spirit that seems to be spreading. Unless the facts are vastly exaggerated or uncorroborated in order to justify the doing by self-defence that is reported

to have been resorted to by the Sub-Inspector of Pandur, there would seem to be no doubt that the case was one of the most daring and reckless defiance of law and order. Whether there was any provocation or extenuating circumstances the Court will judge. If the facts are true that police officers were overpowered, disarmed, secured to posts and robbed, no provision would justify this taking of the law into their own hands by a crowd of villagers. The scene of offence is said to be the Barga colony in Telipyer, but it is difficult to say whether the men alleged to be responsible for overpowering the police officers were Bargas. If they were Bargas, the local Barga Svaraj Sangh should investigate the matter.

This case reminds one of Chaurichaura. Is this lawlessness due to the feeling at the back of the people's minds that now that there is Congress Raj one may do anything with impunity? The Congress Raj is yet far from coming into being, and if even the faint shadow of it can intimidate us to this extent, one wonders what the reality may do. There is no fear of the reality coming into being in the near future, if the foundations of non-violence on which alone the edifice of Swaraj can be reared, are destroyed.

No doubt this case has no connection with the Congress Lawlessness will sometimes occur even when we have Independence. But it is the duty of Congressmen near the scene of tragedy to inquire into each case and take such measures as may be possible to prevent a recurrence of such lawless deeds.

M. D.

FRONTIER NOTES—IV

(Continued from p. 123)

Khanashah I had some much of area in Wurdah, but I wanted to see YOU and make YOUR acquaintance, a great responsibility rests on your and Khanashah's shoulders. You have deliberately chosen a name that carries weighty implications. You might have called yourselves Servants of the people, or of the Father, or of Islam, but you chose instead the name Khudai Khidmatgirs—Servants of God, i.e. Servants of humanity which includes Hindu, Mussulman, Christian, Parsee, Gajnah and other parts of India, and also other parts of the world. This very ambitious title implies the acceptance of non-violence. How can a man in the name of God serve humanity by means of the sword? It can be only done by means of a force that God has given us and which is superior to any other force that we can think of. If you do not understand this, you may be sure that the world will laugh at the Khanashah and me as vain hypocrites. While therefore I am delighted at the sight of the Khudai Khidmatgirs, I am also armed with a kind of doubt. Many people

have warned me against you, but that warning does not matter if you are true to your creed. Remember that you outnumber volunteers in the whole of India, and that you are more disciplined than volunteers in other parts of India. But unless the discipline is rooted in non-violence, the discipline might prove a source of infinite mischief. I have rarely in my years seen more orderly and quieter meetings. I congratulate you and express my gratefulness for all the attention you have directed at me. I shall conclude with the prayer that the Frontier Fellowship may make not only India free, but teach the world, through an India made non-violently free, the priceless lesson of non-violence."

At Madras some of the laymen gave him an opportunity of delivering the lesson known in a more direct and concrete way. He said:

"If what you have told me is a genuine promise, and if you can keep it, you may be sure that we will win not only the freedom of India, but something more. When we can be ready to sacrifice any number of men, in the name of non-violence, we can easily let him go to spread the ghastly spectre of war that is now threatening Europe. We talk of doing everything in the name of God, we call ourselves Khudai Khidmatgar, we profess to have given up the sword, and yet, if we have not put the sword and the dagger out of our hearts, we are sure to be disgraced and the name 'Khudai Khidmatgar' will be a term of reproach."

And with this he referred to the incident at Maraj that I have referred to in a previous entry: "I have not yet recovered from the shock of the story I heard this afternoon. The Hindu from Maraj told me of the tragedy that happened there in broad daylight. As far as I know the victims had done nothing to provoke the law of the murderer. The assassin slit the dead in broad daylight and looked away without anyone trying to apprehend them. It is worth pondering over how such a thing could happen when we are all talking of non-violence. There were in the village Khudai Khidmatgar and others believing in the creed of non-violence. It was their duty to watch the culprit. It is their duty to prevent the recurrence of the deed. It is also your duty to kindle the hatred and to secure the intensification of your sympathy and support so long as things of this kind continue to happen in our midst, our non-violence must be in doubt."

The speech at Kishanganj may be said to sum up the message to non-violence.

"Your address is made up of two parts—one devoted to my people and the other to non-violence. The first part may be ignored for I am sure that that is going to do good to nobody. In fact I am quite sure that if someone offered to sling my grapes for twenty-five paise, he would get that and I should feel bad today. What God

may have enabled me to do is but a repayment of debt, and he who repays a debt deserves no praise. In fact if he fails to do so, he may be liable to prosecution."

"What interests me most is what you have said about non-violence. Let me tell you that I should not have been able to sum up better the characteristics of a non-violent man. But let me tell you what you have not said in your address, and that is the implications of non-violence. You must have heard of the riots in Allahabad and Lucknow. There would be impossible if there was really non-violence amongst us. There are thousands of members on the Congress register. If they were really non-violent, these riots should not have occurred. But we not only failed to prevent them, but even accepted the aid of the military and the police to quell them. Some of our Congressmen argued with me that our non-violence was limited to our dealings with the Englishmen. Thus I say that that non-violence was not the weapon of the strong, but of the weak. Active non-violence of the brave puts to flight thieves, dacoits, murderers, and prepares an army of volunteers ready to sacrifice themselves in quelling riots, in extinguishing fires and loots, and so on. You have said that non-violence automatically brings non-employment. You are right, for it rules out exploitation. The non-violent man automatically becomes a servant of God. He should be ready to render account to God of every minute of his time. May you all be true servants of God and true practitioners of non-violence."

H. D.

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THE MYSORE SETTLEMENT

The Mysore Government issued the following communique on the 17th inst.:

The Government and the Maharaja greatly deplore the misunderstandings which lately have arisen, and which interrupted the co-operation between the Government and all sections of the people, which is so necessary for the constitutional progress of the State. Above all the Maharaja and the Government deeply regret the tragic happenings at Vidyanuratham. They express again the deep sympathy they feel for any innocent victims, and for the relations and dependence of all sections in that unhappy incident. His Highness's subjects are aware that an impartial body of eminent gentlemen of high political experience has been appointed to investigate the whole matter, and the Government are determined that the reason for the confusion and the sequence of events should be fully ascertained and brought to light.

His Highness's Government are happy to feel that these misunderstandings are now being cleared away, and the time has come when, with renewed vigour, the Government and all sections of His Highness's army, together, approach the task of determining how best the people may further be assisted in the work of government—a task which will require the united and devoted labour of all who are anxious to promote the welfare of the State.

With the assurance of this co-operation His Highness's Government are pleased to make the following declaration:

The Government understand that the Mysore State Congress is prepared now to co-operate with the Government in the task of constitutional reform, that they will act as a political party formed within the State and composed of sections of His Highness's army, and that they intend to carry on their work in a peaceful and constitutional manner, as befitting a party which has declared its aim to be the attainment of responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja. Having this belief, the Government are prepared to recognise the Mysore State Congress as a political organisation.

The Government state that all political organisations within the State should have the fullest opportunity to make constructive proposals to the Committee on Constitutional Reform, and therefore are pleased to add to the members of the Committee three new members to be selected by the Mysore State Congress. They declare, explicitly, as they have previously made clear, and as is implied in the Committee's terms of reference, that it is open to the Committee to discuss and recommend any plan for constitutional reform, including a plan for responsible government under the aegis of the Maharaja.

A powerful means for misunderstanding has been cleared away by the declaration of the Mysore State Congress that the Saluting by it of the flag of the Indian National Congress has never been intended to be derogatory or hostile or disrespectful to the Mysore flag or the throne of the Maharaja. To make this clear, the party, accepting the advice of Maharaja Gaudil, has decided that on all ceremonial occasions it shall hold the Mysore flag and the flag of the Indian National Congress together, leaving the Indian flag alone at purely party meetings only. The Government recently declared that their policy regarding the hoisting of the flag of the

Indian National Congress was wholly dictated by their determination—a determination that is shared by all His Highness's loyal subjects—that no act should be done so unbecomingly performed within the State which can be construed in any way as being inconsistent with that devotion and loyalty to His Highness which is felt throughout the length and breadth of the State. His Highness's Government are glad to note that the Mysore State Congress has unequivocally declared their loyalty in this way and feel that no further misunderstandings need arise. They remain so friendly in regarding reports of detail, which had not been made clear in the party's declaration and propose to issue a further communication on this point shortly.

The Government understand that the Mysore State Congress being prepared to co-operate with the Government in the various tasks which they stand will now withdraw the Civil Disobedience and other campaigns.

His Highness's Government, being aware that the recent clouds upon the political life of the State had been deeply dispelled, have already been pleased to order that all political pressure should be relaxed and also that the prohibitory orders be withdrawn. These orders have been given effect to so far as has been practicable, and further orders in regard to pending cases will shortly be issued. This act will, they hope, mark the commencement of a period of peace and diffusion and the inauguration of a new era of progress and prosperity in the State.

The Congress Working Committee has passed the following resolution on the Mysore settlement:

"The Working Committee has read the popular and official versions of the recent events that took place near Vidyanuratham in Mysore on an assumed ground. The Committee expresses the fact that the State authorities felt called upon to resort to force. On seeing that the Mysore Government has appointed a Tribunal to inquire into the causes that led to the firing, the Working Committee refrains from expressing any opinion on the tragedy. But the Working Committee regrets that H. H. the Maharaja should establish Responsible Government in his State so that the responsibility for law and order including force, wherever it is deemed necessary, will be shouldered by a Government answerable to the people. The Working Committee sends its sympathies to the members of the beleaguered frontier and expresses its sympathy with those who suffered injuries.

The Committee expresses its willingness effected by further Vakilabidhi Patel and Acharya Kripakant in between the Mysore State and the Mysore State Congress. The Working Committee notes with satisfaction that in furtherance of the settlement the Mysore Government have issued a communique, and congratulates H. H. the Maharaja and his advisers on the prompt manner in which they are carrying out the settlement. The Working Committee hopes that the settlement will be shortly carried out also by the Mysore State Congress.

On the question of hoisting the national flag the Working Committee hopes that care will be taken not to do anything that may imply any disrespect to the State flag by the State Congress or the national flag by the State authorities. The final status of the national flag will depend not upon the ability to impose compulsion but upon the correct conduct of Congress.

men and the progressive retard of service that the Congress establishes in the country. It should further be borne in mind that the national flag is the symbol of non-violence and national unity to be brought about by means strictly truthful and non-violent. It should further be borne in mind that though there is a growing party among Congressmen who make the total abolition of India as a rule of the Middle Ages, the policy of the Congress as a whole has hitherto been and remains one of friendliness to the State in the hope that they will recognize the signs of the dawn and establish responsible government within their borders and otherwise extend and guard the flower of the people under their protection.

WEEKLY LETTER

Gandhi's Health

The weekly morning news interesting, John Brown, bleeding all night and day, have refreshed Gandhiji and looked up his first spirit. He has been able to get through very much more work here than ever before during the past three or four months, and there has been no apparent loss. Mahadev has been waiting him to stay on here until the end of the month, but has heart things to get back to Surana. "They are all talking in the Surana state, how can I leave those brethren? I must go and share the furnace with them," is the feeling at the heart of his mind.

Meanwhile the spiritual cloud seems to be lifting. There have been numerous letters waiting for the cause of the dependency and numerous ones of sympathy and prayer. The devout Christians have of course offered services and pray through Christ. They like know that he is seeking to gain peace through the sacrifice of all the evils and from persons that oppress the soul. The spirit of violence he seeks in the air oppress him. On Monday he wrote in reply to a question—"The violence that I am running through speeches and writings, the corruption and selfishness among Congressmen, and the petty jealousies fill our wide domain. In the midst of this, we who know must be unyielding and apply the golden rule of non-cooperation."

Wrote His Will

When we were touring in the Frontier Province a telegram was received from India to the effect that A. Mahabharat, 'withdrawing Congressmen', was fasting himself to death, that his present will had started a sympathetic fast. The news has since been removed that the will has succeeded in making him break the fast that whatever may be the case Gandhiji had no intention in sending the following reply to the telegram.

"Tell both (that the) fast has no moral basis. If people fasted against wrongs, fasted to end, and there was any fasting on account of the fast, society would be disrupted."

We have now a similar telegram from India from the members of the "Anti-British Committee Tamil Nadu" to the effect that E. S. Stalin Jagadev (Has the name been adopted after the Russian dictator's name? He does not believe in fasting, though) has been fasting since the 1st of May against compulsory Hindi and will not give up fast until compulsion is removed. Its other reply was to ask him the same hope

that the public will maintain unity and not go into hysterics over the fast, should it come. These facts are more violent than physical violence, for there is no consciousness about overnight violence, whereas this fasting, assuming the guise of non-violence, deludes people and becomes violence disguised.

Break of Salt Congress

The following information has been received by Gandhiji.

"The salt movement has been stated fairly well without any room for complaint in most cases. It is particularly gratifying to note that the reports of the Imperial officers in the District of Madras and the Palamcottah area in Madras show that the Congress Committee are doing effective propaganda in several areas of the movement. But it is a pitying to note that repeated complaints are being made about the manner in which the committee is shown in the District of South Coimbatore were even found to be deliberately disrupting all meetings in that District and are bringing the prestige of the salt movement for the benefit of the poor villages into jeopardy. The Congress propaganda in that area has seriously little effect in preventing the abuse."

It has been reported and verified through various officers that the committee of salt works, formed by private persons in the Madras range has for several months refused to stop further manufacture have been asked, but with little effect. The salt is being carried to distant places in the interior for sale in order to help shaking the Government have tried and failed again for the various villages, but the question manufactured on that of all properties in the hands of the village, and the manufacture still continues. In certain villages the quantity stopped a lot to twenty times the price that these private complaints cannot be treated with equality, especially when reports about other areas show that the committee are willing to encourage the successful efforts of Congress workers in keeping the private manufacture within reasonable limits."

I must say that the news has distressed Gandhiji deeply. He sees in the literature nothing but the echo of the violence that fills the atmosphere. The movement was made out of a genuine regard for the poor man's need, but it was certainly not contemplated that the poor man's poverty would ever be exploited like this. Such exploitation was bad enough in pre-Congress-government days. It is much worse now inasmuch as it is done in a spirit of defiance about which there is no bravery but cowardice, since it is assumed that under Congress Government no action would be taken. Congress workers must see that this abuse is stopped at once. For one thing it is not an honest observation of the past, namely, it brings disgrace on the Congress; finally it fosters the prevailing spirit of violence.

Swat Today

We publish in these columns a communication issued by the Madras Government answering criticisms of the prohibition experiment in India. We have a man like the Premier of the Punjab, for instance, published the value of a prohibition under which sweet today was permitted. Those who make this assertion, hold

realize that sweet toddy can be kept uncontaminated by a process of coating the inside of the pots with lime. In Bengal the pots are kanchinated before they are attached to the trees, and kanchanation effectively prevents fermentation. The Collector writes from experience that the control over sweet toddy tapping has been most satisfactory. 12 cases of storing sweet juice into fermented toddy out of 8,114 licenses and 26,228 trees tapped is quite inconsiderable.

The officials about personal permits was also written to Europeans and others who are addicts and wanted to withdraw foreign liquor. 71 permits have been issued to a district with a population of 1,412,873 this number is negligible. We wish the Commissioner had expressly said how many among these 71 were Europeans and how many Indians, and also given the figure of the European population of the district. We understand that the quantity permissible to each of the permit-holders is strictly limited. Where a spirit of prohibition prevails attempts should be made to warn these addicts from default, and the reports should be able to show growing decrease in the number of these permits.

M D

PROHIBITION AND SWEET TODDY

The Ministry of Public Information of Madras has issued the following Press Communiqué about the working of prohibition in Salem District:

It has been argued in certain quarters that the Madras Prohibition Act must fail to be effective by reason of the fact that tapping for sweet toddy is permitted under the Act. It is argued that sweet toddy ferments in a few hours, and that it is therefore impossible to prevent the production of fermented toddy under the guise of tapping for sweet toddy. This argument is based on erroneous premises. Under the Sweet Toddy Rules issued by the Government, sweet toddy can be tapped in Prohibition areas only under a license and the tapping is permitted only in pots or other receptacles effectively sealed internally with lime lute coating has to be renewed every time the pots are sealed and refitted to the tree. Lime lute coating effectively prevents fermentation. The rules further require that sweet toddy as drawn must at once be introduced into jaggery or used as a beverage, and that no such toddy should be kept for the tapper for longer than the day on which it is drawn. By means of the system of license and thorough inspection exercised by the authorities, the tapping and disposal of sweet toddy is kept under very strict control. The Collector's latest report on the working of the Prohibition scheme in the Salem District shows that the control exercised over sweet toddy tapping has been most satisfactory and that it can safely be said that

there is no danger of any widespread abuse of the sweet toddy license.

The following are extracts taken from the report:

"40 cases were detected in the month (March) ending 15 in February. 25 of these cases, however, were for tapping without license and only 15 for tapping fermented toddy or storing sweet juice into toddy by adding lute, etc. It was one of the facts that 8,114 licenses for sweet juice tapping have been issued covering 26,228 trees, the number of cases cannot be confined to be easily large. I mentioned in my last two reports the action that has been taken to control sweet juice tapping, and it appears that the control is generally effective. The price obtained as early as Rs.15/- trees, which was nearly double the figure for February. The difficulty of controlling sweet juice tapping has proved less than was anticipated."

Generally speaking, the problem in the District remains the same. The most satisfactory feature in the effective control exercised over sweet juice tapping is that there is no widespread abuse of sweet toddy license during the present tapping season.

What appeared to be the most difficult problem, viz. control of toddy tapping, seems to have been solved."

It has also been suggested that the Prohibition introduced by the Madras Government is merely nominal in that it allows the issue of personal permits for the consumption of foreign liquor and also authorizes licensees to stock to possess foreign liquor and to issue it to stock of the residents as personal personal permits. The suggestion is a gross misapprehension. Personal permits cannot be obtained as a matter of right. They are granted to a limited number of persons of well-known status who by habit are accustomed to the use of foreign liquor and cover the possession of only small specified quantity of such liquor at any time. As against a population of 1,412,873 the total number of such permits issued up to the end of March 1938 in the whole of Salem District is only 71. The number of licenses issued to stock in the District for the same period is only two.

There is, thus, no reason to suppose that Prohibition has not been effective because it allows the issue of sweet toddy license, personal permits to a relatively insignificant number of persons and license to a few stock.

CONTENTS		Page
FACTORY PERMITS—IN	M. D.	125
THE COMMUNIST PARTY	M. P.	126
THE MYSORE UNIVERSITY		127
WREATH LETTER	M. D.	128
PROHIBITION AND SWEET TODDY		129



HARIJAN

Editor: HARADDEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Madras South India League

1190

Vol. VI No. 14

POONA - SATURDAY, MAY 23, 1936

[ONE ANNA]

THE POSITION OF THE SPEAKER

(By S. Rajagopal)

For more than 100 years, the Speaker of the House of Commons has been regarded as a wholly disinterested and impartial arbitrator unaffiliated with any party organisation or movement inside or outside the body over which he presides. He attends no party gatherings, contributes to no party funds, makes no campaign for re-election in his constituency, refrains from all "party" as well as "political" jobs. In short, his constituency is not contested and he is allowed no easy withdrawal at an election, and he is continued in office so long as he is willing and able to serve as Speaker.

These results are not the effect of a mere theory but have been due to the wisdom and experience of centuries of parliamentary government. The Speaker of the House of Commons was not always an impartial umpire of the House. Originally he was a creature of the Crown. Then he developed into the slave of the Ministry. He was an active politician and in some instances was openly amenable to corruption. A notorious instance of a corrupt Speaker was Sir John Trevor, against whom on the 15th March 1859 the House resolved that he was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour for having received a gratuity of 1,000 guineas from the City of London after the passing of the Corn Laws Bill. In 1859, Speaker Alcock took it upon himself to deliver, at the Bar of the House of Lords, a lengthy party harangue on the subject of Catholic Emancipation which roused the indignation of the Commons so much that they took an early opportunity to express their disapproval of his conduct. The conduct of Speaker Alcock may be said to have brought to a head the question of the impartiality of the House and settled it once and for all. Though subsequent Speakers have occasionally deviated from the path of silence and strict impartiality, it may be stated that altogether they have maintained what is now known as the British tradition described above.

For the proper conduct of debate in a Legislative Assembly a Speaker with power to enforce the rules of procedure and to maintain discipline is absolutely essential. It is only by the action to which all parties and members in the House

have confidence in the Speaker that they will render willing obedience to his orders and make it possible for him to carry them out. The efficacy of all rules of procedure and the smooth working of any legislative machine, depend on the existence of a general willingness on the part of the members of the Legislature to allow the machinery to work. In the absence of such willingness, the working of the machine can easily be made to lock away and in some cases it may even be brought to a standstill. If a Speaker continues to owe allegiance to one of the parties in the House, the members of the other parties have a tendency to provoke quarrels and bring him into contempt, and thus his authority, efficiency and dignity become reduced. In other words, the authority, efficiency and dignity of the Speaker are based upon his reputation for absolute integrity and impartiality. In fact, in England, it may be said, that the prestige which is attached to the office of the Speaker has been evolved on precisely parallel lines with the public recognition of his impartiality. In proportion as the Speaker became fully-minded the strength of his position was enhanced, until today the respect of the House (as powerful as he is) is impartial.

The Speaker's functions are to a large extent of a political character, as he is to administer the rules and hold the two sides evenly between various parties and interests in the House. His decisions are rightly called 'rulings'. He can scarcely be expected to perform his functions to the satisfaction of the members and parties if he is an open partisan, or at any rate is open to be attacked or interested in one of the parties.

It has been stated that while a Speaker may be the member of a party, he can well maintain absolute impartiality on the floor of the House. It is not sufficient for the Speaker merely to be impartial; it is also necessary that others should believe and treat him as impartial, and that he should evince the consciousness of the House in his impartiality and show, by his conduct of aloofness from political activities and parties, that he is entitled to the confidence of the House.

The American Speakership has unfortunately developed on different lines to some extent. At the commencement, the American Speaker was

basely a partisan. Even now he is elected by the party in power, and the office is generally conferred upon a person who is a Leader of the Party. According to the Rules of Procedure in the House of Representatives in America, Standing Committees play an important part in legislation and in making rules of procedure, and up to 1911 these Committees were appointed by the Speaker. This gave rise to a large extent to the tradition of the Speaker identifying himself with and advancing the legislative or political principles of his party. But since 1911 the House itself has been electing these Committees, and this has to a large extent removed the partisan character of the Speaker. But, even as it is, he is, still not of the type of the Speaker in England. As recently as the year 1925, one of the Speakers elected to the office declared "I believe it to be the duty of the Speaker standing squarely on the platform of his party to watch, so as far as he properly can, the enactment of legislation in accordance with the declared principles and policies of his party and by the same token to resist the enactment of legislation in violation thereof." (Nashoba Longworth, in the First Session of the 68th Congress—7th December 1925.)

The difference between the position of the Speaker in the House of Commons in England and that in the House of Representatives in U. S. A. is this that while in the House of Commons the position of the Speaker is purely political and not political, in the House of Representatives "it is both political and political. It is political in this that the concept of the Chair is at all times bound by and obedient to a code of Rules. It is at the same time political in the very nature of things, he is expected to look carefully to the interest of his party, and while he is to administer the affairs of the great office in a manner to best promote the public good it is not expected that he will fail to use all legitimate and proper methods to build up his party and justify his elected office." (First Session of 68th Congress, Page 1924.)

In India Legislative Assemblies have now existed for a sufficiently long time to have created the tradition similar to that of the Speaker of the British House of Commons. On the 24th of August 1932, at the time of his election, the late Mr. Pritulchandra Patel said as follows:

"In the discharge of my duties I shall, I assure you, observe with impartiality in dealing with all sections of the House irrespective of party considerations. From this moment I come to be a partizan. I belong to no party. I belong to all parties. I belong to all of you. And I hope and trust my Hon. friend the Leader of the Opposing Party, will take immediate steps to observe me from all the obligations of a Straggled Member of this House, if indeed it has not been done by implication, in consequence of my election to the Chair. Misgivings have

been expressed on some quarters, there have been intimated, that I would not touch the Vice-pres, that I would do this and that I would do that. I assure you, friends, that I am going to do nothing of the kind. If the duties of my office require me to see the Vice-pres tomorrow day, I am here to do so."

The same convention has been established in every one of the Provincial Legislatures, except recently in the United Provinces.

It is not necessary to follow the convention of the House of Commons BECAUSE it is the convention of that House, but that convention represents the wisdom of centuries of actual experience of parliamentary life. There is no reason why we should go through the unfortunate history of England prior to 1832 and afterwards arrive at the result at which that country has after such experience arrived.

Even Mr. Tandon, in his speech on the 24th July 1937 in the U. P. Assembly, said:

"However our functions may grow, I feel that all sound parliamentary government must be based on one fundamental principle, namely, the impartiality of the presiding officer as the fear of the House, in dealing with the Members belonging to the various groups or to no groups at all."

If this is recognised as a fundamental principle, it is only obvious that the principle can never be satisfactorily observed unless the Speaker is in a position to create confidence in the Members belonging to the various groups, that he is not interested in helping one against another and is not expected to be carrying out the mandate of a party or outside authority.

The Government of India Act itself deprecates him of a particular vote on questions arising in the House though it gives him a casting vote in the case of an equality of votes. In exercising his casting vote, he is expected not to vote according to party line, but in such a manner as not to make the decision of the House final and to maintain the status quo.

There are numerous occasions when a Speaker like a judge, even when he is not a member of a party, lays himself open to attacks of partiality in connection with his rulings, e. g. when deciding on a division motion, when suspending a rule regarding notice, and it is unwise to increase the opportunities for such attacks by permitting him to attach himself to a party.

The isolation of the Speaker from politics is the condition of his authority over the House and his confidence to it, and must be preserved.

NOTICE

All communications should be addressed to the Editor of the *Harjan*, at the same time, and not to the Publisher of the *Harjan*.

THE LATEST IN THE FIELD—THE PNEUMATIC TYRE

It will be remembered that a short description was given in these columns some time back of the movement for the revival of village industries going on in England for now over a decade. I had asked the Director of the Rural Industries Bureau of London about his views on certain questions. I take the liberty of quoting from his letter the following about the use of pneumatic tires for carts:

"I agree that the use of pneumatic tyred carts must very rapidly stimulate the wheelwrights, certainly in his traditional capacity, but the obvious advantage of the pneumatic tyre are such that this change appears to be inevitable. During the period of the change, however, the wheelwrights have found employment increased rather than decreased, but mainly because of the necessity for adapting existing vehicles to the lower level occasioned by the smaller wheel. Personally I may much regret the passing of my traditional form of craftsmanship, but I cannot suggest that it would be wise to resist this change. Whether the same arguments apply in your country or not I do not know. In this country, however, the village blacksmith is only affected to a minor extent, and it is recognized that the one whose way is fast would soon work for him."

As we have similar views being expressed in this country, it will be well to consider them here. For one thing, conditions in Britain differ radically from those in India. Britain is one of the most, if not the most, mechanized countries in the world. "Definitely capitalist relations of production have become overwhelmingly predominant." "Work for wages has now become the typical way of life of the greater single mass of the population." According to the census of 1921, "of a total British working population of 21,374,000, 13,573,000, or 63·4 per cent, were in that year wage-workers, and 1,371,000, or 6·3 per cent, were 'workless on their own account.' That is to say they were workers creating their own means of production. This figure of 6·3 per cent gives us a good indication of the extent to which the smaller economic system of small commodity production survives in Britain. The remaining 1,371,000, or 6·3 per cent of the working population, are owners of the means of production employing wage-workers." "Small scale producers in Britain do 'help their own in a number of branches of production,' but 'they have little initiative or influence upon industrial or commercial policy. The utmost they can do is to make a living for themselves in this or that nook or cranny of the business world where large-scale Capitalism has passed by.'" "Large-scale industry is now supreme,

and has smothered small commodity production in every considerable branch of industry," though "many small independent producers still exist (although practically) in the shelter of the great industries." In India, on the other hand, the system of 'small commodity production' still predominates. Out of the 19·45 per cent (i.e. over 3½ crores) dependent on industry only 4 per cent is engaged in large-scale enterprises, and the remaining 15 per cent still depend on handicrafts. The problem of the handicraftsmen therefore assumes much larger proportions than it does in Britain. And if one of these small industries were to stop or to change its complexion, the numbers adversely affected by the change would be much larger than they would be in Britain.

Pneumatic tyres, which their advocates are so enthusiastic in recommending for use for bullock carts, are, even when they are manufactured in India, NOT SWAGNHE in the sense that the "central, direction and management order by a Managing Director or by Managing Agents" of the numerous manufacturing these tyres are NOT "in Indian hands". This in itself should be the paramount consideration for ruling out the use of these tyres for village carts. It might be yet another instance of foreign interests being fattened at the cost of the Indian masses.

Leaving, however, this consideration apart for the time being, let us turn to the general considerations raised in the foregoing paper, viz. that "it is anticipated that the new wheels may in fact create more work for the village blacksmith." It is admitted that the increased work may last only "during the period of change." It is indeed true that the rise of mass ore, large-scale industry will open itself up to a new sphere for small commodity producers." It is also true that "the rapid evolution of industrial technique combined with the rise in the standard of living during the past twenty years has caused the multiplication of new trades catering for developing forms of demand, and such trades are the happy hunting-ground of the small independent producer." But this leads 'GILT FOR A FORT'. For, "as these trades become more standardized and reach the stage at which some methods can be more readily applied to them, the small craft position is bound to be increasingly challenged by large concerns in both producing and selling operations, and the small-scale producer or trader, if he wishes to hold his own, still has to be constantly seeking fresh fields for his activity." The garage industry, i.e. the motor-car repairing, selling and maintenance industry, is cited as an instance of a 'defensive industry' created by the motor-car producing industry in Britain and America. "The rise of a vast network of garages all over Britain and America is a

striking example of how large-scale, fully developed capitalism, in the very act of creating small commodity production in one sphere, destroys it, and the class of independent, small commodity producers that go with it, in another. "The garage proprietors, because the property in the extensive business in the use of automobiles in recent years, is the outstanding example of this type of success." But the success has been short-lived. Even in their evening prosperity these small garage proprietors had "to finance their businesses with borrowed money," and were "in the hands of the large money men or whose dupes and agents they act."

C. 3.

1. John Kennedy Op Cit p 20
2. G. D. H. Cole Op Cit p 404
(To be continued)

HARRIAN

May 25

1938

THE STORY OF A CONVERSION

A businessman, who has been a familiar figure for some years, comes to Gandhiji whenever he is within hailing distance, gives him a few bundles of rupees and a hundred rupees note plus sometimes one rupee, sometimes two, and often enough three. He appeared twice three days ago on my way to Juhu, and once as I had to keep him waiting, as Gandhiji was not free, I felt like making his acquaintance. He had walked that day for over four hours, but there was no end to the discussion with the Working Committee members, and so I asked him to have his food with us. "No food," he said, "until I have presented my poem and contribution to Gandhiji." "But," I said, "it may be very late. It is 12 o'clock, the meeting is going on, and Gandhiji has not yet had his bath. Why not have your food and sleep well?" "No," he said cheerfully, "I am prepared to wait until evening."

I then asked him to explain the mystery of his perked-up contributions and the shape they took. "Three ago," he said, "when Gandhiji was arrested on the 18th March I took the vow of upholding every day and of saving again one rupee on the righteousness of each month, and thank God I have kept the vow. And whenever I find that to be near enough, I go with the bank and the vowed contribution."

"But then you often give a hundred rupees note also?"

"That is nothing. That is a voluntary contribution I make whenever I care and whenever there is money in my pocket. This is an obligatory contribution. It is a lifelong vow which keeps me straight."

"Please explain it a little more and at length."

Quite an unexpecting person, he took me then over plateaus or foothills, but went straight ahead.

"I was a drunkard once and a bad drinker at that."

"When did you give it up? With the vow?"

"No fear. The desire to give it up was there, but the will was lacking, or perhaps the will was there, but the flesh was weak. I knew every time I had a glass that I was doing wrong, but there was no help, I could not resist it."

"How long did it go on?"

"Two years after the vow."

"What ultimately gave you the strength to give it up?"

"I do not know, God alone does. I would not eat before I had my bath and my reading of the Bhagavadgita."

"But what on drinking nevertheless?"

"Yes. The Gita reading had apparently no effect. I am an Arya Samajist. I have been a regular reader of the Bhagavadgita."

"Samajist? What is your education?"

"No Samajist. I have had no education worth the name. I read the Gita in Urdu and Urdu Mahatma Gita in Gujarati the past every day."

"Then you decided to give up drink gradually?"

"Oh no. Giving up drink gradually is a delusion. You cannot give it up gradually. During the General I gave it up once and resisted without it for five months. But again I had a bottle I forgot the exact time and date now. But it was about the time Gandhiji was released. I said to myself it was shameful to keep the vow of upholding and contributing a rupee each month and yet going on drinking. I dashed the wicked bottle to pieces and have not touched it ever since. It is since on 14 years now."

"But there are other than accounts of drink. Were you ever a prey to them?"

"No. I was fond of music and would walk hours of dancing girls, but never went beyond that. That later is not in me. And then though I drank a lot I would never go out drunk. I was afraid of my reputation and I do not think anyone ever found me drunk."

"No, I meant those failings. For instance you have been doing big business. A man who drinks would like to play cards and drink with money and would therefore rarely be successful in his dealings."

"I have been successful. I have cleared an acre."

There was a pause. I had no inclination to trouble him with any more questions. But he made an inspiring entry by his refreshing frankness and so I was about to ask other questions. But he evidently felt that he had just told the whole story. And so he went on: "Don't know, not told you of another of my limiting step—alcohol. It was easy to give up drink but not so easy to give up tobacco. The desire to give it up was also there along with the desire to give up drink, but for years I went on steadily in spite of my outwardly pleasant living and the Hagarwells. I would make quantities of cigarettes and then I took to the bottle. I would need to have a pull at it for twenty to twenty-five times during the day. Tobacco had something to do, I thought, with my digestion and helped to relieve constipation. That mistaken belief continued for a number of years. But here I thought gradual giving up would help. I gave up cigarettes, and then I would have a good pull at the bottle once in the morning before the bottle moved. Five years ago, however, as luck would have it the article came, I had a prevailing dream. Something said: 'Give up the bottle as you have given up drink.' That decided me, and the bottle and tobacco have gone out of my life."

"So the Oke has served you in good stead. You do not regret having given up drink and the bottle?" I asked.

"Oh no. On the contrary, I feel far happier and at peace with myself and what would have happened to my life if the course had stopped? They would soon have become vices to them, and the family would have been ruined. But let me not hide anything from you. You were right in asking me about my business dealings. Those dealings have been unexceptionable, but I am given to operations. I have indulged in it long enough, though I know it is bad."

"Don't wait for another dream asking you to give it up."

"Thank you, I shall hear it in mind and make a desperate attempt to give it up."

But Gandhi was now out of the hall room. Our friend was returned into his presence. He placed his pipe before him and walked out. It is hardly his habit to talk. All that he came for is the delivery of the donation. He regarded it as lucky that Gandhi happened to be in Bombay on the day of his visit.

M D

WEEKLY LETTER

Gandhi's Health

In spite of the best-forgiving doctors in India Mr. in Bombay became galling, what with the strain of visitors and what with the artificiality, and Gandhi decided to get back to the furnace of Rangoon. Millions of our people live in their houses and have never even seen in a lifetime the chance of going out for a change.

The blood pressure, on return here, has not been taken and it is certain that it should be taken. Often enough he gets arguments in support of his reluctance to face about health. Mr. Bhandarkar, the Indian Speaker who is on a visit, said one day to Gandhi: "It is no pleasant thing to have to see the papers daily for finding out how you are. It brings out the painful consciousness of the fact that you are on the sick list, and I do not want to think of you that way. Why should every detail of your health be given to the press from day to day and people made to hover between anxiety and hope each day? Instead let us make a point of paying for your health which I do the first thing in the morning every day."

The Indian Speaker, who as Speaker has to be strictly impartial and ever ready to give the other side a chance, evidently forgets that there is a vast majority of people who want these details from week to week. And he forgets our people who mistake chance of news for a complete return to the normal and do not hesitate to poster him with all kinds of things. Thus two days before our departure from India Gandhi had about a twelve hours' day, himself felt that he was on the breaking point. Now however much he may delight in taking risks, how can those around him afford to take risks? They have to see day-to-day happenings and keep the public informed.

A Fellow Pilgrim

Thereafter will be found the authentic text of the statement issued by Gandhi about Sardar Pithorbhoy who is the latest addition to our ranks and a fellow pilgrim on the march towards freedom. His surrender after 14 years of wandering in the wilderness is a tribute to the bold first non-violence is slowly gaining over war in the name of freedom. On the day Gandhi issued his statement of Sardar Pithorbhoy's arrest, a newspaper placed under the headline: "Gandhi's story of a terrorist's surrender." And naturally the paper that wrongly accused that Sardar Pithorbhoy was a terrorist did not publish the last paragraph in Gandhi's statement, which must have looked to it to be a kind of glorification of terrorism! But Gandhi weighed every word of what he said. Even in his heavy preoccupations Gandhi found over a couple of hours to discuss with Sardar Pithorbhoy his life, his career, his views and his plans. On the day he decided to deliver his to

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the authorities he had a long chat again with him, and gave him the choice of going back to his life of the wandering wind which blows where it lists, or the life of a newspaper prepared for any fate, ready to live the life of a model prisoner so long as he was kept there, or to stick to his job with Guebibi in his work of rural regeneration. He said confidently that he had made his choice the moment he decided to surrender himself to the Government of the Nation, and that for him there was no going back. He is no terrorist and has no terrorist activity in his credit or debit. His dream was to work for an actual revolution, no matter when it could materialize, and being a Tugboat of the Mind, adventure is to his value. He carries an indomitable spirit in his free spirit, and I have rarely seen among revolutionaries the cheerful glow of health and vigor that I have seen in him. We could let him tell the thrilling story of his romance some day when he is free. But one or two whiffs may be given. He happened to be thrown among the salt newspapermen in 1939 and gulped them and let them, but his high regard for truth would not permit him to count imprisonment as a non-violent newspaper, so he did not then believe in non-violence. He was very neatly arrested, but once again slipped his guard and made good his escape. "What is your education?" I asked him. "No education," he said. "I had been to school for some years and ever since have been wandering." "But where did you learn English?" I asked. "Picked it up in jails and in the course of my wanderings." "Married?" "Not that I had no desire, but never had the opportunity."

Guebibi was visibly moved as the Magistrate and the Police Superintendent bore him away, and after discussing the statement for the press, said, "It is people like these who can be true newspapermen." He seems to have known no prison but the prison for freedom. He had gone to the ends of the earth to search for it, risking his life and all. Such people can truly sing:

No court and no man,
No walls in the world's stone-walled sphere,
I see Heaven's glories clear,
And with mine eyes, seeing me from far

A Few Poems

The reader will remember the friend who helped the old Moroccan fellow-prisoner on the train, whom I mentioned in my article on *North African Days in Jaws*. That friend had appended a few poems at the end of the story, arising out of the incident, and requested Guebibi to reply to those questions. I give the questions and Guebibi's answers.

Q. The old man said, if he was so inclined, have visited the United Kingdom, as so many do, by getting into the bath room when the train entered a station. Is it not a fact that you have and dishonestly often wish to do?

A. That certainly is not my experience. They often seem to win, but if you dive a little deeper you will find that in reality truth wins. But if the victory of truth was always easy and self-evident, truth would not have the value it has, and the achievement of truth would be so meek.

Q. The old man in the story wanted to hide himself under seats in the bath room. I am sure he would thereby have defied the United inspectors and reached his destination. How far was I right in showing him the way of truth and leading him into difficulty?

A. The way of truth is straight and smooth, and it is our duty to point it out whenever there is an opportunity. I am quite sure he loved a lesson and appreciated it. But why do you assume that he would have got to his destination without a hitch? And why further do you assume that because he was compelled to debate at an unknown station he was miserable? We do not always know whether this our guest. That is why it is best to assume that good always comes from following the path of truth.

Q. And what right had the United inspectors to let him off? Even his humanity should not drive him from the path of duty which was clear for him.

A. I have no doubt that he was within his right in being the poor man go, and deciding his destiny, and if he felt that he had no right to let him go, his humanity. If it was motive, would have suggested to him to find the face out of his own pocket or to appeal to the passengers to pool their resources for getting the old man to the United. But if the worst came to the worst and the old man had to go to jail, what then? We are considering here the duties of a newspaperman, and the newspaperman's duties are quite clear.

Q. I should have loved to pay a part of the fare, but how could I, knowing that I had no money which I could sell my own? And if I did not pay, how could I ask the other passengers to pay?

A. Certainly an admirable when even the money you get by way of help could be put to no better use. Even if the passengers had not responded, you would have done your duty by asking for their aid.

Q. It was open to me, if he had been allowed to travel with me to Madras, to go out and purchase a platform ticket and on the strength of it to take him out of the station. Would that have been proper in the interest of humanity?

A. No, it would have been a case of mistaken humanity. Even without the platform ticket they would have let him go, so it is not

always possible to prevent these walls and doors, or they would have let him off with a warning. But for you it would have been improper to have purchased a platform ticket and not have met on the strength of it. It would have been pure cheating.

H. D.

WORKING COMMITTEES RESOLUTIONS

The following are some of the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee at the recent sittings in Bombay :

1. The Harjans Congress came to the decision that in order to encourage the development of the national struggle in the Indian States, independent organizations should be started or continued where they already exist and internal struggles of the people of the States must not be undertaken in the name of the Congress. The Working Committee condemns the formation of such independent organizations, but has noted that some of them bear the name of the Congress. While strictly speaking there can be no monopoly in the use of the word 'Congress', it is clear that in order to give effect to the letter and spirit of the Harjans Congress resolution, nothing should be done which produces any confusion in the public mind as to the constitutional relation between the Congress and the independent State organization. The Committee feels that the use of the word 'Congress' in the name of the State organizations is bound to create such confusion.

The Committee also wishes to draw attention to the fact that under the Harjans resolution Congress Committees continue to exist in the States. True there are at the same time Congress Committees and the independent organizations which might sometimes develop in membership and work. If the independent organizations bear the name 'Congress', then it is inevitable that confusion will arise. This will come in the way of Congress Committee functioning in the States.

For these and other reasons the Working Committee feels that it is undesirable to have the word 'Congress' in the name of the independent organizations, and trust therefore that the use of this word in this connection will be avoided.

2. The Working Committee accepts the recommendation of the Indian National Association of Bombay and confirms the said agreement. The Committee feels that the agreement will be acted upon by the British Government in a way so as to give full satisfaction to the Indian community and so as not to make any doubt or suspicion of discriminatory treatment.

In view of this settlement, the Congress Committee is hereby authorized to lift the boycott of cinema, which has been in operation

since September last, as and when and under such conditions as it thinks proper.

On the ending of the boycott, the Committee trusts that the general public, and particularly the retailers, will patronize those firms that have loyally adhered to the boycott in preference to those who have not.

The Committee acknowledges the Indian community in Bombay for the loans and assistance which it has made for the rights of Indian citizens. The Committee further expresses its gratitude to the members, especially its Bombay, who by their loyal co-operation and support, even at considerable sacrifice, have contributed so greatly to the successful termination of this issue. The Committee wishes also to record its appreciation of the labours of the Civil Boycott Committee.

3. The situation of the Working Committee has been drawn to the aggressive and tyrannical administration under which the people of Nagri are between God and Belakchian have since long been suffering at the hands of the present Nawab of Nagri and to the state of grave insecurity of life and property which has been prevailing in that area. The Committee understands that the inquiry instituted by the Agent to the Governor-General at Quetta in 1935 under Major Graham amply confirmed the correctness of the complaints made by the people against the Nawab.

In the opinion of the Committee, it is essential that if the administration of the Nagri area is at all to improve, the above report should be published by the Government. The Committee is strongly of the view that the authorities in India and England who have assumed the responsibility for the welfare of the people of the area have signally failed to discharge that responsibility. The Committee condemns the continuance of the present autocratic and irresponsible system of administration under which the inhabitants of Nagri have had to live and suffer all these years, and expects that the authorities will take immediate measures to remedy the present state of things and place the administration on proper democratic basis.

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A FELLOW PILGRIM

Quoted below the following statement to the Press on the 19th Inst. on the arrest of Sardar Pithwasingh:

Sardar Pithwasingh, who has been put taken in custody by the Collector of Bombay Suburban District, is a life sentence prisoner in connection with what is known as the First Labour Conspiracy case of 1928. He served part of the sentence in the Andamans, and when an assault of political agitation that criminal settlement was closed, Sardar Pithwasingh was transferred by Madras and then to Superintendency. There having grown tired of jail life he made two attempts to abscond. He succeeded in the second attempt in 1931, and has ever since succeeded in eluding the police. He is a self-made man. He is a leading revolutionary and for some time has been availing his views on social revolution, and ultimately decided in communication with his friends to surrender himself to 'us' and be guided by us. After having had a full conversation with him, I decided to take charge of him, and told him that according to my view of life there could be no money and voluntary surrender to authorities was in itself a service to the country. He recognized the force of my opinion. He came to me on the morning of the 18th, and I wrote to the District Magistrate on the 19th, informing him that Sardar Pithwasingh had surrendered himself to me, and that I was about to put myself in communication with the Government of India with a view to securing his discharge, and that if the District Magistrate could not legally allow Sardar Pithwasingh to remain with me, he was at liberty to take him into custody. The District Magistrate wrote to me to say that he had no authority to leave him free. He himself accompanied by the Superintendent of Police arrested him today at 1 P. M. at our residence at John.

I have been given to understand that he will be treated as an A class prisoner. I had asked Sardar Pithwasingh to write an account of his career. It is a thrilling romance. So far as I can see, he has not been guilty of anything of which he need be ashamed. He developed revolutionary ideas in Canada where he had engaged in his youth. He was witness to the illegal and shameful burning away of the Kootenai Man from the Canadian shore, and he and a band of Indian settlers in Canada decided to return to India and lead a revolution. After absconding he has evidently made himself useful to the nation in various ways. He is a very powerfully built Bagnet. Five months of imprisonment in the Andamans and lapins resulted, whether in conflict with the police or in escaping from custody, have left no visible trace of weakness on his body. He became a first class gymnastic teacher and studied the sciences of physical culture and the art of massage, and gave training in physical culture in many schools.

To seek the relief of the political prisoners has come to me in the later years of my life as a Gaiwan mission. To strive for the early discharge of Sardar Pithwasingh is the latest addition to this mission. He tells me that he is endeavoring to examine the method of non-violence for the deliverance of the country. He says that many of his past revolutionary companions are thinking along these lines. He has no other aim in life but the freedom of India. I was so much taken up by the anxiety with which he talked to me that I had no difficulty in taking his word at its face value, and I should love to have seen him like an fellow pilgrim in the pilgrimage to the temple of freedom.

Rebels and Under

A correspondent writes

"There are at present in India in your midst several otherwise respectable gentlemen, upright, well-to-do, deeply religious and high-minded but without any scruple about committing sinners for the sake of bringing about change. I would advise you to express your opinion as to whether you approve of this practice among the Hindus of depicting the birth of a daughter. Do you see held with this notion that one cannot go to heaven without a son?"

"A man used for his children has three wives. Not to be so with childbearing. He has now married for the fourth time. A few months ago he performed a Pyre with five hundred Brahmins with his body. One a lot of ropes were spent over this ceremony. I am really much interested."

Unfortunately the leading for male offspring is almost universally prevalent in Hindu society. It is not necessary to trace its origin. It is enough that in the general up of sex-appeal, this sort of worship, discrimination against the female sex is an anachronism. I had to see my cousin for children over the birth of a son and for securing over that of a daughter. Such are God's gifts. They have no equal right in law, and are equally necessary to keep the world going. But such upward and downward practices cannot be eradicated all of a sudden. They can be dealt with only by an erasing of the social conscience, and a proper recognition of the true status and dignity of women. Today both husband and wife are forced to be equally responsible to the former carrying when they cannot keep a male offspring. Reformers like my correspondent have to educate parents and not to carry over such antiquated notions and how long. They have to have faith in the mass and work away in the hope that slowly will slowly realize the will of making unsexed and another distinction between male and female offspring.

N. K. G.

(Continued clipped from HOLLANDER by P.)

CONTENTS		Page
THE POSITION OF THE BRAHMIN	-	2
THE LATEST IN THE HINDU - THE		
Progressive Time	-	10
THE STORY OF A CONVICTION	-	11
WOMAN LAUREL	-	12
WOMAN CONVICTION'S DISCOVERY	-	13
A FELLOW PILGRIM	-	M. E. Gaudin 14
NOTE		
DISCOVERY AND CONVICTION	-	M. E. G. 15

HARIJAN

Editor: MAMMOY DEBBI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

Vol. VI No. 12

POONA - SATURDAY, JUNE 4, 1938

[ONE ANNA]

THE C. P. MINISTRY

Madame Abai Kishore Amal and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel issued the following statement to the Press on 18th May—

Shri Rajendra Prasad and we were deputed by the Working Committee to go into and compose the differences that had arisen among the C. P. Ministers and to investigate certain charges that had been brought to the notice of the Working Committee and otherwise to supervise the formation, if it became necessary, of a new Cabinet. Minister Sardar's case had already been dealt with by the Working Committee. Shri Rajendra Prasad was taken ill and unfortunately could not accompany us. We reached Patna on the 14th instant. We had invited the Presidents of the three Provincial Congress Committees to be present and assist us. They had kindly responded to our request. There were members of the Central Assembly Party at the previous also present. We had long conferences with the Ministers singly and together. Though difficulties arose, we are happy to be able to say that the differences were composed and the Ministers concurred in us that they had decided to bury their differences and work together as a team. They will make desirable changes themselves so as to secure administrative efficiency and to prevent recurrence of causes for complaint.

We also investigated the graver charges. We are glad to be able to say that the graver charges of bribery and corruption were not proved. We found that many had been malicious and were aptly brought without an iota of proof to suggest them.

At the same time certain complaints were not without justification. There were undoubtedly administrative inefficiency. We have been assured that these will not be allowed to recur. It was admitted also that in the Debt Consolidation Act, that was intended purely to help the falling situation, the amount of debt taken brought under the law was raised from 50,000 to 1,00,000. This was admitted to be inadvisable, and the Ministers have promised to reduce the sum to the original level. The charge of undue favouritism being appointed to professorships by the University and to some other positions by the Province was explained. Perhaps his benevolence

to remedy the wrong in every case. Minor charges have been referred to Shri Jinnah for disposal.

We are glad to be able to say that wherever error of judgment had been committed there was a readiness to admit and make amends. We entertain the hope that now that the graver charges have been found to be groundless and errors of judgment are under process of prompt rectification all parties will cease and the Ministers will be given a chance of proving themselves capable of upholding the Congress tradition of rectitude in public life and affairs.

WEEKLY LETTER

Gandhi's Health

Gandhi's health shows remarkable improvement. Despite of the grilling heat of these parts. The reason is not far to seek. He is in his own natural surroundings and is able to give himself the rest that he would not do elsewhere. He is determined to give himself this rest for at least four months to get ready for his tour of the North West Frontier in October God willing, he will not move out during the interval and expects the "public" to acquiesce with him by not bothering him with correspondence and requests for interviews, except when they are urgent and indispensable.

Non-violence—Political and Fundamental

THE PLEASANT news received by this mail (and a remarkable article by Mr. J. Middleton Murry that moment announced and published) who is now giving all his thought to the implications of non-violence. It starts with a review of *Non-Violence or Action From Right*, of which a four Anna edition has recently been made available by the Narayana Corporation, Ahmedabad.

"A little distressed book in grey paper covers has lately come into my hands." [Mr. Murry explains, only he does not know] it had to be printed at Haripur, during the Congress week, and it was impossible to print a better edition or cheap.) "To me it is a suggestive thing, and every time I look at it, just from the outside, as it, lies upon my desk, I have a strange feeling of the sacred and mystery of human existence. For this little book, which is a copy of Gandhi's *Non-Violence or Action From Right*, has been meant to change the hearts and minds of men and men, older writers at my

time. It is thirty years old it was published, and appeared in 1908. Yet this book, which when read I can see, with the world's misjudgment of Gandhi's character, and besides my acquaintance with the purport of its views and the *Charita* (already?) of its truth, contains also a nucleus within me. For it contains a profound warning by Gandhi thirty years later, in 1931, in which he says: "I would warn the reader against thinking that I am today among of the theory described therein. I have that faith in our time for it. . . . It requires a higher courage and conviction than the people are today prepared for. The only part of the programme which is now being carried out in its entirety is that of non-violence. But I meant to leave in evidence that even that is not being carried out in the spirit of the book. If it were, India would establish democracy in a day."

Mr. Mistry next proceeds to point out the paradox that though in the preface of 1908 "he declares that he is working for Parliamentary democracy in accordance with the wishes of the people of India, the body of the book contains the most withering attack on parliamentary democracy that I can remember to have read. It ends with the declaration that, if in the matter of parliamentary democracy India copies England, "It is my firm conviction that she will be ruined." Yet again, in the same preface, he declares that he withholds absolutely nothing of his book. Apparently, therefore, he is unconsciously working to introduce into India a system for which he believes India will be ruined. The contradiction is startling, and it takes a very great man to confess, indeed almost to confess, as said a contradiction."

But the paradox and the contradiction are more apparent than real, as indeed Mr. Mistry soon recognises, and would realise most clearly if he had an opportunity of studying Gandhi's writings and speeches over some time untrammelled from the Congress in 1930. For the same reason that the apparent contradiction has awakened in Mr. Mistry has had a long-standing shadow over Gandhi's recent years, and his latest challenge to his associates and co-workers reverting to the creed of non-violence has been either to dismiss the creed or to live up to it, as the creed of the future, not only in politics but in all life's affairs. For by means of political non-violence we may bring about political democracy but never a true democracy, as we see Mr. Mistry's words "democracy as machinery" and not "democracy as faith". Mr. Mistry recognises this and uses language almost the same as Gandhi has used. "Likewise, there is a vast difference," he says, "between non-violence as a political technique and non-violence as a condition of being. You may adopt non-violence simply because the violent method of securing political progress is obviously impracticable, which has been the case in India, or you may be non-violent because you have

needed a condition of spiritual development as well as the use of violence as indispensable."

That really is the distinction between the non-violence of the future and the non-violence of the past, the non-violence of the past and righteous and the non-violence of the apostate. For the one comes out of years of self-discipline and self-sacrificing, the other may not need any renunciation at all. Mr. Mistry rightly points out that democracy as machinery and non-violence as a political weapon are intimately connected, and he says that there is no real working in non-violence—fundamental and not political—unless "it is training ahead to suffer for one's convictions."

"How that is to be done," concludes Mr. Mistry, "is for each man to discover for himself. My answer is that he will discover it more quickly if he frees his mind from the doctrine that there is any kind of middle way which would lead to political success. Gandhi himself was never under such an illusion, for this real 'democracy' is only to be achieved by the way of suffering. That is another way of restating the conclusion that politics is not politics. The difference between genuine and political politics is exactly the difference between 'real democracy' and 'parliamentary democracy'. There is not to say that politics has no political aspirations, it has the political aspiration, and the only non-fundamental political expression of politics is a national and complex movement. Nothing else is possible politics."

Live Non-violence, not because it is expedient, not because it will serve one's immediate purpose, but because it is intolerable to live in any other way.

The First Lesson

That is what Gandhi was trying to tell the mass Parties in the Frontier provinces in the course of his speeches which were specimens of his thinking aloud. That is what he has been telling day in and day out, and in the few messages that he has given recently. He usually sends no message to conferences and gatherings, but sometimes when the circumstances make it imperative he speaks. This is the message he sent to the Indian People's Conference in Jaipur pointed over by both Jawaharlal Nehru.

"Everyone who came to study what is happening at the present moment in our country and see that what we want can be obtained if we will but achieve the means of peace, the creed of non-violence. You cannot tear peace out of corpses. The attempt is like gathering grapes of thorns or figs of thistles. The more I go into the question, the more deeply the conviction is borne in upon me that our first duty is to grasp this fundamental fact. There was a day when I used to father myself with the belief that I had mastered the key to handling that lesson. Today I am filled with doubt. I do not know that I have in me

purification enough to restore true peace or non-violence. In that frame of mind I cannot think of any other thing, talk of any other thing. But whatever may be my condition, I have no doubt in my mind that there is no General without non-violence, nothing that goes by the name of constructive work. Constructive work is a cold aspect of non-violence, but the true test of non-violence lies in acquiring the capacity to meet an innocent and unoffending death in the service of our cause. How to achieve it is the question. I want you to apply your minds to it."

And thus is the message he sent to the Principal of Kanged Christia in the name of Duke autonomy: "There is one great problem before the chief and students of the Christia, viz. shall we defend our country and our religion by means of force and non-violence, or not at all and violence? How I wish you all faced the question and applied your hearts and minds to the answer."

Peace Not Enough

Mr. Richard Gregg is driving at the same thing in all that he has been writing and saying everywhere and in working for an atmosphere where apart from the likelihood or otherwise of war, peace or non-violence becomes a principle of life and not merely a weapon to fight the specter of war. This is what he writes in his latest letter to me:

"I consider peace a relatively minor or temporary phase of the whole problem. Non-peace is motivated by the fear of the consequences of a modern war, not by an increase of love for all people. Being negative and doing evil and hatred passively by fear, it does not go very far. The real problem is to build a new and better civilization founded on love and service to all rather than the present pay-by-tax money and steel ethic. Training is made that is a deep and difficult and unending job, and few people here are willing to see the necessity for it or to leave their old habits of thought, feeling and action. But if the planning."

A Fight for the Gods

Elsewhere in these columns will be found that Vaidyanatha Iyer's report of a pilgrimage to Tiruvannam by a party of pilgrims led by him who is the Indistinguishable President of the Tamil Nat Harijans South Group, and composed of men and women and children belonging to both the castes of Hindians—the casteless untouchables and the touchables, Brahmins and Non-Brahmins. Written in plain unvarnished language it makes moving reading by the very simplicity of its narrative and the wonderful atmosphere it depicts. Gandhi visited Tiruvannam over a year ago. He saw then scenes which he saw again that were unforgettable and called the happening a modern miracle. The drama and beauty of the miracle have not faded with time, but are being renewed as the days pass, and untouchability will soon be

an ugly record of the past in Tiruvannam. And who has worked the miracle? The Proclamation? The agitation espoused by the workers? The sudden awakening of the Harijats to their sense of duty? Or the sudden awakening of the Brahmins to their sense of strength and their determination to wipe out the past? All these and more. It was God on the Time-Spirit working in everyone—from the Mahants and the Mahants down to the lowliest men and women of Tiruvannam. The Mahants and the Mahants had made up their own minds and found a people ready to be converted and ready to resist the violence by means of quiet and silent suffering.

Can these conditions be automatically produced in British India? Can the Ministers in Congress Province draft a Harijan Temple Entry Bill, have it passed by a majority and expect to work the miracle? We are afraid, not. The Cabinet Ministers are no religious body with no religious prohibitions. They represent all religions and all parties and may not introduce a bill by mere strength of majority. They have to prepare the ground. Let them help in the organization of non-violence, let them see that justice is done to the Harijans in every non-religious sphere. There is no doubt, as Sri Vaidyanatha Iyer says, that to abolish untouchability at wells and in schools and elsewhere is to cut off the branches of the deadly tree but to leave the root untouched—the root being the religious untouchability in temples. But one way not lay the axe violently at the root. Instead churches, playgrounds, public places, temples, public, night schools for adults, self-purification programs among the Harijans—all these might help to uproot the tree, and so on may be needed. Let Sri Vaidyanatha Iyer carry the message of Tiruvannam from town to town, from village to village, and from home to home, and he will either find legislation unnecessary or will find the previous step for abolition legislation.

There is one thing that the Ministers can do and should lose no time in doing. Where the only obstacle is represented to be some legal difficulty they can remove the difficulty at once. Permanent legislation ending the trustees of a temple to open it is long overdue. But that is not enough. We have continued sharia reformers. The Ministers should not only encourage them but not open them. There have been such reformers at some places, including Coimbatore, but they have needed no religious hatred. The moral satisfaction of the reformers that their case was proved to the hilt. Let the modification of the reformers be rigorous, let the percentage of votes voting for temple entry be high enough, but once there is a clear referendum in favor of the opening, the temple doors should be immediately thrown open. There is nothing to prevent the Ministers from having legislation to this effect.

M. D.

H A R I J A N

June 4

1938

AN INTERNAL CRISIS

Sometimes ago there was a storm which we still remember. "Whenever hearth the savings of mine, and death them, I will throw him into a wave sea, while built his house upon a rock." And the rain descended and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not—for it was founded upon a rock. And everyone that heareth these sayings of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand. And the rain descended and the floods came, and the winds blew and beat upon that house; and it fell; and great was the fall of it." They come most readily to one's mind as one thinks of the crisis through which the Congress has been passing. We have had winds and floods and rain in the shape of crises forced upon us. The crisis over the Andaman prisoners' release and over the Orissa Governor's appointment were two such. But our house stood firm and fell not. But the winds and floods and rain in the shape of internal crisis are the more terrible. It is they that test the foundations and make one wonder if the house has been built upon a rock or upon the sand. Among the symptoms of these internal storms may be counted the communal riots and the manner of our dealing with them, and the latest is the crisis with which the C. P. Ministry was faced and is passing through.

Let us briefly recount the facts. For the past month or two all kinds of charges, serious as well as trivial, were being levelled at the C. P. Ministry, and the provincial press was simply seething with stories of bribery, corruption, nepotism, inefficiency and what not. The matter came to a head with three of the Ministers presenting their resignations to the Prime Minister and the latter going to the Working Committee of the Congress with these resignations. The Working Committee, after prolonged discussion with the four Ministers who were present in Bombay, appealed to the Assembly Party in the Province to have an emergency meeting to grapple with the crisis. They also invited Madhusai Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Vallabhbhai and Balu Rajendra Prasad to meet the Cabinet and the Congress members of the Assembly, to go into the difficulties and to compare them if possible, to investigate the charges that were being brought against some of the Ministers, and to help and expedite in the formation, if it became necessary, of a new Cabinet. Armed with these powers, or rather

addled with these heavy responsibilities, Madhusai Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Vallabhbhai proceeded to Pachmarhi, the summer headquarters of the province, and sat about their task as best they could.

When the cryptic telegram announcing 'a happy compromise' and a brief statement by the Cabinet Minister appeared in the newspapers we found it difficult to believe over it. Compromise are permissible in innumerable cases, but not in non-negotiable ones, and one wondered what had happened to the charges that were being levelled against the Ministers both by the public and by one another among the Ministers themselves. But now has appeared Madhusai Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Vallabhbhai's statement, the text of which we publish elsewhere in these columns.

Briefly brief and sustained, it is a document of a devastating character. It makes no secret of the charges that Madhusai Abul Kalam Azad and Sardar Vallabhbhai had to investigate. It says that the gravest charges of bribery and corruption have not only not been proved, but that they had been made maliciously and even spitefully. It is a mercy that the gravest charges have not been proved. But the statement says that a number of other charges, only less grave than those of bribery and corruption, have been proved. In fact no proof thereof was needed. The Ministers admitted that they had committed errors of judgment. One of these errors has been mentioned in the statement. The loaning of the debt fund under the Debt Consolidation Act from Rs. 20,000 to 1,000,000 was unreasonable in the extreme and a gross breach of the Congress pledge. Then there are cases of subverting persons being appointed to professorships by the University and to other positions by Minister themselves. The error of judgment here perhaps lay in the fact that most of the business concerned were Congressmen, and that in appointing them it was only the consolidation of the power of the Congress that was contemplated. Now the Congress Election Manifesto was never interpreted to mean that in order to consolidate the power of the Congress we should be putting a premium on inefficiency and nepotism.

The Congress has risen to power by painful stages. It has induced the belief in the millions of people that the Congress stands for honesty, impartiality, incorruptibility, efficiency, and care for the poorest among the half-starved millions. Congress in opposition has proved itself worthy of its trust. But Congress in power has yet to prove its worth. In C. P. it has been weighed and found wanting. But it would be wrong to conclude that C. P. is the only black sheep among a whole flock of straying ones. But for the thousands among the Ministers in C. P. perhaps what has been discovered might never have seen the light of day. Let us hope, therefore, that

the mistakes of C F whenever they have been made will be recalled, and that the C F, Ministers will show by example that if they were human enough to err, they were also brave enough to reform themselves as to commit themselves against future wrong-doing.

In efficiency Congressmen have to show themselves far superior to the permanent service. Efficiency comes only by study, mastery of details, business industry and average in dealing with men and situations. Congressmen must not be the laughing stock of the police and the shirkers over whom their control is only nominal.

Congressmen may not accommodate their persons, relatives or friends. In making appointments, the side that must be with, an inefficient person or though a Congressman will bring discredit on both the Congress and the administration. An efficient and honest public person, though a non-Congressman appointed by the Congress Ministry, will bring honour both to the Congress and the administration. Congressmen and relatives should be appointed when they are equal in ability to all their rivals and would accept an employment demonstrably less than their market price. Congressmen and Congress Ministers have to be above suspicion in every respect if Congress is power is to do as well as Congress has done in opposition. Then and then alone will our house be built upon a rock and not upon the sand, and be in a position to weather all storms and floods and rains.

M. D.

THE LATEST IN THE FIELD — THE PNEUMATIC TYRE

(Continued from the last issue)

That, however, is not the end of the story. Today the counterpoise of the creation of these various spheres of production themselves by large-scale industry, and the gradual capitalism of the small, independent counterpoise from them, has begun." And the following description shows how the group propounder is being perceptibly cooled and will have ultimately to go to the wall:

"The example of the group industry is again obvious. Comparatively large, capitalistically equipped groups owned by small planters, companies, the distribution of which have as yet shewn in the work of the groups, are becoming more and more numerous. More important still, chains of groups (i.e., The LCC, Groups in Britain) have appeared. These chains of groups are owned by single large companies in which some amount of capital is invested, they employ thousands of operatives, whose sides is exactly the same as that of any other large-scale. The result of the united interest these large capitalist groups and the small counterpoise groups is not in

fact. These latter will be, and are being, pushed out of the really profitable field, out of the big towns, off the main roads, into the villages and onto the byroads. For the counterpoise cannot be in a position to stand, in the long run, the competition of the big capitalistically equipped concern."

In the main "the small man" is everywhere being rooted.

"Then when the big, heavily equipped concern begins to appear in areas not held, the small counterpoise producers are in an position to put up more than a lingering counterpoise. The process is everywhere the same. The traditional fields of 'the small man', the common business and the under-ventures, such as home repairing, hot water, lawn mow, and are being, progressively invaded by large scale, capitalistically equipped concerns, such as the large, well-equipped builders and contractors."

It will be small wonder for our village carpenter and blacksmith to be told that the introduction of pneumatic tyres will deprive them of their traditional vocation, only to create for them another, albeit temporary. What is to happen at the inevitable end of that temporary employment? Is there any other outlet left for them? Or are they to starve?

Let us now turn to this consideration. An English author has shown that with the progress of the Industrial Revolution in England large numbers of workers left for the newly discovered Continent, America, to seek "the opportunity of becoming an independent small commodity producer, enjoying the fruits of his own labour." They wanted to escape from the exploitation inherent in the 'dependent employment' of the new steam factories. Imperialist conquest had opened up new territories which absorbed the surplus labour from England," and a constant flow of emigrants from Britain, which in the immediately previous years averaged no less than a quarter of a million persons a year, provided the arms outlet for bigged capitalism as the underdog. That provided for American capitalism." But these opportunities of escape have now been exhausted and unemployment figures keep mounting up, millions have to be fed on unemployment doles distributed by the State.

In the opportunity of escape, which was till recently open to the British worker, as all open to the Indian worker when the pneumatic tyre was first to deprive of his employment? For him there is no such opening. India has no Columbia abroad. The Columbia dominated by the Whites before independence is fast becoming an India. The prospects in that matter seem as gloomy as they could be.

1. John Ruskin, *Op Cit* 30-2

2. *Ibid* p. 31.

"At the time it was thought that East Africa might receive a large Indian population, but that expectation is now likely to be fulfilled. The entire region, such as Amara, Berber, Malaga, Ogden, have already been fitted up almost to the point of completion. When we look further ahead the prospects are not encouraging. The Dutch East Indies have already their own population problem at Java, which is clearly becoming overcrowded. Sumatra and New Guinea appear to the surface to present large areas for immigration, but those who have noted the question do not hold out hopes for much room in these directions. The same may probably be stated about the Southwestern territory of Australia, even if the racial difficulty, connected with the 'White Australia' policy, could be surmounted. But, apart from that policy, it seems to have been clearly proved that the weather conditions are not favorable for the support of a large indigenous and permanent population in these regions."

The artisans who would be driven out of employment would then be left to shift for themselves. There is no industry that would absorb them. It is doubtful if they would get even temporary employment in fitting remunerative work, for they would lack the necessary skill. Agriculture would give them no relief for it is already overcrowded. There would be an unemployment dilemma for them, as the magnitude of unemployment in this country is so vast that no Government would find it feasible to cope with it by doing. The doors of emigration are closed for these artisans. What then are they to do but to swell the army of the unemployed and face stark poverty and starvation? In even, the little crumbs of bread which they have not today to be snatched from their hands? Are they to be denied even the right to honest toil? There are obvious advantages, it is said, in the use of peonage type. Various doubts have been expressed as to this. But supposing that there are advantages in the use of peonage type, of what sort is human misery are they to be purchased? The great tragedy has been enacted in the case of many of our colonies which have been wrenched out of existence. Will it be enacted in this case also? Shall we be willing parties to the rule of a nation of our own countrymen? If not, it is up to us to resist the use of peonage type for Indian work with all the strength that we can command.

C. S.

J. C. F. Anderson, *India and the People*
p. 264-4.

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PROBLEM OF HEPATITIS

(By G. F. Anderson)

The news from England, that another emigrant ship, with at least 100 more repatriates, is likely to be sent from Georgetown, British Guiana, to Calcutta this year, to swell the miserable ranks of those who are starving and dying there already, is seriously alarming. Everything possible should be done in time to prevent it.

The condition of a very large number of those who have already returned to India by these emigrant ships is deplorable. Quite recently, I have been visiting them from day to day, while I have been in Calcutta, and have found the very worst cases of malnutrition, chest complaints, malaria, etc., with hardly any one being taken of them to their native land and destination. The suffering is greatest of all among the little children.

When I was in British Guiana, some seven years ago, Sir Gordon Guggisberg, who was then Governor, stated at a public meeting, in the Town Hall, that he would do everything he could to obtain the 'commutation', or exchange, of the 'free passages' of the un-industrialized Indians into a monetary payment or a grant of land.

This pledge, unfortunately, has never yet been implemented, owing chiefly to the early death of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, which occurred within a few months of that Town Hall meeting. Since that time, the Dutch Government of Surinam, or Dutch Guiana, (which I also visited) has passed a resolution authorizing such an exchange of the 'free passages' for land or money. The result has been that the great majority of Indians have been content to stay there, instead of sending back to India.

Quite recently, the British Guiana East Indian Association has petitioned the Government to carry out the promise which they believe Sir Gordon Guggisberg gave them at that Town Hall meeting. I have written to the Government of India giving them my own reflections on the statement and have also asked Mr. H. E. L. Peltak, the Hon. Secretary of the Indian Overseas Association in London, to approach the Colonial Office.

In December, 1935, I travelled from Bombay to Madras with a group of Indian medical students, who had recently come to Calcutta from Dutch Guiana and Trinidad as students on the emigrant ship that year, which had brought back over nine hundred repatriates from the West Indies. They gave me a very distressing account of the voyage over and of the people who were sent back to India. Nearly two hundred were actually paupers who were being sent over at the Colonial Government's expense. Many of these were old people, who were quite unfit for the hard climatic changes during the voyage and

The Gaps of Good Hope and the still more difficult life in crowded India when they arrived. They had been tempted to come by the offer of the free passage and the national desire to see India once more before they died. With them came women and children. The children had no idea at all of the conditions of the poverty and hawking that in India. To send them there from an entirely different climate where they had plenty to eat was both cruel and inhuman. One of those who sat with me at the table on board the steamer when we travelled together, used to tell me day after day how many had died on the voyage and how little they had brought with them in money for their own needs when they reached India.

Thus, surely, is a lamentable state of affairs which ought to be put a stop to immediately. As I write this article for *Harjan* there is lying before me on the table a list of all those who are stranded round the Calcutta docks at Madras and Alora Bagan, waiting for a ship to take them back again. The list already contains over 700 names, and there are more to come. Out of those who are living in misery and want and awaiting in Madras and Alora Bagan, 118 are under seventeen years of age, and a large proportion of these are Indians. Childhood is a very precious thing, and it is terribly hard to think of so many tiny children living under such conditions.

What can be done? First of all, we must employ every effort to prevent another shipment (with women or child headed men: repatriates) being sent even to swell the miserable ranks of those who are already suffering at Khatiaura. Somehow we must make the very unpalatable tale so loud that it will reach the ears of all those who are in authority. Mr Oswald Gore, the then Colonial Secretary, declared to the House of Commons, that Indians have the 'right' to a free passage and that the Government promise must be kept. But has the virtual promise made by Mr Charles Goughland ever been kept? Why are they not offered the alternative, either of land, or of money? If a reliable source is leading to inevitable detention, are we to encourage the misery? At least, let there be no chartering of a fresh unguilted boat, the present year. Let the whole matter be postponed until the question is thrashed out.

In the second place, the attempt must be made to send back at least the child-headed younger people who cannot be repatriated to their own India. It is quite impossible for me to take this in hand myself, though I would only too gladly make, but the burden has already become too great for me and I need someone much younger than I am to shoulder it effectively. Can the Congress take up this whole problem of Indians abroad to support and make it a Congress duty to keep in touch at both ends with all that is going on?

IN HOLY TRAVANCORE

[Below will be found a report of the pilgrimage to Travancore of a party from Tamil-Nadu led by Sri A. Valluvanath Iyer, the President of the Tamil Nad Harjan Sewa Sangh. —S. HARJAN]

The party consisted of 30 persons, of whom 13 were Harjan gentlemen, 4 Harjan ladies, 4 children, and 7 Hindus of other castes including the President of the Tamil Nad Harjan Sewa Sangh, Sri A. Valluvanath Iyer, Secretary, Sri L. N. Gopalakrishnan; Sri N. M. K. Subramanian, Chairman, Madras Municipal Council and President, Madras District Harjan Sewa Sangh; Sri P. K. Ramaswami, Secretary, and Sri E. S. Srinivasan, M. A., Professor, Madras College.

The party included 3 Harjan M. L. A.s of the Madras Assembly, Sri Kalanidhi Das, Marudai and Perambalur, three Harjan District Board Members, one Harjan Municipal Councillor. The party started from Madras on the 19th morning in two buses and two private touring cars.

The party walked and worshipped at two temples at Nagercoil, the famous Kannamallur temple at Cape Comorin, two temples at Theuvelli and Nethimalai, the famous temple of Palamanthalam at Iduvadam, the temples at Jannarayan, Varkala, the temples at Ambalapuzha, Quilon, Changanassery, Kottayam, Varkottam, Kizhambur and Pongannal and also the private temples owned by the Malakulas of Changanassery and Kannamallur. The authorities of the State took considerable pains over providing the party with all facilities for worship.

At every place the party found that the temple authorities and all the temple authorities were extremely kind and gave absolutely equal treatment to the Harjans. They were given precedence and also worshipers offered to God. The party noticed with pleasure that at almost all the places there was a number of worshippers of all castes including Pambudak, Nalve and Maruma, that they worshipped on terms of perfect equality and harmony, and that Nambudak and Nalve were taking precedence and worshipping mingled with Harjans without the least reluctance or mental reservation. We also found that hardly any worshippers had ceased worship because of the Temple Entry Proclamation.

Both at Changanassery and Kannamallur temples which are very big private ones, just like the major temples of the State, belonging to groups of Nambudiri families, the local Pambudak and Maruma assembled in numbers and received the party, took them for worship and gave precedence. In Kannamallur Mr. Theppan Nambudiri, M. L. C., took the party to his own house, gave them lunch, and even refused to allow the Harjans to remove their leaves. Addressing the party he said that their religion as professed still the Proclamation had prevented worship for one-half of Hindus thus leaving them

without spiritual consolation and the other half, namely the caste Hindus, who were permitted to worship from near at hand were confused between the highest prompts and left moral principles preached by the religious books and the restrictions of the same in actual practice, that whatever might have been the nature of the conditions in the older days which necessitated the rule of untouchability, modern conditions found the same absolutely untenable, that Hindu religion itself was in danger of extinction, that in order to give light to the Mahatma of Travancore was inspired by Lord Palamozhika to bring about the present change, and that they all believed him to be an Avatar of God, that they believed also that the non-carrying out of the spirit of R. H. to Mahatma's Proclamation would be sinful and going against the will and mandate of God.

As a result of the temple entry untouchability or unapproachability of any kind, even outside temples, is not observed by anybody. The Mahatma in fact received the Harijans as if they were long-lost brothers and were prepared to dine with them in their own homes.

At the gate of each temple there are two notices in Malayalam, one containing the Proclamation and the other rules which explain the worshippers to bath, to wear clean dress, to remove their shoes and headgear, to put on their appropriate caste marks and to observe an absolutely religious atmosphere by maintaining any Mahatma on worship as to not to interfere with the *Acharya's* page or the worship of the other worshippers. Two Brahman assistants keep provisions ready on plateaus beside the being given to every worshippers. The temples are kept beautifully clean, and an atmosphere of piety, general friendliness and sense of universal brotherhood prevails.

All the temple authorities are strictly ordered to render all possible help rendering Harijans to worship on equal terms. Recent circulars to all the officers from the highest to the lowest point out that the removal of untouchability and temple worship on equal terms and use of public places by people of all castes is one of the essential basic principles of the State, and that all officers are expected to carry out the same as an essential part of their duty. This example and strict practice on the part of the State officers have enabled the people to follow and copy their example, and untouchability and unapproachability appear now like an unpleasant dream of the past.

The pilgrimage party included some who had lost faith in the bonafides of the Caste Hindus and some who had deliberately become atheists and "self-separators" in protest against the treatment meted out to Harijans. Many of the party were Harijans from the urban who had

not travelled beyond their own towns. After the worship at the very first temple there was a welcome unreserved change in the attitude of the party. Morning bath before sunrise with *Shagha* and prayers both in the morning and at night were felt necessary and were adopted. All took regular bath—the eldest man of the party aged eighty seven to children and infants. At Pongannam, at the close of the tour, matters reached a pleasant climax when Mahatma and Marthanda both convened a meeting under their signature and a Christian gentleman presided. Elephants were brought for the procession and an amicable atmosphere of all the three communities prevailed. The workers in the Harijan cause took considerable trouble to provide all conveniences for the party. No words could adequately describe the gratitude of the party to Dr. M. K. Menon of Nagercoil, Mr. D. Ramachandran, Secretary of the Travancore Harijan South, Kerala Federation, Manager and of Mr. Thevaran Nair of Kottayam who accompanied the party throughout their respective jurisdictions and made the party feel more comfortable than at home. The number of workers in the Harijan cause all over the State are numerous and influential, and it is remarkable that the leaders of the movement are all drawn from the Kerala center.

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CONTENTS

	Page
THE D. F. MATHIAS	A. T. Arundel V. J. Patel 100
WYOMING LETTERS	M. D. 101
AN INDIAN CHURCH	M. D. 102
THE LITERATURE OF THE FUTURE - THE FUTURE OF THE FUTURE	O. S. 103
THE FUTURE OF THE FUTURE	C. F. Andrews 104
IN THE FUTURE	A. T. Arundel 105

HARIJAN

Editor: MANGESH DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh



VOL. VI No. 25]

POONA — SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1938

[ONE ANNA

Notes

Credits Not All Mine

A letter from Sri. Gopabandhu Chaudhari should have found its place in these columns with other my notes on the Gandhi Seva Sangh Annual Conference held at Dehag. But our constant interruptions made many things irregular, including one part, and so I can publish it only today. The reader will perhaps remember that the acknowledgments were not all credit for Sri. Gopabandhu Chaudhari personally but for him and all his co-workers. However, I am glad to publish his letter, inasmuch as it bears testimony to many of the workers who should be better known.

"I did personal little in working the villages in their sense of duty or in getting them to give vegetables or to keep cows or to perform locally all the good and all needed for the community, nor did all the credit belong to me for collecting the money from the countryside. I was merely the coordinating agent, the real work was done by my associates. It was Ashwari Hardikarji and Kripasanku Desai who worked like Triptan, with the Marwari and co-operative of Karamkhar Kalyani Desai; it was who went up and down the whole province educating the people and collecting the money, and it was Bhaiji who made the arrangements complete of getting all the milk and grain and vegetables and other provisions from villages lying within a radius of ten miles of Dehag. I must also mention Sri. Mahendra Tyre who attended to the other details and without whose cooperation as also that of workers outside Dehag the success of the conference would have been impossible."

Fasting and Hindi

A correspondent falls foul of me for having derided the Madras State against the compulsory introduction of Hindi in elementary schools. "Oh, no," he says, "a denial of the existence of Brahminical domination everywhere in all walks of life here in Tamil Nad, and an affront to the dignity of the victims of tyrannical oppression. As long ago as 1930 Gandhiji wrote in Young India that 'the Brahmins would take the wind out of the Non-Brahmins sails and make the opposition innocuous by the

right of renunciation of every form of Governmental patronage. Brahmins would still remain unless the Brahmins extend the hand of fellowship to those who feel weak and injured' and so on and so forth. One fails to see what Hindi has got to do with the 'Brahminical domination'—the Education Minister is not a Brahmin—and how the Hindu who is fasting is a 'victim of tyrannical oppression', nor yet how Gandhiji's words apply in this case! But when propagandists run high notes as cast to the winds and all kinds of passions are stirred up to the detriment of the nation "It is not enough," says the correspondent, "that it is strongly felt that the present move of compulsory introduction of Hindi in schools on the plea of national solidarity is on the basis of polarizing the growth and culture of the Deshikians with the cult of the Aryas." {Wherever that may mean. Perhaps the correspondent means 'polarizing' instead of 'prosperifying'!} Again some procedure, which is enough to vitiate a fast even if it was unharmed sound.

A perfectly legitimate means against the compulsory introduction of Hindi would be not these fasts which, if continued, would make fasting and Satyagraha stark to our society, but the refusal of the parents or guardians of the children to let them attend Hindi classes. The education authorities should agree then. If a handful of boys refuse to attend the classes, nothing is lost. If crowds of boys refuse to do so, so much so that the classes are left more or less empty, the experiment should be dropped. That seems to be the only possible solution along non-violent lines, both for the oppressed sections of the public and for the education authorities. In any case the fasting must cease. It has not only no moral justification, it is vulgar and therefore also violent.

The Madras' Code

The Mad. Ministry have begun well. They concluded a long session, with a statement made on the floor of the House by the Honorable Minister which will be subscribed to by all Ministers, Congress or non-Congress.

"We do not claim that we have done nothing, but we feel that we have begun tomorrow to do something for the progress. We are aware of the public. It is Minister

Just not consider himself a servant of the police, he must be thinking the sill he is saying.

We want to be something for the masses and for that reason we are here today.

Old bureaucracy and authority are still in the villages. The police is still tyrannizing and ruling the villages. These require to be cut at the root. I can never be allowed to go to anyone's house and work with the poor. We are not allowed for dignity. That will be a false dignity.

Service is the core of the mass work, to our policy. Our motto is service. We are prepared to carry out all the missions that you may desire. We are not division, responsibility is on all of us."

ALL this stage was. Equally true was the statement by the Prime Minister on the release of prisoners "Honesty Wins!"

"The release of Hsueh is not the victory of the Chiang or Guomintang, but it is the victory of the country as a whole. It is not the question of the release of Hsueh that matters, but it is the realization of the principle of non-resistance. It is non-resistance that has shown."

Avoid Red Tape

We have every week plenty of copies of petitions sent to Hsinshien for reimbursement (even after 17 years), and now we have a copy of a petition by a shopkeeper who closed his fancy goods shop on the 4th January 1935 as a protest against Guomintang's arrest, was arrested, held and sentenced to eight months' imprisonment and a fine of Re. 400. He also says that his shop was looted and articles worth Re. 1,400 stolen by revolution. He now wants the Government to refund the fine and reimburse him for the loss he suffered. The petition is rejected by the Secretary to Government on the ground that under Instruction XVII (11) regarding the submission of petitions, petitions are "rejected" when the action desired in a petition is in the nature of a request and not of a right."

Now here is an instance of things our Hsinshien have to endure. These shrewdly replied are a legacy of the past, and Instruction No. XVII (11) should not have been done. In the face of the petitions on questions, is it derogatory to the dignity of the Government to explain to such a petitioner that whilst justice is on his side, it is impossible for Government to repair the wrong, inasmuch as he is one of the thousands of cases in which fines were wrongly imposed and recovered? In the N. W. F. Province, I was told, a uniform fine of Re. 3-6-0 was recovered from thousands of K'uei-ch'ing-ming during 1910-22. We should come to the end of our resources if we were to seek to refund all fines and make good all losses.

H. B.

ECONOMIC EFFECT OF PROHIBITION

The following is an extract from the Madras Government's latest memorandum on the working of prohibition in Salem District.

The economic effect on the life of the people continues to be good. A Revenue Departmental Officer reports that the collections have proved to be made due to Prohibition, Certain villages which were previously noted for rookeries are now quiet and peaceful. The improvement in the condition of women and children continues.

The thrift movement has spread and the number of bands have distributed has increased. The Collector says: "Thrift days are becoming a monthly event to quite a number of villages. On these occasions, bangles, dappas, rural sports and other amusements are organized, and they serve the double purpose of encouraging thrift and providing counter-attraction to drink."

Efforts have been made to brighten village life. The Rural Reconstruction School at Madhavaram, now in session, has for its main object the training of young men who will provide healthier amusements in villages. Clinics are increasing in number and continue to draw good houses, and the radios when installed will be a means of entertaining those evening hours which drag for the revolution. An increase in the number of street dramas is reported. In Palanur, a former toddy seller has installed a cinema in the very place where he had his shop before. It is a touring pavilion and is expected to shift to other places as the people tire of it. The general development officer reports the opening of parks and reading rooms at several centres.

The Collector sums up the situation thus:

"The worst phase tapping stages is drawing to a close, and the tapping has been controlled most successfully. illicit distillation shows no sign of becoming a menace, and the amount of liquor consumed within the District is negligible. The control of gangs, on the other hand, has proved most difficult. Fortunately, however, the number of gangs within is very small in comparison with the number of co-drinkers. These gangs will show whether it is possible to stamp out gangs working shopkeepers. The police continue to work well and have good reasons to be pleased with the results of their venture into a new sphere of activities. Some non-officials are giving valuable assistance, the women's strong, though unobtrusive, influence is felt everywhere, and in parts of the District away from the houses, drink is gradually and almost imperceptibly fading out of people's memory."

Ends and Means

By Abner Shale

This book was referred to Hsueh some time back. Now available at Hsueh Office—Phone 4, First Re. 3-6-0. Perhaps so. I do not.

EDUCATION THROUGH VOCATION — A SYNTHESIS

In the course of a number of talks Gandhi explained at length the grounds, in his own mind, of the new education scheme, and the synthesis between vocation and education that he has in view. "I had long been impressed with the necessity for a new departure," said he, "as I knew the failure modern education had been, through the numerous students who came to me on my return from South Africa. So I started with the introduction of training in handicrafts in the Ashrams which, in fact, an entire emphasis was placed on manual training, with the result that the children soon got tired of the manual training and thought that they had been deprived of literary training. There they were wrong, for even the little that they gained was more than children ordinarily get in the orthodox schools. But that set me thinking, and I came to the conclusion that not vocation and literary training, but literary training through vocational training was the thing. Then vocational training would cease to be a drudgery and literary training would have a new content and new usefulness. The acceptance of officers by the Congress prompted me to place the thought before the nation, and I am glad that it was welcomed in many quarters."

Proceeding he said "Finally we decided to take, because we knew that most of the time of the children was taken up with memorizing English words and phrases, and even then they could not put in their own language what they had learnt, and could not properly follow what the teacher taught them. On the other hand they loved their own language by their mother. Education through vocational training seemed to be the only way to avoid both these evils.

"I should make a start on the first day with setting out the outlines of the boys,— whether they have any reading and writing, or not, geographically, and then start with trying to add to their equipment through the introduction of the skill.

"Now you might well ask me why I picked up the skill out of many other existing handicrafts. Because till now was one of the few crafts that we found out and which has subsisted through the ages. In the earliest ages all our cloth used to be made of tillu yarn. The spinning wheel came later, and the finest cloths could not be produced on the spinning wheel, one had to go back to the tillu. In devising the tillu made intensive genius reached a height that had not been reached before. The weaving of the fingers was put to the best possible use. But as the tillu was confined to the artisans who were never educated, it fell into disuse. If we want to revive it today in all its glory, if we are to revive and reconstruct the village life, we must begin the education of children with the tillu. My next lesson would therefore be to teach the boys the place the

tillu used to occupy in our daily life. Next I would take them into a tillu bhandari and teach them how it is used. Then would follow a brief course in Indian history, starting from the East India Company, or even earlier from the Muslim period, giving them a detailed account of the exploitation that was the work of trade of the East India Company, how by a systematic process our main handicraft was strangled and ultimately killed. Next would follow a brief course in mechanics—construction of the tillu. It must have originally consisted of a small ball of clay or even wet flour diked on to a bamboo spindle running through the centre. This has still survived in some parts of Bihar and Bengal. Then a brick disc took the place of the clay ball and then in our times iron, or steel and brass have taken the place of the brick disc and a steel wire the place of the spindle. Even here one might experiment with profit on the disc of the disc, and the wire, why it is of a particular size and why not more or less. Next would follow a few lectures on cotton, its history, its varieties, the countries and the provinces of India where it is at present grown and so on. Again some knowledge about its cultivation, the soil best suited for it, and so on. That would make an launch into a tillu agriculture.

"You will see that this takes a fund of unutilized knowledge on the part of the teacher before he can impart it to his pupils. The whole of elementary arithmetic can be taught through the weaving of yards of spinning, finding out the count of yarn, making up of hanks, getting it ready for the weaver, the number of cross threads in the warp to be put in for particular textures of cloth and so on. Every process from the growing of cotton to the manufacture of the finished product—sowing, picking, ginning, sorting, spinning, dyeing, weaving—all would have their mechanics and history and mathematics associated to them.

"The principal idea is to impart the whole education of the body and the mind and the soul through the handicraft that is taught to the children. You have to show out all that is in the child through teaching all the processes of the handicraft, and all your lessons in history, geography, arithmetic will be related to the craft.

"If such education is given, the direct result will be that it will be self-supporting. But the last of success is not its self-supporting character, but that the whole man has been drawn out through the weaving of the handicraft in a scientific manner. In fact I would expect a teacher who would promise to make it self-supporting under any circumstances. The self-supporting part will be the logical corollary of the fact that the pupil has learnt the use of every one of his faculties. If a boy who works at a handicraft for three hours a day will easily earn his keep, how much more a boy who adds to the work a development of his mind and soul."

never break of peace." This looks so good, and the voluntary steps for self-defense and for preventing break of peace might well succeed in meeting a break of peace.

And here is a professor of economics producing a mass of ill-digested history and overlooking against the creed of non-violence without so much as trying to understand what violence is. "For chaotic processes many virtues, but its efficacy as a weapon against machine guns and bombing planes may well be doubted. Violence is an ideal creed for a religious people, but not for free men who love their freedom. European statesmen place greater reliance on armaments as means of national defense than God. That is because they are statesmen not saints." Fancy the effect of this and similar stuff on the minds of the people learning under the professor.

All this is disgusting evidence showing the growth of the violent spirit. There is no doubt a serious amongst us who feel that without this preliminary discipline in violence we cannot come to our own, which will be ultimately the result of organized violence. If that is the case, the Congress must first for all, make up its mind. And if after mature deliberation and cool calculation of consequences, the Congress holds on to non-violence, it must resolve to raise and train a national voluntary corps of men and women, chosen and free, who will maintain themselves in the configuration in order to quench it. There appears to be no middle course. If non-violence is the weapon of the brave and not of the weak, it must help us to cope with all storms and configurations.

M. B.

TOWARDS A RURAL COMMUNITY

(By T. A. Matha)

Among the great figures of modern India there was one who stood very near to the Gandhi school of thought in the fervour with which he preached and strove for a new rural civilisation. That figure was George Russell, better known as the late poet A. E., whose recently published posthumous work entitled *The Living Earth* contains some valuable thoughts on life and literature, drawn mainly from THE IRISH STRAWMAN, a weekly which A. E. edited during the later years of his varied life. To the world of letters A. E. was known as a writer as philosopher, a mystic and a poet. He was also a poetiser and an artist, but above all he was a practical visionary who fought "like a modern Don Quixote on behalf of the small farmer against the greedy man and the lawyer", and who devoted the best years of his life to journeying through Ireland promoting the doctrine of co-operation and winning friends to the movement by the personal magnetism he radiated and the sincerity with which he pleaded for his, which he took others who with this

performance with abhorrence "the poet became an economist, but the economist always remained a poet."

A. E. was, however, more the philosopher of economics than the economist. His first task was to reveal the causes of social decay and then to indicate the lines of social progress. Social life for Ireland was, in his view, synonymous with rural life. For he held that "on the balance of the countryside depended the whole strength and health, nay the very existence of society." And yet he almost every country politics, economics and social reforms were when professed and "the countryside got only the scraps which fell from the political table." This was due, A. E. believed, to the fact that as far there had not been much first class thinking on the life of the countryside. Luckily, science had gone out into the fields but, A. E. observed, that the labours of the chemist, bacteriologist and the methodical engineer were not enough to ensure health. What was required, he explained, was the art of the political thinker, the imagination which created a social order and adapted it to human needs. The physician who understood the general laws of human health was, A. E. asserted, of more importance to Ireland than the specialist.

How far does the thesis apply to India? Undoubtedly the creation of a rural civilisation is the greatest need of our time in India. Mahatma Gandhi has come to the same conclusion to which A. E. came, namely, that it would be an excellent thing for humanity if its civilisation could be based on rural industry, trading and not on urban industry. It is only then that we shall check the stagnation and decay that have overtaken the country-side. The rural community has been broken up and all over India individualism is rampant today. The farmer and the artisan working in isolation find it difficult to take concerted action. The cohesion due to community of interest is lacking, which prevents the farmer and the artisan from rising the standard from capture or out of what the State provides. What is needed is a live social organism in the villages, and, according to A. E., the task of creating in the building up the social organism "consists in more place amongst these movements which are trying to regenerate our land." Those of us who are connected with the All India Village Industries Association may well apply our minds to this essential task so that the slow and arduous which animates its working may become an integral part of the life of the rural community.

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SWEET TODDY AND PROHIBITION

[By Gajanan Nalk]

Age-long association of intoxication with toddy falls to every conviction to the people that sweet toddy is quite a harmless non-intoxicant beverage. No amount of argument will bring home the innocence of sweet toddy to those who entertain doubts about the feasibility of legalising the use of sweet toddy to dry areas unless they personally try sweet toddy as a beverage to the juggeri made themselves. But those who are apt to believe not known, but at least scientists or Government officials, will find it convenient from the following to understand that with a single device man can afford to keep the sweet sap of the palm unfettered for a longer period than is ordinarily supposed.

The Agricultural Chemist to the Bengal Government writes:

" During data are available regarding the action of lime on date-palm juice. Date palm juice collected at night has been first analysed and then treated with lime and analysed the following morning after 12 hours. No deterioration of the quality of the juice has been noticed. On the other hand there is a certain reduction in reducing sugar percentage.

Time of analysis	Reducing sugar %	Reducing sugar %	Ratio reducing sugar	Total sugar
Distilled palm juice, (14-4-38)	37.58	1.44	4.5	
Do. (distilled) 12 h. (15-4-38)	37.01	1.43	4.4	
Distilled palm juice, (14-4-38)	19.71	0.86	12.7	
Do. (distilled) 12 h. (15-4-38)	19.48	0.84	12.9	
Regulated palm juice, (14-4-38)	21.23	1.01	12.1	
Do. (Regulated) 12 h. (15-4-38)	21.33	0.99	11.1	

Remarks: The results are very definite. Lime keeps the juice free from deterioration quite effectively for at least 12 hours.

The influence of lime on the juice, i. e. a juice collected 12 days later, which is usually fermented can be seen from the following table.

CLAB JUICE

Date	Treatment	Reducing sugar %	Reducing sugar %	Ratio of redu- cing sugar	Total sugar
11-4-38	Ordinary	38.44	1.25	31.2	
	Lime	31.25	1.15	3.4	
11-4-38	Ordinary	34.5	1.18	29.8	
	Lime	35.87	1.37	3.5	
11-4-38	Ordinary	4.08	1.21	31.4	
	Lime	31.31	1.25	24.5	

Remarks:

The ratio of the reducing sugar to total sugar indicates the extremely bad quality of the untreated juice, and it also shows the influence of lime in preserving the reduced that have one preserves the juice sweet for 12 hours without any bad effect.

Regarding the use of lime as a preservative of sweet toddy the Agricultural Chemist, Madras, writes:

" In my experience good results have been obtained from coconut and palmyra toddy kept for three hours after it is drawn from the tree."

The pots internally coated with lime are tied to the palms in the evening and the palm trunks in the pots throughout the night. The next morning the pots are untied and cleaned, inside and out and tied to the trees. This process of liming is repeated in the evening. Thus every twelve hours the pots are limed, which keeps the juice unfettered. Good granular sugar can be made only from unfettered sweet toddy. Fermented juice, if boiled, will give sticky jaggery of a poor taste. So a bonafide palm sap dealer will never try to ferment his juice, for it means an economic loss to him.

HARIJANS AND SCHOOLS

The Government of Bombay have issued the following press note:

Under the existing rules all schools managed by public bodies and maintained from public funds are open to pupils of all classes and communities without distinction. This rule is strictly observed in Government schools. It is not open to any Local Authority to refuse admission to a child into any of its schools on grounds of caste or community. The grant-in-aid payable to a Local Authority is liable to penal reduction for violation of this rule. Actual experience has, however, shown that the rules ensuring the disabilities of the children belonging to Scheduled Caste are not always duly observed. It has been found that Scheduled Caste students are either refused admission or discouraged from attending schools maintained by some of the Local Authorities. It is the declared policy of Government that no discrimination should be made against Scheduled Caste in educational institutions aided from public funds on the ground of their caste. With a view therefore to enforce strict observance of this policy by Local Authorities Government have published a draft rule under the Bombay Primary Education Act, 1923, to the effect that no grant shall be paid to a Local Authority in respect of a school where admission is refused to any pupil on the ground of his caste or community. The draft rule further provides that if no pupils belonging to the Scheduled Caste are actually attending a school it will be presumed that admission is being refused to such pupils within the meaning of this rule unless the school board proves to the satisfaction of the Director of Public Instruction that no such pupils are residing within a distance of one mile from the school building or adduce other satisfactory reasons for the absence of such pupils from the schools.

HARIJAN SEWAK SANGH

Extract from Proceedings of the Executive Committee meeting held on the 10th May 1957 at Delhi.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Harijan Sewak Sangh was held on Sunday the 10th May at Delhi under the presidency of Sh. U D Datta.

(1) Provincial Governments and Harijan Uplift Work.

The Committee reviewed the work done by and budget provisions made by the various Provincial Governments for Harijan and Aborigines, and with appreciation the provision of large amounts made by the Madras, Bombay and U P Governments. The Committee regrets to note that other Provincial Congress Governments have not provided adequate amounts for Harijan uplift work. The General Secretary is requested to correspond with the Ministers concerned of Congress and non-Congress Ministries.

(2) Original Order Settlement in U. P.

The General Secretary examined the condition of the Dams, a Original Title to the Eastern Districts of U. P. and informed the Committee regarding (1) the negotiations that were being carried on with the U. P. Government regarding the taking over of the management of the Original Title Settlement, and (2) of the arrangement made by the Gorakhpur District Harijan Sewak Sangh of forming a few colonies of 21 families of Doms to be released from the Gorakhpur C. T. Settlement.

(3) Resignation of Prof. H. S. Mahalan.

Prof. H. S. Mahalan's letter dated 11th April, resigning from the Superintendship of the H. I. Home, Delhi, and the Agencyship of Delhi H. S. Sangh, was read.

The Committee accepted with regret the resignation of Prof. H. S. Mahalan from the Superintendship of the H. I. Home, Delhi, and the Agencyship of Delhi H. S. Sangh, and recorded its sense of appreciation and thanks to Prof. Mahalan for his services to the Sangh during the last five years.

(4) Congratulations to H. H. the Maharaja Bahadur of Indore.

The Executive Committee of the H. S. Sangh congratulated His Highness the Maharaja of Indore on his postnominal, throwing open all State temples to Harijans and granting them equal rights and social rights, and hopes that the other ruling Chiefs of Rajasthan and Central India will follow the great example of His Highness the Maharaja of Indore.

(5) Scheme of Harijan Sewaks

The Committee considered the scheme of the recommendation of the whole-time Harijan Sewaks as recommended by the meeting of the Central Board held in February last and as approved by Gandhi. The Committee accepted the following scheme as had emerged out of the Central Board with slight necessary changes.

Harijan Sewaks' Scheme

(1) The object of the scheme is to select, mainly from among the present workers in the various provinces, a band of able and capable 'Sewaks' who will give a pledge of five years' service under the conditions indicated below.

(2) The workers contemplated under this scheme will be called 'Harijan Sewaks'. Wherever possible, the maximum national representation of Harijan Sewaks will be a Guideline. He may also be in charge of institutions like hostels, schools or settlements, etc.

(3) The Harijan Sewak will be recommended by the various Provincial Boards or Agents, as far as possible, from among the existing and tried workers who have put in at least two years' service. Workers who have put in less service or fresh workers will also be recruited, wherever necessary, and they may be confined after three months' probation.

(4) Existing whole-time Provincial Secretaries can also become 'Harijan Sewaks' under this scheme. And they will continue their service generally under the same conditions as now, but under a pledge of five years' further service. Provincial Secretaries, in consultation with their Presidents, will in any case control, direct and help the new body of Harijan Sewaks in their own provinces and areas.

(5) The salaries of the Provincial Secretaries, who draw allowances higher than Rs. 10 per month and who choose to enter the rank of Harijan Sewaks, will continue as now as a charge on the Provinces concerned and will not for the present be a charge on the Centre.

(6) But the salaries of the Harijan Sewaks to be newly selected under this scheme, other than those of the Provincial Secretaries (as mentioned in clause 5), who come into the scheme, will be guaranteed and paid by the Central Board for at least five years. All Harijan Sewaks who give a pledge of five years' service and are selected under this scheme will be given representation in the Provincial and Central Boards as hereinafter indicated.

(7) For the present the scheme contemplates recruiting 20 Harijan Sewaks (one of them to be employed to and paid for by Bombay City) besides such provincial secretaries as may choose to come in. These 20 are allotted to the various Provinces as shown below:

Bombay	5	Rajasthan	2	Assam	1
United Pro.	5	French	1	Central India	1
Madras	4	Hyderabad	2	U P West	1
Mysore	4	Karnatak	2	Bihar	1
Gujarat	4	U P East	2	Madhya	1
Minor	4	Orissa	2	Bombay	1
Andhra	2	Kashmir	1	C P Hindi	1
				C P-Madhya	1

(8) It is possible that some time may elapse before changes in accordance with the above are completed. Until that time part of the scheme may operate not inconspicuously with the above.

Conditions of Service

(1) Personal allowances of the Barjan Service will be not more than Rs. 30 per month and will be paid by the Central Board.

(2) T. A. of the Service will be drawn from local funds as part of the work.

(3) Barjan Service will work directly under the Provincial Boards or Agents concerned, and will send monthly reports and accounts to their respective Provincial Boards or Agents and to the Central Board direct.

(4) The allowances of the Service will be paid by the Centre through the Provincial Boards, or Agents concerned, and direct if necessary, on receipt of reports and accounts.

(5) Each Service will be in charge of such work as will involve an annual expenditure of at least Rs. 1,000 wholly made up of local collections, and as approved by the Provincial Boards and the Central Board. Local collections will include Government and local bodies' rates and such other grants received for the Service.

(6) Barjan Service should devote their entire attention to the Barjan work entrusted to them and should not actively involve themselves in any other work.

(7) All the Barjan Service under this scheme will be ex-officio members of the Provincial Board concerned.

(8) These Service from each regional group (group indicated below) will be accepted as members of the Central Board, and they will be selected by the members included under the respective regional group, but such members will not be entitled to have voting powers unless authorized by their provincial Presidents on their behalf voting to elect.

(9) All Service will be entitled to one month's leave every year on full allowance.

(10) Every Service will have to enter his name and sign in the prescribed pledge form, undertaking whole-time service for 2½ years under the Service.

(11) Not immediately with the above the Central Office will have the right to frame, modify, alter, or add rules from time to time for the proper working of the Barjan Service Scheme.

Workers will form groups in the following four regional areas and meet at least once a year. Preliminary and refresher training may also be undertaken in the respective regional areas. These areas will be as follows:

1. South India: Tamil, Mad. Kerala, Andhra, Karnataka, Hyderabad, Mysore and Madras City.

2. Central and Western India: Maharashtra, Bombay, G. P. (4 Divisions), Gujarat, Rajasthan, Punjab.

3. North India: Delhi, Punjab, Hind. U. P. West and East, Central India States Region.

4. East India: Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Orissa.

Pledge Form

I (full name, age, occupation, residence) believe in the necessity for complete eradication of untouchability as it is practised today in Hindu society, and hereby subscribe to the constitution of the Barjan Service League. I shall personally refrain from conducting any person or automobile by reason of birth or race.

I do not consider any honour being so inferior to me in status, and I shall strive my utmost to live up to the ideal.

I agree to serve to the best of my ability as a full-time worker under the Barjan Service League for a period of five years from _____ under the rules and conditions laid down by the Central and Provincial Boards.

(12) Resolved that the scheme of Barjan Service be put in force from 1st July 1938 (a) when all grants payable to the Provinces by the Central Office will cease as a result thereof, and as has been under contemplation all along and discussed at the time of the C. B. meeting of February 1938.

However, the following five exceptions have been made:

(1) Kerala.—Malabar Committee to continue to get 50% grant only up to 30th September 1938.

(2) U. P. West.—Hos-Purva Fund committee and the Provincial Office to continue to get grant up to 30th September 1938 only.

(3) Orissa.—To continue to get grant up to 30th September 1938 only.

(4) Rajasthan.—To continue to get grant up to 30th September 1938 only.

(5) Committee having Pure Funds and being in receipt of grants from Government will get half grant from the respective P. B. on their net total expenditure, i. e. after deducting from the total expenditure such grants as received from Government (for instance, a committee having Pure Fund and spending Rs. 1,000 annually and getting Government grant to the extent of Rs. 400 will get only Rs. 1,000 minus Rs. 400, equal to 40% i. e. equal to Rs. 600, from the P. B. In other words, the Committee will have to collect locally Rs. 600).

A. V. THIRUMAN
General Secretary

CONTENTS	Page
REMARKED EXTENT OF TOUCHEDNESS	148
EXPLANATION BARJAN TOUCHEDNESS—A	
STRENGTH	M. D. 149
THE COMPOSITION	M. D. 149
TRAINING A SOCIAL COMMITTEE	P. L. Mehta 149
SELECTED STUDY AND PRACTITION	G. P. B. 149
STUDIES AND SCHOOLS	149
BARJAN SERVICE LEAGUE	A. V. Thiruman 149
NOTES	
'CHARTER' BY ALL MEM.	M. D. 149
PURPOSE AND WORK	M. D. 149
THE BARJAN CHARTER	M. D. 149
AROUND THE TABLE	M. D. 149

HARIJAN

Editor: MANAGER (HRA)

Under the Auspices of The People's Peace League

VOL. VI No. 19]

POONA - SATURDAY, JUNE 12, 1936

[ONE ANNA

A CRITICISM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A C. P. correspondent sends me a letter letter criticizing the C. P. Ministry. I condense it before looking down the Minister's part:

"I have been wanting to write to you for some time but did not do so already. I do so now as recommended in the past government of my province which, I take it, is the year adopted before the end of your life. We were led to believe that government by the representatives of the Congress would be a good as to manage economy and be able to work for all those mainly by reason and by moral influence. But the main purpose of the Congress Ministry appears to be to be

(a) to weaken your role as public and break it as such,

(b) to weaken the spirit of cooperation in street and between them in public,

(c) to play the ministerial game, their opponents when they cannot conquer by ethical and legitimate methods,

(d) to carry on a back traffic as legislation and public affairs.

The government of a people cannot be run, as the Congress Ministry in the C. P. seem to suppose, by the common segment of personal force and by corrupting the electorate with hope. During the past ten months your Ministers have left no stone unturned to shake the moral foundation of good government of the province. The Ministry and its component parts are beset with intrigues and conspiracies. To sum up, my criticism, which I wish to convey to you, is that the Congress Party might have been devoted capable of governing but they cover moment power and responsibility. That is assumption of power is the responsibility of relinquishing it. It is strange that you and should not could agree such a preliminary Ministry for the conduct of which the moral responsibility is entirely yours."

The Working Committee referred all the complaints against the Ministry to the Parliamentary Board which carried on an enquiry on the spot. The report is public property. The Congress is a wholly democratic organization with the widest possible franchise. The Working Committee is its conscience and has to work within the limits prescribed for it by the Congress Constitution. It was open to the C. P. Congress repre-

sentatives to demand resignation from the Ministry, but they did not. On the contrary they wanted the present Ministers to manage their difficulties and carry on the Government. The Parliamentary Board would not disorganize the wishes of the representatives. It had no power to do so. But it did all it could to rid the Ministry of whatever shortcomings they had discovered. The Ministers, it must be admitted, offered no opposition to whatever the Board wanted to do. It now remains to be seen how the new management works.

The point, however, that I wish to make is that the Working Committee does not back up any evil that is found in the Congress organization. It is not afraid to impose discipline which is readily accepted in most cases.

I wholly endorse the correspondent's proposition that the Congress can only rule "by reason and moral influence". He and others like him may rest assured that the Congress will do a natural and deserved death if and when it substitutes reason and moral influence by government.

One more point. The Congress is composed of ordinary mortals. They show the virtues and vices of the nation which they seek to represent. But after all is said and done, it will not be denied that it is the chief political organization in the country. It is the most representative, it has drawn in itself the best talent in the country, it has the highest amount of confidence in the world. Above all it is the one organization that has offered the greatest resistance to foreign rule and exploitation. Whilst all honest criticism is to be welcomed, I would like to remind the correspondent and other critics that it is open to them to join the Congress and withdraw it from within and to try to rid it of all the venereal infections they may discover in it.

NOTICE

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MANAGER

POTTERY AS A COTTAGE INDUSTRY

(By P. L. Mehta)

THIS is the sub-title of an interesting booklet published by Mr. R. J. Lalchand Bhatia of Madras, which within the short compass of some thirty pages contains valuable information on this important industry. Pottery was, until recently, a flourishing craft both in our towns and villages, but along with other crafts this industry too is in the decline, and as systematic attempts have been made so far to check the decay of pottery as a rural craft, in his introduction to the booklet Dr. Subrahmanyan, D.Sc., head of the Department of Bio-Chemistry at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, refers to the superiority of earthenware for use in cooking and storing articles of food over the metallic utensils now introduced even in the countryside. The dangers of metallic utensils and the consequent ill-effects on health are, he observes, greatest in South India where highly acidic foodstuffs (with correspondingly larger quantities of salt) are consumed by a large section of the population. This aspect of the case for the revival and encouragement of this industry is emphasised by Mr. Lalchand Bhatia who appeals to the All India Village Industries Association, particularly, to secure the authoritative opinion of medical doctors and scientists about the damage to health likely to be caused by a prolonged or indiscriminate use of utensils made of or coated with metals. It has also to be remembered that the raw materials, namely various metal oxides out of which the utensils are made, are usually imported, while the raw materials out of which the potter prepares his products are all available in the country, usually in abundance in our villages.

In modern industrialised Japan pottery carried on as a cottage industry continues to supply not only the needs of the domestic market but also is finding an export trade in this country. It is estimated that 90% per cent of the products of pottery in Japan are turned out by small scale workshops, each of them employing not more than 15 workers. But, to enable this handicraft to survive in the face of competition, Government makes every help to the potter to develop his industry as modern lines. With this object in view they have established a number of research stations. The different Provincial Governments, Mr. Lalchand Bhatia says, should open similar research stations and start pottery schools in suitable centres. The aim of these institutions should be to train the potter in the preparation and making of different kinds of clay and other materials in the use of improved appliances in the designing and introduction of better, kilns and in the proper exploitation of raw materials. Under proper technical advice and direction there is no reason, Mr. Lalchand Bhatia remarks, why this type of skilled artisans should not turn out products that can

replace the metallic utensils now in common use. With the encouragement and revival of the industry, it should, moreover, not be necessary for the country to spend the billions of rupees that are annually spent today on the purchase of imported earthenware and porcelain. Self-sufficiency is not difficult of attainment if planned efforts are made, especially in the direction of providing technical advice and guidance supplemented by systematic research into the proper exploitation of the raw materials and in the judicious use of the various types of kilns required.

GOD'S GOOD WORK

I have carefully gone through about a dozen findings which of the report for the month of April of the Bharosa Taluka Harijan Vidyapeeth and of a memorial submitted to the local Municipality by the local Harijan School, Sangli which runs the Vidyapeeth, and I am gratified to say that my labour has been more than amply repaid. The school is being run in the heart of the Marjan locality of Bharosa and is attended by 34 children, 45 Bhargis and 3 Bhargis. It is in the charge of a Brahmin teacher who is prepared to settle in the town with his mother, wife and children. If only the Municipality will put up a few more on the ground that it has leased to the Sangli on a rented plot. The memorial to the Municipality mentions the work of the Sangli and the school and makes a request for putting up beds of the value of Rs. 1,000 (for the school and the teacher) and for a recurring expenditure of Rs. 100 per year. How amply fulfilled is this request will appear from a brief account of the work that the school is doing.

Particular care is taken that the children of the school get up early, wash their mouths and clean their teeth, bathe daily and wash their clothes and keep them tidy and go to the school neat and clean. Before they enter the school they wear hardly any less than the marks of dirt and grime. They are now all free from both. Most of the Bhargis go out to beg the leftovers or remains of food from Brahmins' houses. All the children of the school and their parents or guardians have given up the habit. Most of these people are addicted to pork. Five of the children have given up pork or meat of any kind, and have renounced the presence of their parents and guardians. They are regularly reading and speaking through the facilities for both are almost all.

The way in which these little children are helping in moral reform is to be seen from two or three instances.

I. An eight-year-old girl called Elva found one day that her father had purchased a couple of Bares. She remonstrated but her father did not heed her. She gave up the evening meal. The next day the mother threatened the father

with leaving the house with the girl if the father did not give up drink. He gave it up.

3 There was a six year old boy sitting. His father pleaded with him to drink a little brandy to get well. He said he would do it if the father gave him the gift of a pig. This being done, the boy from the cup of brandy said and told his father that he was not to be taken in so easily!

4 On the occasion of a wedding the bride and the bridegroom's people were here on treating the guests to liquor. The bridegroom's nephew, a boy from the Marjua school, said that he would go on a fast and leave home if liquor was purchased. It was purchased and the boy started to leave home. In the result not only was all the liquor consumed to the gutter but the parties vowed not to drink at all.

From this it is easy to imagine how responsible to good influences these children can be. But it is a most uphill task to save them from evil influences. A case of a most difficult character has happened recently. An old man of 117 reported to be the Guru of the community of St. Khosrow. His children appealed to the community for a sumo to be built over his residence and for a big dinner, both costing in the aggregate Rs. 1,500. The community is so deeply loaded in debt that they were unable to do the same. Ultimately some money was borrowed from the Co-operative Society, and a Panch gentleman gave part of the expenses for the sumo. This gave rise to the talk about the dinner, which was now revived with redoubled force. A poll tax of Rs. 1 was levied on every man and woman, earning a wage, and other devices were resorted to. In all 1,100 rupees were collected and spent, even Gurmukh Sikhs being treated to sumo. Only the teachers of the school and the workers interested in the school refused to have anything to do with it. The Guru's son is still there and paying a tax of two annas and a anna of four from every house!

All this reveals the state we are in, and what a tremendous effort we have to make before we can cleanse and purify ourselves. Those who are working on the school are doing God's good work. The children and the Municipality of Khosrow may not give any active help in the work, but are they too poor to maintain a little hostel and a little school, and the teacher of the children whose parents' labour helps to keep their city clean and promote the citizens' health?

H. D.

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HINDUSTANI IN MADRAS SCHOOLS

The following press communication has been issued by the Ministry of Public Instruction, Madras, on the 9th Inst.:

There is a great deal of misleading propaganda carried on in connection with the introduction of the study of Hindustani in the schools of this Province. Government desire to make their policy clear in this connection so as to remove possible misconceptions on this subject.

The statement by our Province of its right-ful place in the national life of India requires that our educated youths should possess a working knowledge of the most widely spoken language in India. Government have therefore decided upon the introduction of Hindustani in the secondary school curriculum of our Province. Government desire to make it clear that Hindustani is not to be introduced in any elementary school whatsoever, the mother tongue being the only language taught in such schools. Hindustani is to be introduced only in secondary schools and, there too, only in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd years, that is to say, in the 6th, 7th and 8th years of school life. It will not interfere in any way with the teaching of the mother tongue in the secondary schools. The study of the mother tongue will continue to be enforced as before, and promotions from class to class will not be affected by failure of proficiency in Hindustani, but will depend, as before, on the general proficiency and marks obtained in other subjects including the mother tongue. Hindustani will be compulsory only in the sense that attendance in such classes will be compulsory, and pupils cannot take Hindustani as a substitute for Tamil, Telugu, Marathi or Kannada, but must learn Hindustani only in addition to one of these languages.

Further, the Government have already ordered that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction in the secondary schools commencing with the 1st Year this year,—leading up to the Highest High school class in the course of the next two years,—in cases where the difficulties of bilingualism do not complicate the problem. The importance of the mother tongue will be maintained right through the curriculum. The Government are working the B. S. L. C. regulations so as to make facility of correct expression in the mother tongue compulsory for all students going through the B. S. L. C. Examination. The Government have thus kept in view the importance of the mother tongue in the scheme of education in this Province, and in fact are taking steps to make the mother tongue to a position of greater importance than it has hitherto enjoyed.

The Question of Language. By J. Mohan. Price Rs. 1. Postage 5 Annas extra. Available at the Marjua Office, Ponnai.

HARRIAN

June 18

1938

QUALIFICATIONS OF A PEACE BRIGADE

(By H. K. Goodin)

Some time ago I suggested the formation of a Peace Brigade whose members would risk their lives in dealing with riots, especially communal. The idea was that this Brigade should subordinate the police and even the military. This needs emphasis. The achievement may prove beyond the wit of the Congress. If the Congress is to succeed in the non-violent struggle, it must develop the power to deal peacefully with such situations. Communal riots are engendered by politically minded men. Many of these who take part in them are under the influence of the latter. Surely it should not be beyond the wit of Congressmen to devise a method or methods of averting ugly communal situations by peaceful means. I say this irrespective of whether there is or there is not a communal part. It cannot be that any party seeks to force a part by violent means. Even if such a part were a possibility, it would not be worth the paper on which it might be written. For behind such a part there will be no genuine understanding. What is more, even after a part is arrived at, it would be too much to expect that there would never be any communal riots.

Let us therefore see what qualifications a member of the contemplated Peace Brigade should possess.

(1) He or she must have a living faith in non-violence. This is impossible without a living faith in God. A non-violent man can do nothing save by the power and grace of God. Without it he won't have the courage to do without arms, without fear and without retaliation. Such courage comes from the belief that God side to the heart of all and that there should be no fear in the presence of God. The knowledge of the omnipotence of God also means respect for the lives of even those who may be called opponents or enemies. The contemplated intervention is a process of stilling the fury of men when the brain is hot, and the mastery over him.

(2) This messenger of peace must have equal regard for all the grouped religions of the earth. Thus, if he is a Hindu, he will respect the other faiths current in India. He must therefore possess a knowledge of the general principles of the different faiths professed in the country.

(3) Generally speaking this work of peace can only be done by local men in their own localities.

(4) The work can be done singly or in groups. Therefore no one need wait for companions. Nevertheless one would naturally seek companions in one's own locality and form a local brigade.

(5) This messenger of peace will cultivate through personal service contacts with the people in his locality or chosen district, so that when he appears to deal with ugly situations, he does not depend upon the members of a distant assembly or on other strangers. He is to be looked upon as a suspect or an unwelcome visitor.

(6) Heedless to say, a peace brigadier must have a character beyond reproach and must be known for his strict impartiality.

(7) Generally there are previous warnings of coming storms. If these are known, the peace brigade will not wait till the conflagration breaks out but will try to handle the situation in anticipation.

(8) Whilst, if the movement spreads, it might be well if there are some wide-area workers, it is not absolutely necessary that there should be. The idea is to have as many good and true men and women as possible. There can be but only if relations are drawn from those who are engaged in various walks of life but have leisure enough to cultivate friendly relations with the people living in their area and otherwise possess the qualifications required of a member of the Peace Brigade.

(9) There should be a distinctive dress worn by the members of the contemplated brigade so that in course of time they will be recognized without the slightest difficulty.

There are but general suggestions. Each centre can work out its own constitution on the basis here suggested.

Last time hopes may be raised, I must warn workers against undertaking the hope that I can play any active part in the formation of Peace Brigades. I have lost the health, energy or time for it. I find it hard enough to cope with the tasks I do not shrink. I can only guide and make suggestions through correspondence or from a distance. Therefore let those who appreciate the idea and feel they have the ability, take the initiative themselves. I know that the proposed brigade has great possibilities and that the idea behind it is quite capable of being worked out in practice.

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WEEKLY LETTER

The Question of Questions

Dr. Kailash Neg, who is often invited abroad on cultural missions and who is about to sail shortly for Australia, looks pensive here on his way to Calcutta. "Whoever I have been," he said, "even in that wrongly called 'Pacific' region, non-violence is the question of questions. But is it just a question or a matter of doubt,—though even that should be enough—about that the weapon of violence by which they had set so much store up to now may not be their solution. But, on the other hand, they also ask, has not Buddhism been responsible for widespread non-violence? And whatever may be the gateway of non-violence, is it not impossible as a weapon of defense?"

"Do you want me to answer these questions?" asked Gandhiji, "or did you reply to them?"

"I have been replying to them, after my own materialistic fashion, but I want you to answer them, for your will be millionfold answer. I have been trying to show them that even though there have been wars and crusades and so on, on the surface, there has been throughout history a considerable under-current of non-violence. But when I go again I can give them your answer."

"Well," said Gandhiji, after a slight pause, "the answer is being given in India in actual practice. It is in no other. Be example of China and Japan. India is the only place where it is an answer most men can accept. Experience here is quite encouraging. Intellectually of course even many people in the West have come to recognize the futility of violence and begun to ask if non-violence may not after all be worth a trial. Dr. Stanley Jones has sent me a copy of his recent article—*Christian Solution of the Chinese Problem*—and he has soundly demanded radical forms of non-cooperation that may be successfully adopted. There was a time when Dr. Jones had but much belief in non-cooperation, but he now seriously suggests it as a non-violent solution, and has pressed me to go to Europe to preach peace. But so long as my mission in India remains undisturbed, my visit to the West on a peace mission must be a vain effort. While it is true that non-violence has made much headway in India, it is not of much value to us unless and a while at that."

"What you say, Mahatmaji, is quite correct, viz. that the answer is being given, and it is really given on such a scale as the idea of our country it will be most effective. For their acceptance—even intellectual—of non-violence and non-resistance is in a spirit of indifference."

"It is impossible," said Gandhiji, "that a thing essentially of the soul can ever be imparted through the intellect. It is just like

trying to impart faith in God through the intellect. It cannot be so as it is essentially a matter of the heart. Faith can be turned into knowledge by experience, and it can come only through the heart and not the intellect. The intellect, if anything, acts as a barrier in matters of faith."

Wanted a Supreme Act of Non-violence

Dr. Neg, who is a man of faith, appreciated the reply. He wished some day Gandhiji could work out the formula of non-violence as a defense. "What, for instance, can China do?" he asked. I ventured to reply that the answer had already been given. I said he would offer the same advice as he had offered to Abyssinia and that whereas it seemed impossible for Abyssinia to accept the advice, it should not seem impossible in case of China. For China could afford to sacrifice a few million people on the altar of non-violence. Food and finance periodically decimated vast tracts of China. Why not offer a voluntary sacrifice of millions? That would stagger even the most insouciant humanity.

But I was fairly comprehending what Gandhiji had said so wonderfully some time ago. I came home and looked up my old *Ham* and found Gandhiji's answer given three years ago to *The Constitution of New York*. It is fresh enough to be repeated today.

"Not to believe in the possibility of permanent peace is to debilitate the pulsations of human nature. Mahatma Mohandas adopted here laid down non-violence merely as the part of those who have slaves but have nothing, but that they have nothing else but. Peace is undoubtedly by past performance of violence, even as a chemical substance is impossible without complete fulfillment of the conditions of chemical fusion. If the strongest leaders of mankind who have carried over regions of darkness were really to improve their own, with full knowledge of its implications, permanent peace can be obtained. This is clearly synthetic without the great power of the earth transcending their separation. Thus again must impossible without great efforts among to believe in non-violence, permanent and to desire to achieve peace and therefore progress their material possessions. It is my conviction that the rest of the world is now at a strong point in a living God. It is a Christian nation, deeply that people of the world who claim to believe in the message of Jesus whom they denounce as the Prince of Peace show little of that belief in actual practice. It is painful to see sincere Christian leaders looking the steps of Jesus message to other individuals I have been taught from my childhood and tested the truth by experience that the primary virtue of mankind are possible of cultivation by the means of the human spirit. It is the undoubted material possibility that this generation the human from the past of this generation. From our past values are unconsciously to perform the supreme act of

circulation, many of us would see in our life one single page circulated in such."

I have deliberately underlined the last sentence. Therein lies the answer for China.

N. D.

Notes

A Typical Case

On reading my recent article *The Story of a Congressman* a friend copying a high government office gives a vivid account of his own dealings with the forces of darkness. I think it is a case typical of most of us.

"I used to be a smoker of cigarettes and also what is called a 'moderate drinker.' In 1918, on the eve of the Dutch week, I read the stirring appeal of Melaine Quirin exhorting her countrymen to give up the vice of smoking and drinking. I took a solemn vow to give up those vices. Being taller an average smoker was a confirmed drinker, I found it easy to fulfill the vow. But after some time the work seemed rather too heavy to play that part.

For three years I did not smoke a cigarette, but persisted smoking after that period. I don't remember exactly how I took to smoking again, but I feel that I took the vow in 1920 under the impulse of a temporary patriotic enthusiasm, and as the political horizon got dark I found myself free to resume cigarettes. How shameful! There was, however, within me a consciousness of guilt at my lapse, which showed itself soon after. My wife got severely ill and her life appeared to be in danger. In that moment of suspense I took a vow again that should my wife be spared to me I would not smoke a cigarette in my life. My wife was cured, and I am glad to say that since then I have not touched a cigarette. But my impression still upon found a cigarette I started smoking again and thus a pipe on the ground that my vow extended to cigarettes only. I found in fact a rapid justification in smoking a pipe, for did it not enhance the status of the person smoking it? I have heard how to object the angle of the pipe in the mouth is inconsistent with the quality of the person you are talking to. And yet all these days I have been feeling that smoking of any sort is against the spirit of the vow I have taken. For the last few months I have given up smoking altogether, and as I write I feel strong enough to resist all temptations in future. But I am probably overestimating myself.

While engaged in smoking I have no doubt indulged wholly since the linked vow of 1920. But here again I have allowed cigarettes, sturdy beer and champagne. Beer I thought to be necessary for society purposes, and champagne existed in Ireland when it is so heartily offered at the dinner arranged by big people for big people when I am frequently invited. And here too I

feel how completely wrong I am. Of late I have been doing a lot of housecleaning and find these practices most embarrassing. I do feel light after having recorded these few lines on paper."

I was not prepared for such an apologetic ending of this story. But there is nothing surprising, for the businessman whose conversion I described had the advantage of not being an 'intellectual', whereas with "intellectuals" the intellect always comes in handy to make things over without remorse! There is a passage in Baxter's sermons which the 'intellectuals' might do well to hang up in their inner sanctums to turn to whenever an conscience is needed to wake them up or perhaps at the time of retiring every day:

"When he hath once turned, against knowledge, he is troubled with it, and thus he thinketh for ever repentance, and when he is given into some hope that the first sin is forgiven him, he is in the toils to venture on the like again, and thinketh that the second way as well he expects as the first.

In the same order he falleth into it again and again, till it come to a nation.

And by this time he loveth it more, and maketh it more lawful, and there were no danger by it.

And thus he thinketh himself converted to good at length, so as to quit attention, that it may no longer sin, and therefore he gladly heareth what the pastors of his sin say for it, and he maketh himself believe that the reasons are of weight.

And thus he marcheth without remorse."

Search of Facts

A responsible Congressman made this fairly intelligent note:

"It is with deep regret that I have to trouble you with a public grievance. The Harpans are given reserved seats in front of the United States House chamber on the Sunday Forenoon are now to come off, and candidates are in the van. The Congress is conducting for the vote and candidates are put up. As the elections are on the same day and during the same polling the vote has so many votes as there are points. Therefore the number of votes includes the vote for the reserved seat. The candidates for the general vote put up by the Congress have started propaganda to show even the vote for the reserved seat for themselves. I am enclosing herewith a pamphlet by one of the candidates. And all candidates have followed the same method.

Now, sir, the Harpan candidates put up by the Congress are without any support! Most of the Congress candidates for the reserved seats are of the smaller communities among the Harpans. For instance the pamphlet for the reserved seat in the constituency sheet which I have enclosed a leaflet, is a Chamberlain (Cham-

maker) Opposed to him is a Mohar in the Antislavery party called The Mohar from 87% of the Harjians votes. Now, if the upper class candidates of the present vote begin to claim all votes including the vote for the reserved vote what chance is there for the Harjian candidate to secure votes to save his deposit?

The right to vote for a Harjian candidate is a privilege secured to the Outer Harjians by law under the Poona Pact. If they start usurping that vote to themselves, the Poona Pact would be lost a mockery. To my mind that admission of vote for the reserved vote as a sacred trust, such as for the Harjians, and we must give it to the Harjian candidate. To remove it for the candidate for the present vote would be nothing short of treachery.

There is no doubt that to cast lawful eyes on the reserved vote vote is betrayal of a sacred trust. But obviously, no matter for what humble phony, somehow have blasted our sense of honesty and integrity and sacredness of a trust, and we forget that without these cardinal virtues those positions on the district boards and other bodies are not worth a moment's purchase. I have a most painful letter to show how in some parts the conscience of the Government has not been aroused at all, and may perhaps take a series of steps to be accused. I am holding it over for the next issue. In the meanwhile the letter I have reproduced here reveals a species of prodding which the top dog has always stretched against the underdog and not submitted to. To remove the letter, however fair we may try to be to him in other ways. I hope that Congress Committees will take steps to prevent this frequent violation of a sacred post. It may be necessary for the Working Committees to have authoritative instructions.

The Anti-Hindustani Agitation

The Madras Government's Press Communique on the introduction of Hindi-Hindustani in the secondary schools in the province ought to remove all cause for grievance and allay agitation that seems to have been based on ignorance, if not indeed on unexamined prejudice. For the burden of a number of letters we have received seems to be this: "Introducing Hindi is simply a device to employ many unemployed Brahman youths as teachers and to create a Brahman monopoly in service." Now this is patently absurd. Before the Congress Ministry came into power there was no question of finding employment for Hindi-knowing Brahmans. The Hindi Proctor organisation in Madras had no eye to this aspect of the case, and the study of Hindi was open to Brahmans and Non-Brahmans alike. If the latter refused from learning Hindi they have lost to themselves — though we do not think that as a matter of fact even this is correct. The Madras Government, let us hope, will be able to prove by facts and figures the falsity of this criticism. And when leaders of

protestancy in Hindi will not affect provocations, why should there be any agitation for exemption at all? There cannot be any conscientious objection to sending children to the Hindi classes, as there can be none, for instance, to wearing Hindi or to prohibition.

The whole agitation seems to have been altogether overdone. Healthy agitation is the condition of the growth of public life. But agitation by way of hunger strikes and bomb-garlands is hardly the way to secure reform. There will be no need to interfere government if it was sought to be deterred from legitimate action by utterly indefensible hunger strikes and the like.

For National Consumption

The following delightful stuff is from the National Review for May

"On April 18 newspapers informed us that Lord Lindsay, the Indian Viceroy, had indicated upon a Gandhi resignation in spite of the fact his predecessor got into a somewhat of a situation the leader of anti-British India, to his presence that of the way in which Gandhi advocates his contempt for King George's representatives in India in the manner in which he says his state in Viceroy represented enough to see him. The role of the Viceroy's Guest — which has only been visited for Gandhi — is that those awarded an admission are expected to wear their own Indian Gandhi enthusiastically give to Government House dressed only in a handkerchief and shirt, and all revolutionary India expects when it is seen that the students is presented. It should not be forgotten that Gandhi will see any book, he has produced admission and approval of the success of terrorism, one of the worst being the members: Bhagat Singh whom he publicly called as a 'wise and martyr' and urged his leaders to follow as good as example. Lord Lindsay may not know the past history of Indian agitation, but India knows it and makes such move as the part of the revolutionary leader. So one in India was inclined to give weight to the message from Delhi on April 18 to the effect that the Viceroy had 'an special business to discuss with Mr. Gandhi.' And this has the case early Lord Lindsay would have recalled being named up with the subjugation, whose character presents at Government House India as good either to the Viceroy or to the British Raj. On April 21 the Times Telegraph published the news that a political prisoner in India have been released. Only one is now in prison, and his release is under consideration.

The men given their freedom were mainly carrying long weapons for robbery with violence, land throwing, demanding of tribute and robbery complicity.

"The terrorist game will now start once again."

Thank God neither the Viceroy nor the Government, nor those in Britain who have got

to do something with affairs in India, are fed on stuff of this kind, and they know better at any rate than the NATIONAL REVIEW.

An Answer

Thank God again that there is better and better knowledge of India being imparted now by various agencies, including the Friends of India League and impartial students like Professor Horne Alexander. The new Fabian Research Bureau has issued during the week a reasonable booklet on Congress Rule in India by the professor. It is packed with accurate information from cover to cover, and deserves to be in the hands of every one abroad who cares to know the truth about India. It is a review of the work of the Congress Ministries in India and is the result of careful and sympathetic study, and divided under several heads, e.g. Law and Order, Civil Liberties, Social Reforms and so on. In the introductory portion, explaining the circumstances under which the Congress took office, he concludes by saying how Gandhi's direction and guidance help to shape the policy of the Congress, and how he has always kept the principle of non-violence in the forefront.

"He believed the Congress would become the vehicle of the Ministers through 'the willing sacrifice of non-violence by the whole mass of people who were able to achieve perfect national co-operation and friendship, the eradication of untouchability, willing sacrifice of the interests to the weak and open habits, the social emancipation of women, the progressive emancipation of the untouchable masses in the villages, free and compulsory primary education (and other educational reforms), a radical change in the legal machinery so as to make justice pure and inexpensive, introduction of public enterprise in which dominion would act as a source of government but a complete emancipation of the situation of these miserable creatures, but who are in that completely damaged.' "

Professor Horne Alexander concludes with four paragraphs on Federalism. He wonders how the Indian objections to the present Federal scheme can at all be met, but suggests a way out of a situation which is seemingly impossible, and also says in the plainest possible words the alternative if some such way is not adopted.

"Nevertheless, it is the duty of statesmen, ship to try to conquer the seemingly impossible. The Government has been prepared to negotiate cordially with the Indian Federal, to induce them to adhere to the Federalism. Without them the Federalism cannot be born. Is there any reason why the Government should not also invite the Provincial Ministers and Congress leaders to confer with itself and with the Federal, in the hope of arriving at an understanding. In such a conference, no doubt some of the

French and their Ministers, would in fact be forced standing shoulder to shoulder with the Congress Ministers. The result of such a Conference might be the discovery that even a rigid conference can become pliable, or it might lead to a short running Act, which Parliament could quickly accept as the speediest way of all the parties most concerned. The alternative would seem to be almost inevitably a brief struggle in India, comparable to the struggles of 1920 and 1931.

If such a struggle came, the parties would be very different from what it was then. Many people in England would realize that we were sincerely thinking the path of people who had demonstrated their capacity to guide India along the ways of political democracy and economic justice. If they can govern with precision, even with a larger area than Great Britain and almost as high a population, as successfully, what justification is there for denying them the right to govern the whole of their great land? If such a trial were to lead to a conflict, it would appear as a purely justifiable addition by Britain of an more struggle for power in a world torn already by far too many bitter conflicts. If, on the other hand, the two countries can achieve a harmonious relationship, it will be signal evidence that peace and goodwill are possible between different continents and races."

I do not know that a shorter long running Act can achieve the same. The Congress does not want amendments. It wants the substitution of the present Act by an Act of the People of India. Therefore there can be only traces, no permanent solution.

M. D.

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CONTENTS	Page
A GLOSSARY	M. D. See 141
FOOTNOTES AS A GLOSSARY INDEX	T. S. See 141
GOVT. OF INDIA	M. D. See 141
INTERVIEW TO MANUSCRIPTS	141
QUESTIONS OF A PAPER REVIEW	M. D. See 141
WINTER LETTERS	M. D. See 141
Notes	
A PAPER OF	M. D. See 141
REMARKS OF	M. D. See 141
THE LITERATURE OF	M. D. See 141
THE NATIONAL CONGRESS	M. D. See 141
AN ADDRESS	M. D. See 141



HARIJAN

Editor: BHARADWAJ BHARADWAJ

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

Vol. VI No. 18]

POONA - SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1939

[Price 4 Annas]

THE BARBARISM AND BRUTALITY OF IT

[Miss World Leader, who is now in China, gives blood-curdling accounts of the atrocities there. We take a few extracts from her long letter H II]

I am sorry to have such bad reports to make, but there are good moments also to be recorded as you will see. At a railway club lunch a few weeks ago, a Japanese visitor proposed to entertain the company, and for a bundle of straw and displayed his overabundance upon it, showing various modes of skinning one's enemy. The foreign and Chinese members, not wishing to during to offend, had to watch his skill. Afterwards he laughingly remarked that a fish and blood man was much easier to handle than one of straw.

It is not a good sight, as one comes through the city gates, to see Japanese men running their hands up and down Chinese girls. But the right to search and this method of doing so were not invented in the East. I noted even worse the row of Chinese men lined up on a railway platform we passed, each holding a stiff little flag. That is how they arrange them to be photographed, waving the emperor's flag. But the actual dignity of the Chinese, their tolerance, and their intended position never to make a loss, save them. It is the military who order them to show and pass round with cameras - those look pitiful as one "military parade", a journalist friend was lucky enough to get his camera behind the Japanese photographer who was posing the students with the aid of a machine gun. Inexplicable power soon goes to the head. Most of us have some experience of that, nationally or personally. The Japanese civilians, who are working late Peking at the rate of 100 a day, even at a distance from those who have to Japan. Even to the women shopping with their children eye looks to vain for signs of gentleness and consideration. Their hardness of mouth cannot be put down to their particular job. The civilians have to cultivate hardness. They go about with grim mouths and washed faces. Torture is vile.

Hearing a woman shrieked listing an indefensible action of business, a new one with

work, which a group of educated Chinese had to undergo for a month. I waited for a sign from our foreign host, the last informed and most trusted man in this district. I felt sure he would change the appalling story. But he gravely nodded his head and said, "I'm afraid that's all too serious." If one is taken away by victorious soldiers, not to do their laundry by day, raped by a number of them each night, it might be a boon to be let away after a week to be tortured. (But after six or seven blows of the cane, one Chinese woman was still alive and so abandoned. A medical hospital cared for her.)

When civilians by the hundred thousand have been slaughtered to red blood, is it worth while to think about a single individual? But that is the fate of the camp fellows, and such actually are I; just going on from place to place after the Japanese army has conquered it.

A man was tied up with eleven others. A machine gun was played on them. Then they were sprayed with petrol and set alight. But this man escaped away, was picked up by a missionary. Before he reached the hospital, death had successfully intervened.

The Japanese are not accustomed to real. They must have wood for fuel. There are acres in North China. The soldiers are quartered in somebody's house. All right they break up the furniture, beautiful old stuff sometimes, for fuel. They tear out the window frames and bedding and burn them. It sounds a bit odd but it keeps happening. They take the old beams out of cottages where for centuries whole families have produced their silk, handwoven pants and clothes that delight the world. They break them up for a bonfire. They stand around it and warm themselves. Fuel even at such a cost is not used conservatively.

Petties have been going from door to door in Peking, hawking "cheap" medicines. They refused to leave the house of one of the leading families, even when the servants told them that no one was in. "You must buy them," said the pettier. But of course they didn't have the money, the price demanded. "That doesn't matter," replied the pettier. "You can borrow the money and your relatives can pay back your

delat." They had to do so. The staff is now being analyzed, but apparently it is a harmless, harmless connection of officialized medicine. The authorities are trying to stop this practice.

Perhaps the children suffer most. Plunketed with beating swords, their rifles and helmets were stuck in evidence, oppress them. Trains are crowded with soldiers. A foreign child was sent all white as he returned south. It was merely the ubiquitous manifestations of death that got on his nerves. A six year old Chinese girl was terrified in her own home when her mother called her to the table to hear the national song broadcast from Hankow "No, no! The Japanese will arrest us!" she cried.

In the schools the children were told to buy a flag, illustrate billings of Japanese victory upon it and sign their names to an exclamation of joy thereof. The schools have no text books at present. Their own have been confiscated. The new ones have not yet arrived from Tokyo where they are being compiled and printed. At the city education committee, a Chinese teacher stood up and put in a plea for those text books which do not refer to history, geography or literature, on the ground that many parents were poor and would ill afford to buy a whole set of new ones, the old custom being to hand down the books from the eldest to the youngest in the family. The Japanese representative upbraided the speaker for his "backward and ingrateful." When the Emperor of Japan was doing as much for the peace of China, how could anyone grumble at the cost of a new text book? he asked.

The Japanese have gone out of their way (literally and geographically speaking) to destroy villages, libraries, etc. I went to see the famous Nanking University. It stood several miles out of Nanking, separate from city life, on other buildings within its vicinity. It lies in ruins now. But the president, one of China's leading intellectuals and a Christian, has not accepted defeat. He says nothing can destroy such a life as they enjoyed at Nanking. It will emerge in a new form elsewhere. We hear that at Nanchuan all normal schools for girls are closed. A woman's place is her home. They say that Nanking is being recommended to North China by the communists.

But there are subsiding features.

The father of a Peking student had to watch his home being looted several times. Eventually a couple of soldiers were killed on his. One was a college president, the other a professor, both army code law. They became a united household.

A soldier strolled into a little shop in Peking. The shopkeeper's children cowered away behind their father. The soldier would scarcely make his purchase. His eyes glanced over to his good wife; how beautiful he was, and these two had cost him of his own children.

A Japanese officer killed himself at the taking of Peking. While in Peking, I got lost heard news from a missionary of what happened at the taking of Peking. (In 1908 I explored that fascinating city, and walked for miles round, as well as on, its grand old walls.) A month or so ago, the scenes along the highway at Peking were terrible. The populace was in flight. Families got separated. Women who could no longer carry their children could be heard crying in anguish "Who'll take my child?" The road was jammed with people. They had to wait for days, some of them, on the river banks, sitting and waiting the ferry. Fear of what was behind them led many to their death in an attempt to find the river.

* * *

The Japanese are quoting from our military text books to show how well they learned from us. The legal use of a church for military purposes, how to gouge the eyes out of a fallen bayoneted man; it's all written down there. They know about burning of the Blue's farms. It's a bad business.

The other day I heard a Chinese peasant described. The protagonists would care at such other before an interested audience who carefully noted the conversation, confabulations and defenses. This does make us so for a long time. But if out of them that he longer and struck out at the others, he was proven to be in the wrong. His response to violence signified that he had run out of them.

Two reasons for the high death toll in the Peking area are language and women. A soldier shoots at a farmer working in his field. The farmer doesn't understand what the soldier wants and does the wrong thing. So he gets shot. The protection of women is dangerous. A girl was less than a mile from her village when she saw a soldier in the distance looting her. She ran — the soldier after her. She reached home, and her father told the door closed while she ran out the back way and jumped over the wall. When the soldier broke the door down and found the girl was gone, he killed the father. That was natural in war time.

Tanaka Dry Ink

Story of Loyalty and Efforts of Tanaka, 112
Page: Three No. 1-2-3. Page: 1 No. 1-2-3.

Educational Reconstruction

All about the World's Education. Page No. 1-2-3.
Page: 1 Japan only.

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WORKING OF PROHIBITION IN SALEM

The following is taken from a Press Correspondence recently sent by the Ministry of Public Information, Madras:

The Government have received the reports from the District Officers of the working of the Prohibition Act in Salem District during the month of April 1938, and find that the general situation in the District has remained satisfactory during the month.

Sweet Juice Tapping

The palm-juice tapping season is now drawing to a close. There was a fall in April from 40 to 34 in the number of sweet juice tapping offences. Vigilance has been shown by the Police as well as some village officers and non-officials. Any danger of widespread breaches of the Sweet Toddy Rules during the 1937-38 palm-juice tapping season has now passed, 1,51,865 palm-juice trees and 3,781 coconut trees have been licensed for tapping sweet juice. During the month, the Police arrested 24,314 trees. Only six cases of fermented toddy drawing were detected. The public are reported to be exhibiting less interest in drinking toddy, and tappers themselves furnish information when offences come to their notice. There is no difficulty in finding a good sale for toddy which is selling at a higher price than last year.

Smuggling

The Police have showed increased vigilance in preventing illicit translocation of liquor. A railway parcel alleged to contain samples of wine from Madras addressed to an addressable liquor business, Chennai, Erisholm, South, was taken delivery of by his son at Salem. These railway station during the absence of the owner at Madras. The Police on information opened the parcel and found two glass bottles with of whisky. Brandy and gin concealed among cans of wine. The parcel was alleged to have been sent by "The Super Shop Factory" Madras. Investigation discloses that an ex-soldier who was in Madras. The accused, an ex-soldier who was in Madras, has opened an off-licence and he was suspected to be dealing in smuggled foreign liquor and the Police had kept a watch over him for a long time. The case is under investigation.

In regard to the importation of spirits and other liquors, the Collector reports:

" Particularly there is little likelihood that outsiders are taking to spirits as a substitute. Coloured spirits, however, are generally taken to give up their old habits, and it will take time to eradicate spirit drinking from the District. The Police are now generally acquainted with spirit offences, and it is becoming more difficult for them to obtain the drug undisturbed. Magistrates are dealing severely with drug peddlers and young offenders, and searching more frequent

lyment in old coloured spirits, who certainly have great difficulty in procuring their supply for the drug. Fortunately the number of unlicensed spirit shops is limited."

Vehicular Check

170 lorries, 1,525 buses, 347 cars, 4,010 cycles, and 1,788 motorcycles were checked during the month. 297 vehicles were met. As a result only three cases were detected.

Decanted Spirits

The District Officers are devoting much attention to the increase that has been observed in the sale of decanted spirits. It is stated that this may be due to the greater use of petroleum lights and the difficulty now felt in obtaining supplies of methylated spirit from shops outside the district. These reasons are, however, insufficient to account for the large increase, and the Collector fears that some unwholesome dealers are taking to methylated spirits. In no case of treatment of illness resulting from methylated spirit drinking have been reported. It is believed that if drinking of this spirit is going on, it must be in very small quantities or much diluted. The Collector is maintaining measures to regulate and check the sale of methylated spirit.

Firewater Shops

The existence of liquor shops across the frontier of Salem is a standing temptation to re-distillers and the villages on the borders of the district. The question of moving back the liquor shops to the adjoining districts is a greater distance from the border is being considered.

Condition of the Tappers

The position of large scale economic-justice production is under investigation. There has been a further increase in the number of Co-operative Jaggery Societies, which are working in conjunction with Co-operative Sales Societies. Prices obtained have been maintained at a good level. Social arrangements were made with the Malaya Commission for the emigration of a few toddy tappers and their families who volunteered for work on oil palm estates in Malaya. Their departure was held up owing to a sudden fall in wages. Social arrangements, however, have been made and the party has just left the district.

Non-official Help

An increasing number of the members of non-official temperance committees are sending regular reports. Some members are doing really useful work, others take little interest, and a third class, though fairly active, do not appear to have a clear idea of what their duties are. These duties have been explained to them in detail by the District and Divisional Officers, but in some cases it appears that the instructions have not been understood. The Collector intends during June and July to meet as many temperance committee members as possible and discuss their work with them.

(Continued on p. 134)

H A R I J A N

June 25

1938

HINDU MUSLIM UNITY IN ACTION

II

A few weeks ago I wrote in these columns an article with the title given at the top. A letter just received is so important that I feel like writing one more under the same title. It is a long letter and I dare not translate it in extenso, but it is so full of earnestness and justly better feeling that I must condense it rather fully in order to draw the attention of all unity-loving Hindus to the adoption 'unity-loving' for there are now definitely two sections, one that wants unity and the other that feels that all talk of unity is a mirage. The latter section is busy with its propaganda, and everyone has a right to propagate honest belief, but the former hasn't wasting energy and also expecting it to some sunny day will not start hell for it. The first article, on this one, was also addressed to it. But I must proceed to summarize the letter. It is from a Mussalman student, I wish I could obtain all the names he has referred to, but as I am writing to them separately in this connection I do not propose to disclose them to the public. Here is the letter:

"Late Hazrat Basmawar I offer daily prayers for your long life. For I know that it may one day induce Hindu-Muslim unity as it only you did as the Christians regard you as a Christian, and the Jews as a Jew, I have come to regard you as a true Muslim, and in doing so have incurred the wrath of so many of my co-religionists.

When Mr. Mahadev Desai drafted a whole article in what I thought was a laudable incident, I realized also the gall that expected the two communities. For when there was that chosen distinguished gall this heinous incident would not be made much of. Deliberately a Hindu helping a Mussalman in that way might or one more should not be regarded as a thing to attract attention, but as even these measures have become pure Mussalmanism could not, I fancy, help taking notice of it.

I am a youth full of optimism, and a pro-Congress Muslim as that, but I had so many like experiences that they often fill me with sadness and despair.

After vigorous Muslim student in my college, I was sent yet to it in helping Hindu students to accommodate me in their club. With the very greatest diffidence I was elected to a representative club. Later rejection was taken to my being a Muslim, and the Secretary of the club had to pull to prevent trouble to have an idea for driving me out, I requested

the matter to the Principal and the Rector, but they said that they were bound to respect the feelings of Hindu students. Then I thought it was best to go to Mr. the President of the Provincial Congress Committee, and told him that I had felt the insult so keenly that I felt like going on a fast. I explained that even I was accepted as a member of the club, that I was a confirmed vegetarian, and that there was no more on breaking me out simply because I was a Muslim. He dissuaded me from fasting however he said that I might not accept others to accept me on the basis of their honest belief. I explained that there was no honesty about their belief, because outside the club many of them walked non-Muslim restaurants and ate all kinds of forbidden stuff. 'Then may I leave the hotel?' I asked him. But he could give me no advice.

In vain I tried to leave the college, but ultimately had to eat the humble pie and they set to drink the cup of humiliation to the full. I have contacted the Principal and the Rector some various number, but I could not get a word of sympathy from them.

Another instance will show how I am handicapped at the wrong time for sympathy. We went on an excursion one day with Pritam, a Hindu and Secretary of a big educational institution. The professor would not tolerate my carrying him when we set down to sail. The chairman did not object, but the professor had objection. I was really distressed, and I began to quarrel with people there who had treated me out, for they had no such enough here. 'What?' I said to myself, 'would be expected of poor students when the Principal and the Rector were full of the responsibility?'

I must say, sir, that there is the unreliability of intellect also. I am a wearer of khadi, and even khadi-wearing Hindu friends with whom I have gone about have given me the impression of a superior me.

I am low (black India) in my reaction. A brother of mine, who has returned with a foreign medical degree, wrote to me to complete that a kind of respect is being presented against him and Hindu patients are dissuaded from going to him.

A number of my own co-religionists have my to me that all talk of unity is nonsense, and that so long as I am a student I may keep the distance but no longer now to be disillusioned when I had not been difficult it is to live in peace with Hindus.

A distinguished Congressman here, who is known for his Hindu work, and would not be religiously accused of narrowness, and the other day made about Mussalman which do him no credit and which brought a hint of them.

I will not dwell on this any more. I appeal to you, Mahadev, in this more interest in the question that village split and other questions. There are so many angry Muslim questions, e.g. the petrol, on which you have

revealed gradually about Thuring, the Kikaka explains you moved among the Masika too. Why do you move here than remain there in the company of considerable politicians? Commercial peace has come as a result of the clearing of the town for the action of Bening. It is for you to break up the palace, you who started the clearing for the action. It is a compromise of me to ask you to find your dignity and despatchery and those yourself heart and soul in this question. There are many Masikawans who have faith in you than you have, and if you leave the Masika and Masika, leaving with you Masika, Masika Masika only may not come for you and your eyes will be all wasted."

The letter should need no comment at all. Commercial non-violence (shall we call it?) in college is especially to be deplored because as it is these youths who will go out as leaders and workers of the nation. Cannot Masika and Masika students acquire only elude, flee and come together, and go out to work together among Masika and Masika areas? The President of the Portoficial Congress Committee in question, as my humble opinion, ought to have taken a greater interest in the student and ought not to have acted without affecting his satisfaction. Our student friend may have no reason to resent to Sapeyaka, but the President might have had good reason to offer Sapeyaka against his Masika brethren in the college.

The instance I cited in my first article was not a lone instance, there were others too of interfering in village task I have mentioned. But the danger is when and likely not yet read. The instance I cited indicated, however fully, the direction in which to work. The friend who helped the Masikawans passenger on the train is a student himself and, let me assure our correspondent, his position for Masika Masika only is no less than the correspondent's. I am quite sure that if he had been at the same college as our friend he would have started himself rather than see his fellow-student banded out of a club.

Our professors and principals are a duty to the nation. They were well equipped in their interest as commercial unity and studies began, but they must come out of their class rooms and actively help in the solution of the burning problem of the day.

As for Gaudin, I wish our correspondent knew the mental struggles through which Gaudin has had to pass, how he was actively worked for his name, and how he had to decide afterwards that prayer was the only remedy and devotion was the best action. But he must also know that Gaudin has recently been in an extremely Masika position, and that willing began to go there in October and, not for a troubled time or for marriage and possessions, but for actual work among them.

Notes

Non-violence the Only Instance

A group of students, holding University degrees, who have decided to devote themselves to the cause of labor, were on a brief visit here on their way back from Amsterdam where they had been to receive practical training in the organization of labor. Gaudin gladly gave them time and talked to them on the various questions they raised. He explained to them how almost alone the beginning of his public life in South Africa he had been closely associated with labor. When he settled down to practice at the bar in South Africa he decided to give the whole of his spare time to work for the laborer within them, and the first man who came to him for assistance was an uneducated laborer. This man at once put him to work with labor. The laborer brought to him their troubles with their employers and also their personal and domestic worries, and that gave him a glimpse into their lives as nothing else could have done. Non-violence was the first thing he placed before them, and non-violence was the only thing that they had been pledged to observe when, at a critical stage in the Sapeyaka campaign, nearly 80,000 laborers showed their tools and food implements. They went through untold hardship, suffering, starvation, and even death, but they adhered to non-violence until the end. Their condition was particularly difficult and it is a more worse than the workers here. They were not free, but uneducated, and they had to fight not only for justice from their employers but for the abolition of the oppressive 13 tax which threatened them with extinction. But non-violence helped them to pull through. His work in Champagne and elsewhere had one great history. Regarding Champagne he said that the condition of the peasants there was almost the same as the uneducated laborer, and that they had held in their agitation for nearly half a century for there was no coherent power of non-violence to hold them together. There had been several times and their condition had grown worse every year. But the first taste of non-violence brought new life into them, and at the end of a remarkably brief struggle they were emancipated.

"Without that necessary discipline in non-violence," said Gaudin, "they would have been made slaves, and would never be ready to develop the strength that is needed to enable them to realize the power that they possess. Organization, technical skill, and everything else would follow the acceptance of the fundamental principle of non-violence. Class collaboration would also follow as a matter of course. They are strong in numbers and yet they feel as dependent as very much at the mercy of their employers. That is because they do not know their own inherent strength. Otherwise

what is there to prevent them from putting their own resources and skills to work as employers do now. The thing that they have to realize is that labour is as much capital as mind. That realization can come only through acceptance of non-violence.

"But after that realization has come, and they have come to their own, non-violence does not become superfluous. If they were to bid good bye to it, they would be as bad as capitalists—and turn exploiters themselves. The realization of their strength combined with acceptance of non-violence would enable them to co-operate with capital and turn it to proper use. Then they will not regard it as a conflicting interest, they will not regard the will and the machinery as belonging to the exploiting agents and grinding them down, but as their own instruments of production, and will therefore protect them as well as they would their own property. They will not steal land and turn out low work, but will get in the most they can. In fact, capital and labour will be united business, and both will be trustees of consumers. The trusteeship theory is not unilateral, and does not in the least imply superiority of the trustee. It is, as I have shown, a perfectly mutual affair, and much believes that its own interest is best safeguarded by safeguarding the interest of the other. 'May you propitiate the gods and may the gods propitiate you, and may you reach the highest good by this mutual propitiation,' says the Bhagavadgita. There is no separate species called gods in the universe, but all who have the power of procreation and will work for the community using that power are gods—known or less than the capitalists."

"They Have As Much Brains"

It is because this fundamental principle is not realized that conflict is assumed or arises. The following letter from Dhanu Debabhar Satishdas betrays a failure to grasp this fundamental principle:

"In the course of your reply to questions of Mr. Debabhar Datta which appeared in the 'Graphic' of April 22nd and were reproduced in the 'Madras Mail' of April 24, you are reported to have said: 'The man (worker) who supplies brains and mind is as much a laborer as the man who labours with his hands.' 'They (the laborers) know neither their rights nor how to exercise them.' Such an opinion from you is disappointing, say to the laborer and their sympathizers who are endeavoring to overthrow the economic domination of the British. Tyranny and oppression of the landowners and Great British officials along with them, keep the mind out of the work of the laborer, their brains are as good as handicapped or maimed. I shall continue myself to the Province of Madras and the Depressed Classes (untouchables) who form the bulk of the laborer. They had been recognized by the British Government as a separate community from the poorest 50% of any caste of

the Hindus, and besides they had the Government to place them under a Department to take care of them, as a result of which that Department does an injustice to the end of 1934-35 assigned four lacs and thirty thousand acres of land, concentrated about four thousand wells, granted over thirty-six thousand loans also, have under its management one thousand schools and trained teachers with an attendance of forty thousand boys and girls, have thousand free kindergartens annually, and several hospitals. Now they are beginning to enter into the higher ranks of public service. They represent their community in Local Bodies, Panchayats and Central Legislatures. With a little monetary help on certain conditions to be recovered from them by small installments, the laborer will prove to be as good a brain or machine with plenty of mind as their hands. I have submitted a scheme for settlement of the laborer, which has been approved and recommended by the Madras Industries Council and its Committee. I believe the Commissioner of Labour has forwarded the required details for its adoption. I hope the Congress Government will give effect to it without any delay, if they really wish to uplift the laborer. All these long years they as a class were forwarding, paupered, and worked their way gradually up in spite of want of opportunity, and never at any time showed signs of revolt or defiance. All these facts go to show that the laborer are not waiting to be tried and that they know their rights and how to exercise them. Elsewhere they were denied opportunities and organized as unions etc., and here in all in all these hospitals is any that they were working in houses, is very degrading.

Your reply on the question of Kisan Sabhas applies equally to the laborer. For his prosperity when the Congressmen favor those laborers who embrace their creed, their upliftment will be a failure."

The remarks quoted by the Dhanu Debabhar were not in disparagement of the laborer or the value of the will, but represented the actual condition of things. It is an unfortunate fact that the worker as a class, whether he is a factory worker or a peasant, feels today helpless, feels that he is the hired labourer of his employer who is his master. The spirit, of course, is that the man who uses the brains and exploits the other man's labour has deliberately kept him impoverished, has deliberately denied him all opportunities for using or developing his brains, which happen to be atrophied today. It is for those who are working for their welfare to make them realize that they have brains, that they have got to use them, that they are in no way inferior to those who pay them the wage today but their words "What we also sit, or should," said Gandhi, in the course of that interview about the Kisans and Hindians, "is to remove the present terrible inequality between them. The land is today in their hands. But they

know neither their rights nor how to exercise them. Supposing they were told neither to move out of the land nor to pay the dues to the landowners, do you think their misery would be over? Hardly much will still remain to be done. I suggest that that should be undertaken now, and the rest will follow as the day follows the night."

The Rediscovery of God

Reviewers of Gooding's article on the qualifications of a Peace Brigade in the last issue of HARRIAN will remember that the very first qualification mentioned therein is that the Peace Volunteers should have a living faith in non-violence which is impossible without a living faith in God. It is a remarkable coincidence that Mr. Max Flewman, writing a series of articles on the nature of the Peace Pledge Union, lays emphasis on this very point and to a certain extent uses even identical language. "I believe," he says, "the great and ultimate purpose of the Peace Pledge Union is nothing less than the rediscovery of God."

The question then arises, are national pacifism in general not alike from what Gooding calls the Peace Brigade as from the Peace Pledge Union?

Mr. Max Flewman gives, I think, a satisfactory answer.

"Belated pacifism will say that their pacifism has nothing whatever to do with any sort of belief in God. Religious people will say that they already believe in God, and that their pacifism is consequent upon that belief. They did not become pacifists in order to rediscover God, but order to implement already a religious belief they already held. And these opinions would continue, until you reflect that some people's worship — even their unconscious worship — of an unknown God is more real than other people's belief in the teachings of theology. 'To know Thee, the only true God' is their work and meaning for Europe, as a whole, what would happen? If instead of the unknown God of theology, the far-reaching God of help, the very shared universal French God, the Russian proletarian God, and the Jewish, cradle of civilization and wisdom, perhaps, there were in the minds of our one symbol of supreme value to which all other values were subordinated, should we not have that supreme work of appeal in the resurrection of all men?"

Do we not still say 'God save the King'? And is not our hymn suited to the universal duty of the British Empire in sharp distinction from the total duties of these other parts of the world which involve these same gods for their own well-possessed?

The only God I think I have anything about is the God who is concerned in every individual. So I will say how down and worship the universal image of peace and glory which is the image of Father's, Mother's, Father's, Neville Chamberlain's, and my own personal gods. My God has hidden in the heart of each one of us, and is only revealed in mutual

recognition. What is less evident and what we, as pacifists, are called upon to believe is that God is the light and the life of every man — the best and the worst, that God truly and really exists in every man, and the worship of God is the recognition of Him as He manifests Himself to man. You see I do not believe in God who dwells in the void, not in the eternal and abstract God of moral values. The only God I believe in is the God that grows in your own heart and reaches himself as love in the experience of that heart. And because I know that that God is within you — the very spring and origin of your moral and emotional life, so that some explain you with the intent to kill just as not possible. The source of pacifism is not humanism, but the recognition of God in man."

"Pacifism Must Be Revolutionary"

There is a pregnant article with this title in the current issue of the CURRENT SOCIALIST from the pen of Mr. J. Middleton Murry, the pacifist communist. "There is some substance," he says, "in the assertion that pacifism is primarily a middle class movement. It is a voluntary evilism. And no pacifist will be the worse for taking it to heart. He will at least see how much of unconscious complacency and unimaginative ignorance there is behind the demand which is sometimes making that the worker should refuse to make armaments. He will see that before he can walk a clear conscience demand that the worker shall cease to make armaments, he must have refused to drive dividends, to resolve his crime, to accept his salary. And presently he must have cut himself off from the whole economic system of modern society, of which armaments-production is an integral part. The pacifist who does not realize that modern society is today being kept in motion by armaments-production has a good deal to learn. In other words you cannot sell your soul and your own while you live (as we all do) by your dependence upon the economic whole of modern society. You would have to 'come out' from it, and that you cannot do. Nevertheless you can sell your soul and your own in a limited, but terribly important, sense by publicly declaring your intention to leave no part in war but that means that at the moment when the interneciny of this internecine society is hottest, you WILL 'come out' from it."

But to declare to be implicated directly and reality is war is not enough. "The license to condemn that the totalitarian State of today will give while making war," says Mr. Murry, "is only a license to resist in the 'peaceful' departments of war-making. The pacifist who is content with that is surely like the legislator of old who, having condemned a heathen to death refused to shed his blood, but handed him over to the same executioner to do the killing. The legislator added his soul his own, he 'kept it clean.' Nothing less than absolute honesty

spectation with the modern State is, the time of war is required of the people! That is the only way he can really call his soul his own, and I have not much doubt that he doing so he will find it belongs to something or somebody else after all. ... Therefore cannot believe that a revolutionary faith involves a revolution in the inward man and compels a revolution in the society in which he belongs."

Thirty years ago when Gandhi drew the vital distinction between Satyagraha and Passive Resistance he meant all this and more. For Satyagraha is dynamic, passive resistance is static. Passive resistance acts negatively and suffers violently and intermittently, Satyagraha acts positively and suffers with cheerfulness because from love, and makes the suffering fruitful. The same is the distinction between the non-violence of the brave and the non-violence of the weak. Satyagraha or non-violence of the brave cannot accept the status quo, and must ever be active, and since non-violence is a live force, a victory of non-violence demands every day more and more application of non-violence, and strives to adjust himself and his surroundings accordingly. Therefore Satyagraha or active non-violence is a continuous process of revolution.

From Manu Satyagraha!

Manu is a small State in the Federated Malay States in British Malaya, with a population of 17,000 and an average annual income of Rs. 180,000. For the purpose of that little-known State to have vowed defiance against excessive assessment and an unjust revenue system was in itself an act of bravery; but the men and women in Manu continued the struggle for months, suffering jail, beatings, and worse, and brought it to a successful fruition, is something hardly all known to those who have fought and suffered and won, and set a glorious example to people in other States where conditions are in no way better, but where people have not yet learnt to dare. The value itself might have spared the people all the suffering they went through, but it redeems to his credit that even at long last he withdrew (heaved?) the intervention of British Valldikhal and accepted a settlement wholly satisfactory to the Satyagrahis. We propose to publish a full article, with authentic facts about the Manu Satyagraha in a future issue of HARUAN.

M. D.

A Private Temple Opened

Shri Gopalachandra Choudhary writes from Bari-Gothak in Orissa:

"There is a piece of good news. Gandhiji had visited the village today for working here in 1914 and had put up with Shri Yama Choudhary. On the 15th last, the goddess declared her private Vishnu temple open for Shriji. He had long been thinking of opening it to

Shriji but had not been able to remove up shavings till now."

Let us hope that temple will be a source of many more to be opened in that province.

Commensalists

The Salem Municipal Council is reported to have resolved, last week, that the municipal Board be refused to cook of the hotels in the town as did not permit Harijans to enter the premises for food. This is a step in the right direction, and it is to be hoped that the example of Salem will soon be followed by other municipalities. The exclusion of Harijans alone from places where Hindus of all the remaining castes are freely admitted, can on no grounds be justified.

C. S.

WORKING OF PROHIBITION IN SALEM

(Continued from p. 159)

Harmonious co-operation with the police is essential if really useful work is to be done, and this requires tact on both sides. On the whole the experiment of appointing tribal prohibition committee members has not been useless. Even though only a few have given information leading directly to the detection of offences, members have proved useful in a variety of ways. They have helped in the formation and control of village committees. In doing propaganda, in assisting the Police in search witnesses and in other ways, in keeping a watch on taverns and on persons likely to commit offences, in organizing wonder attractions, and in keeping the Collector informed of the situation in the areas allotted to them, village committees continue to exercise a quiet influence on the situation in a good many villages.

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CONTENTS

	Page
THE SARAJAH AND REALITY OF IT... M. Dutt	157
WORKING OF PROHIBITION IN SALEM	159
From Manu State in ACTION—M. D.	160
Some:	
Non-violence and Civil Disobedience	M. D. 161
'TANU KALU AN MOON TRAIL'	M. D. 161
THE RECONSTRUCTION OF GOD	M. D. 162
'FATHERS' WERE IN THE RECONSTRUCTION'	M. D. 163
From Manu State (continued)	M. D. 164
A PRIVATE TEMPLE OPENED	C. S. 164
CONCLUSION	C. S. 164

HARIJAN

Editor: KARAMEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

Vol. VI No. 11

POONA - SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1938

[ONE ANNA]

THE RIGHT TO BOMB

Though the British Prime Minister knew full well that it was the British Government's insistence on the right of "police" bombing on the North West Frontier that mainly contributed to smash the proposal for the abolition of aerial bombing, raised at the Disarmament Conference in 1933, even at this late date he hesitates to apologise even to the effect that "if it was found that the practice, which is in the main humane, were standing in the way of a general agreement to abolish bombing from the air, we would be certainly prepared to abandon it." And to prove the humane nature of the bombing he went on to suggest that a twentyfour hours' notice was sufficient to enable the inhabitants to find places of refuge, and that he had "read that there are numerous areas in the vicinity" to retire to. Some of the British papers are shocked at a British Prime Minister talking "this kind of stuff", and even the TIMES agrees that "the position of the British Government has been slightly weakened by their practice of bombing the settlements of renegade tribesmen." To improve the British Prime Minister's knowledge of the Frontier, someone must send him photographs of the tribal areas to show that the towns are nowhere in the vicinity of tribal villages, and that these so-called "areas" are just dog-outs used by the most miserable of the tribesmen who have no alternative even to build settlements.

But who cares for accuracy or knowledge in these matters? When Mr. Lansbury said that "during a debate in the Legislative Assembly in India on Hon. Member contended very emphatically most of the statements that the Right Hon. gentleman (i.e. the Prime Minister) has read out here, and with the Right Hon. gentleman tell the House whether it is not a fact that the villages, the herds and the whole of the property of the people are destroyed," the Prime Minister simply replied that he had not read the observations to which the Right Hon. gentleman referred! Both on the question of the methods of bombing and their result, and the necessity or expediency of bombing, the MAHATMA GANDHIAN has published two striking letters which should leave the British Government not a trace of excuse for adhering to the policy. The Frontier member of the

Central Legislative Assembly, Shri Abhai Qadryam, writes in his letter to the MAHATMA GANDHIAN.

"It is stated that previous warning of bombing is given by the dropping of leaflets. But these leaflets are scattered far and wide, and even if a few reach the villages smothered by bombing there are very few who can read or write, and these actions fail to serve the purpose of a warning. Then follows the destruction of huts and mosques and often the slaughter of innocent women and children and aged men. Tribesmen who have absolutely nothing to do with aerial bombing."

Further

"There is a considerable amount of mutual mistrust between the two sides of the North West Frontier Province, and whenever an air raid takes place hovering tales of slaughter and destruction pass from one corner to another of this area. I remember standing a big meeting in June or July last year at a mosque in Peshawar which was the last of operations during the Waziristan campaign. After the Friday prayers had been offered thousands of worshippers invoked the aid of God for the destruction of British power and the liberation of Islam in Waziristan."

Quite a different letter to Mr. Patrick Lacey's who also pleads for the dropping of this right to bomb Mr. Patrick Lacey was for many years Hindu representative of the Calcutta STATUTORY and closely in touch with civil and military officers. He says the Prime Minister missed a great opportunity when he rejected the suggestion to abandon the "expedient of police bombing on the North West Frontier of India." He says that no British Government's hands have been clean on this subject—even the Labour Government earlier employed it on an extensive scale, and that though warnings are given and that though villages on the Frontier are not like villages in Britain, and that the bombing methods are polite by comparison, "I have reason to suspect that the casualties are not nil, as they are often said to be. A Indian soldier told me that he refused to believe that all the aged or infirm or all pregnant women could escape without exception." Further.

"Bombing such as the Indian Frontier are so easy and the retrospective value in political aims, that they are sometimes resorted to

1190

whose activity would have helped to end a general apathy before the days of military expansion. . . We seem to have the same trouble today as they gave us before our collapse was thought of, and if our total policy is any less haggard-sadder than it was twenty-five or thirty years ago the world here and there is entirely unimpressed. . . Perhaps we could settle the problem once for all by universalized activities as the European model. But it would not enhance British prestige, and the practical advantage it might bring it in India could scarcely counter the merits of a gesture toward the drastic restriction of lending everywhere! "

But neither considerations of humanity, nor expediency, nor feeling, nor future, have yet opened the eyes of the British statesmen who adhere to the policy for imperialistic purposes. That they look hypocritical in the eyes of the world does not count, that other countries know that Britain's hands in this matter are not clean, does not seem to worry them a bit. What might perhaps ultimately open their eyes some day, is a supreme selfish consideration. The House of Commons gains it in an unexpected manner. "The country (you would be a millionaire) compensated by the moral gain. And not the moral gain only. When is the practical advantage of winning the right to destroy native life on the Indian Frontier, if by so doing it increases the chance that London, too, will be pulverized by high explosives?"

M. D.

"SELF-SUPPORTING COLLEGE"

(By Walter Miles)

In 1934 Nashville Agricultural Normal Institute at Madison, Tenn., consisted of 11 students and some dilapidated farm buildings on 480 acres of waste land purchased with the last cent of its founders—Dr. E. A. Switzerland and four other teachers. In addition, however, it had one invaluable asset. Dr. Switzerland's idea that a college education should be made available to any boy or girl willing to work for it.

From this idea has grown a unique institution which, practically without endowment, has put \$100,000 from its own earnings into buildings, grounds and equipment. It now has 180-odd students from 16 states and nine foreign countries.

Madison's curriculum includes 27 campus industries, run by the students to support the college and themselves. Every student is required to work for at least half, and preferably all, of his academic expenses. He can enter Madison—as representative of the students do—with no more than the required deposit for of \$25, complete a four-year standardized college course for a Bachelor of Science degree, and graduate with the degree intact. He will receive an equally financial aid in all that time. And he will leave college equipped to do not one job but

several—multiple insurance against the capriciousness of fortune.

Dr. Switzerland, the man who conceived this idea, had been president of two small colleges before he started his experiment at Madison. To provide an income for his new school, and at the same time to train health workers and care for ill students, he planned a sanatorium in connection with the college. But, if he was to run a sanatorium, he must qualify as a doctor. So his four years this cosmopolitan educator ran Madison while taking courses at Vanderbilt and the University of Tennessee. Finally, at the age of 33, he obtained his M. D.

Today the Madison Rural Sanatorium, with 100 rooms, up-to-the-minute equipment, and a staff of 14 physicians, is the Institute's most important industry. Although it is opened to the benefit of the college, at rates of \$ 50 to \$14 a week, the Sanatorium has never turned away a charity patient. Students do all the routine work, getting practical training in the process of curing their education. The 15 to 25 graduates of its various courses are accepted up each year by the best hospitals, and the pre-medical and pre-dental work is accepted by all colleges and the American Medical Association.

The school farm is as important to the college economically as is the Sanatorium. There are 48 acres of garden, 70 acres of fruit, and two green-houses which, hand-culturally, supply flowers for the hospital rooms. The student operating factory puts up enough vegetables to feed students and patients the year round. And 15 years of research in food chemistry have resulted in new food products too useful to confine to campus menus.

Next, Madison Foods—an industry that is largely responsible for making the way here appealing to Americans. The school's food chemists, experimenting with 500 varieties of soy beans, substituted digestible fats and produced aromatic breakfast foods, bread, coffee substitutes, condensed milk, and meat substitutes which look and taste like beef but are even more nutritious and digestible. Vitamin, made from soy leaf after the milk is extracted, is featured by a cafeteria chain in New York City, more than a \$100,000 worth of Madison's packaged and canned foods was sold in 15 states last year, and the Institute runs its own health-food restaurants in Nashville and Louisville.

Madison Foods have developed soy milk until it is now not only cheaper than cow's milk but, on the authority of the American Medical Association, better for babies. Cheesures have come from Africa, India, and other countries where milk cows are scarce. To study the methods of Madison's soy bean "dairy."

None of the commercial industries which support the school competes with established businesses. The soy bean professors create their

own market. The Sanatorium, highly regarded throughout the South, is a class by itself. The linen factory, which uses 15 acres of student-grown cotton, runs for the daily output of 50 dozen, with the products at prices higher than other brands. Among the school's lesser commercial industries are a rug department which buys waste from staining factories and sells an attractive floor covering to visitors, a photographic laboratory that lets visitors for colored slides from all over the world, and repair shops that do some outside work; a printing establishment that does some outside work as well as supplies the four-color labels for the sanatorium.

There is no private profit from any of these industries—the income is used for the support and further development of the College. The school sets its students an example of self-sufficiency, receiving no aid from public funds and making none. The only interest-bearing investment is an unutilized and unimproved \$10,000 bequest from a former patient of the sanatorium.

Income from several of the industries might be increased sufficiently to permit the hiring of outside professionals for construction and maintenance work on the buildings. But how then would the students learn practical architecture, carpentry, plastering, plumbing and electricianing, electrical work, and so forth? For that reason no outside paid factory will supplement with its profits the educational opportunities offered by the score of industries which make no money.

Students work five hours and study five hours daily the year round. Their work is credited against educational and living expenses at a basic rate of 15 cents an hour. Housing, almost all of which are provided by the school industries, are rented proportionately low a year at the college costs about \$315 worth of work, the largest items are tuition, \$172 to \$184; room, \$10, and board, \$10. Those who find the combination schedule too heavy may work less and make up the deficit in cash, or balance their budget with fewer classes.

The 130 college and sanatorium buildings, cottages and dormitories on the 500 acre grounds have been entirely student-built and student-built under skilled supervision by the 20 instructors, most of whom are masters of a trade as well as of their academic subject.

About forty students will have worked as a class room building during the year or two of construction, and various will the workmanship look amateurish. Once a visitor, admiring the work of a student four-square, asked him how much experience he'd had. The youngster answered "From here to the door." The newer buildings are coated with a beautiful tile made by a special process in the student factory—a tile only half as heavy but sturdier than commercial types. Much of the workman was out to

the college's sawmill from lumber shipped on the grounds. The heavy concrete ride prepared and were the students' meals with food from the college farm. Some of the boys fixed up a steam roller bought from the country as junk iron, and now they keep their own roads in repair. In case of fire, they are ready with a skidding, rebuilt fire truck. Exhaust steam from the student-built heating plant, run by a student engineer, furnishes electricity nine months of the year for the entire institution.

In so far as possible, students are given their share of work. Whether they are working inside or handling cement, however, while in earning their own way and at the same time accomplishing something valuable and useful stimulates happiness, a sense of responsibility, and a better mental attitude towards student studies.

With limited and hard-earned funds, Madison has to make money go further than do most colleges, but it is doubtful whether material advantages of any importance have been sacrificed. Madison's biology class grows its own specimens—and no college could buy better ones. The school has the finest aquarium and botanical gardens in the state. The physics students have constructed three-fourths of their own equipment, as well as welding machines for the voice culture classes, and a talking picture projector. There is nothing weak about these mechanisms, and it is obvious that a student who helps make a precision instrument isn't just obtaining a superficial vision of technical physics.

Many graduates go into nursing, medical work, home economics, or agriculture. Almost 500 of them have helped establish three high schools, six junior highs, and 11 grammar schools in the South, all modeled on Madison's self-help principles. Usually they include a health center providing the only medical services within miles.

With twice as many applicants as can be provided for, Madison as a rule accepts only those who could not otherwise arrange for a college education. These exceptions are two boys whose long-headed fathers went for them the kind of education which can't be bought at Harvard or Yale. The youths with the experience of constant failure and self-reliant individuality—and their classmates do not know they are the sons of wealthy men.

There are larger and older schools that equate education with academic training, but Madison has shown how education can be put on a self-supporting basis.

(REDACTED SOURCE, May 1938)

Educational Reconstruction

All about the Welfare Scheme From No. 1-4-8.
 Page 1 About 1938.
 Available at Harper Office—Page 1.

H A R I J A N

July 3

1938

AN IMPOSSIBLE IDEAL?

We have become so accustomed to think in terms of our physical body that we are surprised when someone talks of something beyond the human body, something that is free from the limitations of the flesh. And yet the very fact that we can think and distinguish between the two is proof positive of the existence in us of that something which is free from physical limitations. When Gandhi talks of soul force and puts people along their shoulders and talks of something ethereal, some impossible ideal, forgetting all the while that it is that force that holds even this world together. Thus the Lahore TRIBESE, writing about Gandhi's proposed Peace Brigade, has likewise described it as a not immediately attainable ideal, and as an attempt to procure a continent on the principles of the Harmon on the Mount. As though the continent was given and kept together by anything less than the principles of the Harmon on the Mount!

But there is nothing wrong about this simple and practical proposal. It is wrong to think that the Peace Brigade is expected to deal with all forms of crime and attempt to itself the normal functions of the police or to supplant the police. It is expected, when it comes into being and wherever it comes into being, to achieve what the ordinary police force cannot do but it is remembered that one of the qualifications detailed by Gandhi of a member of the contemplated Peace Brigade is non-violence and intimate personal contact with the ones he will choose. The police is there to deal with normal situations—a theft or assault, for instance,—but a criminal riot is not normal in the sense that the ones taking part in it are normally citizens. Violence is sought to achieve purposes and to create an ugly situation. The members of the contemplated Peace Brigade will not descend from the clouds like an alien stranger, but as one who has served the warring nations and can make them look ashamed.

Much is made by the TRIBESE of a Lahore telegram, published at the same time as Gandhi's article on the Peace Brigade, concerning the proposal to raise a corps of no less than five lakhs in the United Provinces. Now anyone should see that that proposal, wherever it has originated, has nothing to do with the present proposal, which will depend least for its success on the strength of numbers. A telegram can speak for all these the anatomy of gladiatorial shows. Elsewhere in these columns will be found the case of an I. C. S. officer who alone held at bay a crowd of 40,000 people.

But the writer who, with a volunteer corps asked by the Congress to be linked upon with discipline? It is surprising that the article fails to realise the simple fact that while the appeal is made to the Congressmen to organize Peace Brigades, it is made no less to non-Congressmen. It is made to Congressmen because they represent the party that is in power and that is apt to put too much faith in the strength of the police or the military to cope with ugly situations. But the Mayor of Kanpur, who has addressed an appeal to its silent people and then Francis, is himself not a Congressman. Nor has he addressed his appeal to Congressmen. The I. C. S. officer who converted a terrible clash into not being in the Congress. The name of power is not a monopoly of the Congress, and everyone who has the name at least, whether he is a Hindu or a Mussalman or a Parsi or a Sikh or a Christian, and whether he belongs to the Congress or not, is invited to interest himself, if he will, in the formation of these Peace Brigades.

But the startling Hook is still to be disposed of. "The assumption that men with living faith in non-violence are plentiful as blackberries is entirely erroneous," observes the TRIBESE indignantly. Let us assume the contrary that as such assumption exists. It is his failure to understand a simple proposal that brings up the impossible prospect of exposure with a living faith in non-violence. Let it be understood that millions or even thousands are not expected to have a living faith in non-violence but the few who will form the Brigade are expected to have that living faith. A Gandhi-shaster Vilayati or a Pathanpathash Gupta is a rare sight because we have not given to the problem the thought it deserves. But a dozen Vilayatis or Guptas, whilst a big commercial check is on, can easily quench such fury.

But an even larger startling Hook is a living faith in God which is supposed to be essential for a living faith in non-violence. My late Foreman's remarks, reproduced in the HARIJAN following the one containing the article on the Peace Brigade, should leave no doubt as to Gandhi's meaning. In fact Gandhi has explained the phrase 'faith in God'. "Such courage comes from the belief that God aids 'to the hearts of all.' Or, to use Mr. Foreman's language, 'God who is incarnate in every individual' or 'the Father in the breast of each one of us and is only manifest in various recognitions.' We would even go further and say that those who have any quarrel with the term 'God' may substitute for it 'Love'; for God is Love. L. P. Jacks has said about Dick Sheppard that 'There was in him that spirit of devoted love for his fellowmen, which is the life and driving force of true religion whatever form it may take, and can only be accounted for as the action in the human field, of the force which creates, sustains and enlarges

the entire audience," Dick Sheppard himself said "I have a love for men, everywhere in me I have love I hang on to that."

The Peace Brigade is to be no narrow circle, no sectarian order, it has no walls, no appeal as literature, and no exchange with its kind all who have the hearts to work at others' woes, and the courage and the will to lay down their lives for their fellowmen.

M. D.

A Unique Educational Institution

Everywhere is reproduced from the American **READER'S DIGEST** an article on the outstanding Agricultural Manual Institute at Madison, which is worth a study by all interested in the Madison situation scheme. The college curriculum has 17 industries run by the students who work out after the college with everything more than a deposit for of 35 dollars and who, if all goes well, will leave the college with the deposit intact. The principal, Dr. Hutchinson, is a living example in himself of hardy self-help and is entirely responsible for giving the school its present shape and name "To provide an income for his school and at the same time to train health workers and care for his 12 students he planned a sanatorium for cooperation with the college. But if he was to run a sanatorium he must qualify as a doctor. So for four years this energetic educator ran Madison while taking courses at Vanderbilt and the University of Tennessee. Finally at the age of 30 he obtained his M. D. "Students work five hours and study five hours daily all the year round, their work being credited to them against their expenses at 10 cents an hour. Everything in the school including the buildings, beds, food and dress, a heating plant furnishing electricity nine months of the year, is "student-built". But we will allow the article to speak about the other striking features of the Institution.

One does not quite get from the article how the vocational training is correlated to the educational, but there is no doubt that an efficient institution of the kind described in the article can be run without such correlation.

M. D.

Township Dry India

Story of Liquor and Effects at Prishtina 128
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 Available at *Shriyan Office*—Page 4

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APPEAL TO TEMPLE TRUSTEES

I beg to remind you that some time back my Board sent to you an appeal signed by myself and the Presidents of the Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka Provincial Branches of the Harijan Sevak Sangh in the matter of throwing open the temples to Harijans.

In this connection many of the trustees are considering the said appeal, and certainly other trustees are about to move to throw open the temples under their control to Harijans. But there are a few trustees who would like to throw open the temples only if other temples are thrown open to Harijans.

It is for the information of those that I give below a list of the temples which are already thrown open to Harijans on Sunday and the Bombay Suburban District alone more than five years.

1. Shree Mahadev Mahadev Temple (Shirdi)
2. " Walabhai Mahadev Temple (Durgam)
3. " Narayana Temple (Kalyan)
4. " Lakshman Temple (Gwalior Tank)
5. " Ganesha Temple (Gandhi)
6. " Narayana Mahadev Temple (Gandhi)
7. " Balaji and Shree Ram Temple (Shirdi)
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From a perusal of the list you will be pleased to find that famous temples like those of Shree Mahadev Mahadev, Shree Walabhai Mahadev, Shree Narayana (Kalyan), Shree Lakshman (Gwalior Tank), and some 14 others are already thrown open to Harijans, and my Board hope that you will also kindly see your way to throw open the temples under your control to Harijans.

J. K. MEHTA
 President,

Bombay Provincial Board, H. S. Sangh.

Notes

A Right Decision

Shri Peshwajinath Gupta, who was stabbed on March 15th last while trying to rescue condemned prisoners in Allahabad, has received a statement which is worthy of himself. There were claps or else assassins and the police have arrested two men in connection with the attempt to murder him. The investigations are still going on and more people may be arrested. But Shri Peshwajinath, after having pondered over the matter in his cell—had in the hospital for over a month, came to the deliberate conclusion that he must remain aloof from the prosecution. That is what he has stated.

"I have thought over all those matters which led to the attempt on my life. Those who attacked me had no personal ill will against me. They were worried greatly by communal considerations. In trying to murder me—taking me as a Hindu—they, in their mad hurry, imagined that they were performing a good act and doing their duty. They also probably imagined that we would in some way benefit their community and their religion. My belief is that a number of such the motives in which some Muslim citizens of our city have been proceeding lately against the Congress is more responsible for the attempt on my life than those responsible men who actually made the murderous attack.

I am an hearty worker of the Congress, and I was situated while engaged in the work of the Congress. I have also to consider the national interests of my own wife. I feel that if I shied from the duties I take average as my standard, it might possibly harm a good effect all round. It is possible that by refraining from helping in the investigation of this communal crime, I may be able to break in a new way the hearts of even those who have by their attitude encouraged the crime. Though it is difficult for me to say how my action will be received in different quarters, yet my desire is that I should not think of leaving my comrades stranded. With this and so many I regard the Government not to pursue the investigations connected with me and to release those who have been arrested on that case."

This seems to have created plenty of heart-felling and friends and strangers have written to him eager letters for helping in letting lawlessness and violence go unscathed. In the heat of anger they may think so, but Shri Peshwajinath Gupta could not have come to a wiser decision. Gandhiji's action on the occasion of Mr. Allen's violent assault on him in South Africa must remain for us all a permanent example to follow on occasions like this. Well might Shri Peshwajinath have repeated Gandhiji's words "The blood that is shed today will I hope and pray reward Hindu-Muslim unity."

If the late Ganeshaiah Vidyasani had survived the fatal attack on him during the Chawpura riots in 1931, we are quite sure he would not have helped in the prosecution of his assailants. The fact is that until we have had hundreds of Ganeshaiahs and Peshwajinaths, an individual Hindu-Muslim Unity cannot

come into being. Critics seem to forget the distinction between the reformer and the politician. Peshwajinath was a reformer and he must suffer the penalty.

How He Prevented a Clash

We have received from a friend an account of the communal situation in an important industrial town in April last, in which his friend, an I. C. S. officer, narrates how he prevented a serious Hindu-Muslim clash. On April 15th at 1 P. M. the officer who was in charge of the District received information that a storm was brewing, and he told the Muslim and Hindu friends that their attitude was not proper. He also laid down a formula to this effect:—"The common law right of the public to pass over all public roads was inherent and indisputable, whether there was a mosque or a temple in a church on the road, provided only that if when the procession is along the road, the members of any faith—Christian, Hindu, Muslim—are mutually compensated for prayers, and the processions are informed before, the processions should be stopped or made stopped until the prayers are over." In the present case there was no law or custom, there was only a mosque under construction, and the site of the mosque had been chosen on the express understanding that processions were to be allowed on the road undisturbed. The Muslim representative, says the officer, appreciated the reasoning and promised to advise his co-religionists. But at about 3 P. M. there were two crowds of over 25,000 people on each side ready to square accounts with one another. The Hindu processionists had gathered strong, and the Muslim crowd was determined not to let them pass by the mosque in construction. Both were determined to assert their rights whatever the consequences, and the officer in question felt compelled to take all police precautions to prevent a clash. As the fight was on the side of the Hindus, the only way to prevent a clash seemed to be to disperse the Muslims by using the minimum force. But the police were careful of that town was all too inadequate. He therefore adopted shrewd tactics by persuading the Hindu processionists to wait until an adequate police force arrived to disperse the Muslim mob. There was also the likelihood, if the processionists waited fairly long, of the Muslim mob leaving the place out of sheer exhaustion. Until 10.30 P. M. they waited patiently. At this moment two Muslim representatives came with a request that he should plead with their co-religionists. He was happy to do so, and he went and requested them to be reasonable and to disperse. He even suggested to them that if they requested the police to a real mosque they should all begin doing their namaz, in which case he would gladly ask the processionists to stop all made and he would himself lead the great procession. To this too they were not prepared to listen. "How can we say no to an old law?" they decided.

In the meantime the D. E. P. had got into touch with the I. G. P. by the trunk telephone and asked for more police.

Our friend went on persuading the Hindus not to proceed until he permitted them, but they were clearly getting impatient, and some heroic remedy was needed. "What would Gandhi do if he was faced with such a situation?" he said to himself, "especially when the people were ready to fight and were fully armed with lethal and other weapons?" "I was quite sure," he says, "that the Mahatma would forfeit his own life to prevent a clash. Why should I not do likewise?" So he pursued a chair and announced himself in front of the Hindus' motor truck carrying the images. "I then sat immobile and challenged the vast crowd to go over me and so kill me first before they met the Mahatma in a death struggle. The crowd was surprised, the procession stopped. I explained to them that I had received with the Mahatma an order, and that I was waiting for the police party to come. 'But', shouted the Hindus, 'there is no need of the police. We are more than a match for the Mahatma, do let us go.' I explained that then they would be taking the law to their own hands and taking the advantage of their numbers. It would be a chance for 40,000 Hindus to attack 50,000 Muslims," I said to them. "It was now 4 A. M. The patience of the people element was exhausted and they began shouting, 'The Deputy Commissioner is the friend of the Mussalmans, he is deserting us,' and so on. The procession moved on. Instead of the four feet between the motor truck and the officer's chair, only four inches were left. "One of the sturdy fellows pulled me away from the front of the lorry I was slightly hurt. But nothing daunted, I got up and sat in front of the lorry and stood again now holding the chair with my hands. Again there was an uproar from the crowd elements and the lorry was stopped. I placed my chair now only a few inches from the bumper of the lorry, so that a single push should be enough to knock me down and crush me. I had resolved to win, alive or dead."

At 5 A. M. the police help arrived. Our friend had now reached a state of collapse. Information was also received that the military were arriving and they came at 5 A. M. It was only when they came that the Hindu crowd was pacified, and the cry for pushing on with the procession was stopped.

The officer was asked by the crowd commanding to hand over the charge to the military. "I had stood the ordeal of an entire night, and I certainly refused to give over the charge of the situation to the military. And I was determined to avoid fighting under all circumstances." A light lathi charge was ordered, and in about ten minutes the crowd dispersed with slight injuries to six in the crowd and six policemen. "I left the place at 4 A. M.

thoroughly exhausted after the procession had passed over the road opposite the mosque."

We have summarized here some of the background data to show what an officer determined to prevent a clash can do. The will to peace was there, and the determination to lay down one's life in order to prevent a clash was also there. Whether a real good Peace Brigade will come into being or not, peace workers of the type of this I. C. S. friend will have to arise. Everyone will determine the course of his action according to the best of his lights. The will to peace, the assurance for life, the assurance for the God in every human breast, is the only desideratum. *Swadesham—right action* (Gita 1930) God will show in due course.

An Opportune Moment

Let me describe a fact. The office in the Hospital belongs to Hind, and it is gratifying to note that the first concerted move for the creation of a Peace Brigade also comes from Hind. The Mayor of Kanada, Sri. Shree A. Jyoti, a God-fearing Mussalmán, has taken up the matter in right earnest, and has addressed the following invitation to 75 select friends—

"In the last issue of the 'Surjan', Mahatma Gandhi has written an article entitled 'Qualifications of a Peace Brigade.' This has been reproduced under a stream-line heading on the first page of the issue of the 'Surjan' dated Sunday, June 19th, to which I beg to draw your special attention.

This is a matter of very vital importance—from the Hospital standpoint, of international importance. Under the guidance of Gandhi, India may be enabled to offer a solution of the World Peace problem which the countries of the West are so unsuccessfully trying to solve. If India, in the first instance, can fully understand in all its implications the message of Gandhi, and if even a few of them can live this message in their lives, our country will have the high privilege of leading up the narrow light in a world in darkness.

Gandhi's message has made a very profound and deep impression on me. I feel that it is possible to secure the goodwill and cooperation of all those who are interested in the peaceful solution of this message. Hence, I wish to get up a good Peace Brigade pledged to carry out the ideas and programmes of Gandhi.

I am calling a meeting of friends and fellow workers to consider the question of the formation of a Peace Brigade at Meeting the 15th instant 4 p. m. at the Municipal Council Hall. I shall be obliged if, during the week, you will give the matter the serious attention which it deserves and make a note of attending the meeting in company of such friends as you feel would be interested."

A more opportune step and one taken under better auspices cannot be conceived. If all Mayors, who have a living faith in the suggestion, were to take up the thing as earnestly as

Bad Ruler. Mr. Gandhi's desire would be long be fulfilled. Gandhi has already sent his powerful Message for the more. We shall wait with interest the developments.

The Drive against Illiteracy

The following letter to Gandhi from Dr. Syed Mahmood, the Education Minister in Bihar, will be read with great interest.

"You will be glad to hear that the drive against mass illiteracy is continuing with great vigor. It has gathered unexpected force and people everywhere, even in remote villages, have started small centres to teach illiterate adults. I am not at a moment to give you exact figures, but it is anticipated that about 15 thousand people are working in the portions. It has been decided to visit also I have visited the Gaya Central Jail and witnessed a drive which glorified my heart. About one thousand prisoners are learning the three R's, and it is expected that within the next three months they would become literate permanently. If I am able to keep up this programme for a year, the work may progress to marvellous. The real question is how to make them keep up what they have learnt. I have not spent 4 days, passed on the front the Government. The village or village people themselves arrange for lanterns, slates, pencils, ink, etc. This is a very encouraging matter. In two months time I shall be able to give you exact figures and then I shall try to run it as a permanent basis. It takes two or three weeks to read and write ordinary Hindi, but they can forget it if they are allowed to leave the school after that. If the adult schools continue for three months, then they will not forget what they have learnt. The movement is solving many other problems also. I have visited many villages in Bihar and found Khadi, Kusti and Harijan sitting together as brothers, others and have gained. Mothers are learning Hindi and English are learning Urdu of their own accord. Madras and Urdu Khadi sit together mixed up without any distinction. I want your guidance as well as your prayer."

The object of the movement is clearly British. It is not mass education, but the liquidation of illiteracy. But mass education will follow in the wake of literacy. Dr. Syed Mahmood asks how the Bihar folk could be got to keep up what they have learnt. One of the means would be to have small one-hour lectures giving elementary instructions in health and hygiene, in the duties of village and citizens, in the elements of public administration, in the ways and means of solving reform for individual and public grievances, and so on and so forth. There can be no mass education, and a constant press of an exact per hundred may be changed. There should be made as richly available as possible and distributed to all people turned newly literate.

To make an the programme an appeal should be made to professors and retired folk, or students reporting their vacations, to home-keeping but educated ladies interested in social reform, and such others to offer their voluntary services in this noble work. Dr. Syed Mahmood does not mention women. Perhaps he is facing the parallel to be

an impossible task. He should not. The movement by itself should help in breaking down the barrier. Women workers should be persuaded to go about among women with the gospel of literacy.

We wish increasing strength to Dr. Syed Mahmood's effort, and hope that his example will be taken up in other portions.

A Poer

A young man from Nagpur writes

"The newspapers at last went to their own days ago. They wanted increase in wages, wage less in their locality, a school for their children and so on. The Municipal Committee was prepared to concede all the demands except the first. For three days the strike went on and there seemed to be no sign of a compromise. The town was shivering with dirt and filth, and we should now have had an epidemic. I approached the secretary of the District Congress Committee who tried to come with the newspapers. But they were adamant. We therefore decided to do the work ourselves. The Chairman also joined and we raised about 25 volunteers and swept all the roads and lanes in the town and cleaned all the latrines. That day-night—still I say demand—of the newspapers and they promised to put work immediately. I have used the word 'demand' for want of our Congress friends are thinking as for having demanded the newspapers, who would only have been able to declare that town if we had not done their work. I wonder how far our Congress friends' attitude is correct."

The Congress friends' attitude is not at all correct, for it was the duty of anyone with a civic sense—certainly the duty of all Congressmen—to take up the work of newspapers. We suggest the latter street work. But the fact that the newspapers were compelled to resume work does not and should not mean their defeat. In fact it becomes the duty of all who worked in order to prevent an epidemic, to work also for getting the just demands of the newspapers granted. Their work does not end with the performance of a day's newspapering. It begins there. It qualifies them for Nagpur work. It enables them to go to the newspapers, examine their work, do all that is possible for them by voluntary aid and get the Municipality to give them a living wage, securing balanced diet, clean housing conditions, good water supply and education for their children.

M. D.

CONTENTS

		Page
THE DRIVE TO ERADICATE	M. D.	169
SELF-DEFENCE COMMISSION	W. K. Kishore	168
AN IMPROVED TRAIL	M. D.	168
ATTEND TO TRAFFIC TROUBLE	A. K. Kishore	167
NOTES		
A UNITED INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT	M. D.	169
A BUREAU DEPARTMENT	M. D.	170
HOW TO PROCEED A DAY	M. D.	170
AN OVERVIEW MORE	M. D.	171
THE DRIVE AGAINST ILLITERACY	M. D.	172
A Poer	M. D.	173

HARIJAN

Editor: MANABENDU CHAKRA

Under the Auspices of The Indian Social League

Vol. VI, No. 12

POONA — SATURDAY, JULY 8, 1933

[ONE ANNA]

THE STATES

(By N. K. Choudh.)

Events seem to have justified the wisdom of the Congress resolution of non-intervention in the affairs of the States. The constitution, however inept, arbitrary and clumsy it may be, is such that, legally and politically, every State small or big is an independent entity in its relation to the other States and that part of India which is called British is notwithstanding thus from the States. The shuddering "common" is all in that they are under the iron grip of British Rule. But geographically and absolutely the people of the States and the other parts of India are one and indivisible. We, the thirty-three crores of men and women, are Hindustanis who cannot be parted by any constitutional or military device. This natural relationship is working itself without let or hindrance because of the recognition of the constitutional fact while it lasts. That is the way of satyagraha or the way of non-resistance to evil. It is the simple method in which the physician allows the poison to work itself out by setting in motion all the natural forces and letting them have full play.

By the resolution of non-intervention the Congress put the States people on their heels, in other words set in motion the natural forces, i.e. the powers latent in the people themselves. In the few recent instances it has been found that the people having discovered their strength they need it without any aid from outside and was full victory. The result also was that the assistance of Congressmen was looked by the States authorities in order to settle the differences between themselves and their people. No doubt this method like every other means to be considered has its limitations. The Congress cannot divide unresolvable issues. The people must have a real grievance and they must approach it with pure hands. For the tool of satyagraha is ahimsa, i.e. non-violence without inflicting suffering on the opponent for the vindication of a cause which must be absolutely just.

If only the people of the States can realize the full meaning and potency of satyagraha i.e. of non-violence, they will win their relative freedom before India as a whole comes to its own. And they will have to before India has Independence. Thus they can have full liberty

of non-violent speech, writing and action without having to deal with cumbersome British machinery. They can secure with comparative ease a more equitable, even if not an equal, distribution of the wealth produced in the States. They can, without much effort, regulate the price of some of their produce and can have cheap and pure justice guaranteed. They can deal with the problem of poverty and village reconstruction with infinitely greater ease than in unworkably and bureaucracy-ridden British India. They can have real national education for the masses.

This will be their crown—no doubt far short of the Independence that the Congress wants. But if the people of the majority of the Major States attain their full height, the day of Independence will be hastened to a matter to one has dreamt of. Let not the references to the States therefore be lightly forgotten, let them not forget their limitations and above all the conditions of success, viz. absolute observance of truth and non-violence. They must be ready to face bullets without flinching but also without lifting their little finger in armed self-defence. A satyagrahi ignores the signs of misadventure. Let it also be remembered that a satyagrahi's minimum is also his maximum.

DIVORCE AND MONOGAMY AMONG

HINDUS

Two Bills of a far-reaching importance are going to be before the Central Assembly and the Council of State, and they are likely to draw the attention of the whole of the Hindu thinking public on the widows they seek to introduce. One of the two is by Dr. Bhabhabhai for enabling Hindu married women to obtain a divorce under certain conditions, and the other is both Christofil Mathai's Bill for enabling polygamy penal. The texts of the two Bills are given elsewhere in these columns.

Perhaps the more important of the two Bills is the Monogamy Bill, inasmuch as polygamy under certain conditions makes the life of the first wife more difficult than when there is no second marriage. And the lack of the right to claim divorce is not help as much as the corresponding pain of one's husband taking another wife with or without the slightest provocation. Even when the lack of the right to ask for divorce is felt, it is only among the educated

or reference makes of Hindu, whose number is still very small.

But better judges in these matters should be women, and we should like to let a member of the fair sex speak with knowledge and authority on this question. But there is no doubt that if the right to divorce was given, it would be exercised, no matter if it be even to a smaller extent than the widow's right to remarry. And it is well that Dr. Radhakrishna's Bill gives the right only to women and not to men. Among the conditions entailing a Hindu wife to ask for divorce, are grave immoralities, infidelity, chance of religion, polygamy and desertion. There are other conditions which ought to have been included, viz. proved mental conduct, continuing cruelty, and incapacity to maintain the wife. But the Bill might make provision for dividing net divorce, which may be arbitrary when would come to ask for, but for separation in all these cases and entitle them to maintenance in accordance to the status of the husband. At the present moment, maintenance can be claimed by the wife only when the husband deserts her, but not otherwise. The right of separation and maintenance should be made available to her under all the circumstances noted above.

Both Govindlal's Bill, which is perhaps more important if passed, will strike at the root of a wrong which has become rampant recently. During the past few weeks several poisoning cases have happened of husbands murdering their own wives. It would seem as though education and learning followed the Shama. For a professor with a wife living, whom he had married about three years ago, fell in love with another young woman and has now married her. The second wife is a graduate of the Indian Women's University and an undivided friend of the first wife. Let it also be remembered that the first marriage was also what is called a chaste marriage in U P as I. C. R., with a devoted wife living, has had the husband to marry a young woman with a British degree, and the woman's relations and friends who are all distinguished persons could not prevent the marriage. A few years ago a highly educated daughter of a well-known reformer married a young man who had a wife and two children, but an invalid nurse known to the public. There is no doubt that marriages in all these cases are offences which ought not to go unpunished, and it is well that both Govindlal's Bill seeks to make them null and void and bigamous under the Penal Code.

But all such marriages need not be made void and punishable. Circumstances are considerable where a second marriage may be justified. We do not know that proper strictly should be regarded as a condition for making a second marriage. Personally we should not do so, but a try on the ground of religion is bound to be

refused from among the orthodox notions of the Hindu community, and a notion that is not modifiable. But leniency and lenienting human conduct of the wife would seem to be sufficient conditions, and in other cases such-forgivable proof should be required.

M. D.

MR. GOVINDLAL'S BILL

Both Govindlal's Bill proposes to introduce the following Bill in the Council of State.

Whereas it is expedient to forbid and declare illegal a marriage contracted by a Hindu with another woman in the lifetime of his wife, it is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Hindu Monogamous Act of 1938.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India and shall come into force on such date as it receives the assent of the Governor-General.

3. Notwithstanding any rule of Hindu Law or custom, contrary to or inconsistent with this Act, a marriage contracted by a Hindu with another woman in the lifetime of his wife, shall be void, and the provisions of Sections 494 and 495 of the Indian Penal Code shall apply to such a marriage.

Provided that this section shall not apply to a marriage contracted by a Hindu when, by law or custom, dissolution of marriage is permissible and has been granted by competent authority.

4. The provisions of this Act shall apply to a Hindu even after his conversion to other religion.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

Although polygamy has been looked upon with disfavor by Hindu priests and society, the Hindu Law does not prevent male persons from marrying any number of wives irrespective of their having one or more wives alive. Flagrant cases of the abuse of this liberty given to men under the Hindu Law have come to light during recent years. In order to prevent the growth of such an evil, it is desirable to restrict polygamous marriages among Hindus, by law.

DR. DODDABALLA'S HINDU WOMAN'S RIGHT OF DIVORCE BILL

PREAMBLE

Whereas it is expedient to give a right of Divorce to Hindu women under certain circumstances, it is enacted as follows:—

This Act may be called the Hindu Women's Right of Divorce Act of 1938.

It shall apply to the whole of India (British). It shall come into force on—

RIGHT OF DIVORCE

Notwithstanding any custom or law to the contrary a married Hindu woman shall be entitled to obtain a Divorce from her husband under the following circumstances:—

If her husband acquires impotency, any time after the marriage, which is irretrievable.

or, if her husband changes his religion,

or, if her husband marries a woman, while the first marriage is in force;

or, if her husband has deserted her for a continuous period of three years.

AIMS AND OBJECTS

Cases are occurring frequently in India in which a married Hindu woman's life is made unbearable under circumstances brought about by her husband. The Bill aims at securing some of these, recognising that a Hindu wife has a human personality.

HARIJANS AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

We reproduced in these columns, some time last month, a communication of the Bombay Government announcing that "no grant shall be paid to a Local Authority in respect of a school whose admission is refused to any pupil on the ground of his caste or community," and also that "if no pupils belonging to the scheduled caste are actually attending a school it will be presumed that admission is being refused to such pupils within the meaning of this rule." This announcement, it is gathering to seem, has been universally welcomed and no voice of protest has been raised against it. It is only to be hoped that the rule will be strictly enforced and no exceptions will be allowed in its enforcement.

It will be relevant to restate the experience of Madras in this connection. It will be remembered that the same rule was announced by the Gov. of Madras three years ago, and a review of the working of the rule by the Director of Public Instruction has just been published by the Madras Government. It shows an instance of Harijan pupils swelling to common schools from 45 thousand to 54 thousand, and also says that "77.4 per cent of the schools in the plains were accessible to scheduled caste pupils, and when compared with the previous year there has been an increase of 1.4 per cent. The number of schools in which these pupils were freely educated has also increased and to 84.6 per cent of the schools reported to be accessible to these castes, 94.6 scheduled caste pupils were admitted freely as against 84.4 per cent in the previous year." This shows that out of the 77.4 per cent of schools theoretically open to Harijans, there are still 54 per cent which have not actually any Harijan pupils on their rolls. "In the districts of West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, South Arcot, Madhav and South Kanara," says the report, "the

disparity between the number of schools accessible to scheduled caste and the number in which they were actually admitted was still great." This manifestly shows that there was a slackness in the enforcement of the rule which had made it obligatory for every school to show Harijan pupils on its registers in order to qualify for Government grant, and should have, if properly enforced, resulted in not a single school remaining without Harijan pupils. Caste Hindu opposition there was in some cases, and Caste Hindu children boycotted the school on the admission of Harijan pupils, but a motive to show the school proved effective in many cases, and grants were withheld from 12 aided elementary schools of which three have since been rendered accessible, "although progress is noticed year after year in this regard," says the Director of Public Instruction in his report, "yet the rule of progress cannot be considered satisfactory. For about two decades now the campaign of breaking down caste hostility in regard to the admission of scheduled caste pupils in schools not intended for them is being carried on and despite propaganda, vigorous propaganda and education the progress has not been satisfactory. States have been framed requiring the free admission of these pupils into all schools, and even these rules have not proved very effective." Probably because they were not enforced with the vigour required to secure success.

Happily the Congress Government in Madras has not failed to promulgate to this public and decide measures in this matter, and a Government Order dated 25th April last says: "One of the conditions of recognition of schools is that they should be accessible to all castes and communities. There is, therefore, no justification for the continuance of recognition to schools situated in localities not accessible to the scheduled castes. District Educational Councils should withdraw recognition of schools as situated. The Director of Public Instruction is requested to instruct the Inspecting Officers to furnish particulars of such schools to the Councils." Let us hope that other Governments who frame and apply a similar rule will profit by the experience of the Madras Government.

C. S.

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H A R I J A N

July 1

1938

HIGHER EDUCATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The *My New School* Committee should have reflected, as he had a perfect right to do, the views I clearly and very briefly expressed some time ago on Higher Education. I entertain a very high regard for him as man, patriot and scholar. It is therefore always painful to me when I find myself disagreeing with him. And yet duty compels me to re-express my views on Higher Education more fully than before, so that the reader may make out for himself the difference between his views and mine.

I admit my limitations. I have no university education worth the name. My high school career was never above the average. I was thankful if I could pass my examinations. Distinctions in the school was beyond my aspiration. Nevertheless I do hold very strong views on education in general, including what is called Higher Education. And I owe it to the country that my views should be clearly known and taken for what they may be worth. I must shed the timidity that has led almost to self-suppression. I must not fear ridicule, and even loss of popularity or prestige. If I have my belief, I shall never retract errors of judgment. I am always eager to discover them and more than eager to correct them.

Let me now state my conclusions held for a number of years and enforced wherever I had opportunity of enforcing them.

(1) I am not opposed to education even of the highest type obtainable in the world.

(2) The State must pay for it wherever it has definite use for it.

(3) I am opposed to all higher education being paid for from the general revenue.

(4) It is my firm conviction that the vast amount of the so-called education in vogue given in our colleges, is sheer waste and has resulted in unemployment among the educated classes. What is more, it has destroyed the health, both mental and physical, of the boys and girls who have the misfortune to go through the grind in our colleges.

(5) The medium of a foreign language through which higher education has been imparted in India has caused incalculable intellectual and moral injury to the nation. We are too busy our own tongue to judge the severity of the damage done. And we who have received such education have both to be victims and judges—an almost impossible feat.

I must now give my reasons for the conclusions set forth above. This I can best do, perhaps, by giving a chapter from my own experience.

Up to the age of 12 all the knowledge I gained was through Gujarati, my mother tongue. I knew then something of Arithmetic, History and Geography. Then I entered a high school. For the first three years the medium tongue was still the medium, but the schoolmaster's business was to deliver English into the pupil's head. Therefore more than half of our time was given to learning English and mastering its arbitrary spelling and punctuation. It was a painful discovery to have to learn a language that was not pronounced as it was written. It was a strange experience to have to learn the spelling by heart! But that is by the way, and irrelevant to my argument. However, for the first three years, it was comparatively plain sailing.

The difficulty began with the fourth year. Everything had to be learnt through English—Geometry, Algebra, Chemistry, Astronomy, History, Geography. The tyranny of English was so great that even Sanskrit or Persian had to be learnt through English, not through the mother tongue. If any boy spoke in the class in Gujarati which he understood, he was punished. It did not matter to the teacher if a boy spoke his English which he could neither pronounce correctly nor understand fully. Why should the teacher worry? His own English was by no means without Sanskrit. It could not be otherwise. English was as much a foreign language to him as to his pupils. The result was this. We the boys had to learn many things by heart, though we could not understand them fully and often not at all. My head used to reel as the teacher was struggling to make his exposition on Geometry understood by us. I could make neither head nor tail of Geometry till we reached the 11th theorem of the first book of Euclid. And let me confess to the reader that in spite of all my love for the mother tongue, I do not to this day know the Gujarati equivalents of the technical terms of Geometry, Algebra, and the like. I know now that what I took five years to learn of Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Chemistry and Astronomy, I should have learnt easily in one year, if I had not to learn them through English but Gujarati. My grasp of the subjects would have been easier and clearer. My Gujarati vocabulary would have been richer. I would have made use of such knowledge in my own home. This English medium created an insuperable barrier between me and the members of my family, who had not gone through English schools. My father knew nothing of what I was doing. I could not, even if I had wished it, interest my father in what I was learning. For though he had ample intelligence, he knew not a word of English. I was fast becoming a stranger in my own home. I certainly became a superior person. Even my dogs began to undergo super-

explicite changes. What happened to me was not an uncommon experience. It was common to the majority.

The first three years in the High School made little addition to my stock of general knowledge. They were a preparation for fitting the keys for teaching them everything through English. High Schools were schools for cultural conquest by the English. The knowledge gained by the three hundred boys of my High School became a concentrated possession. It was not for transmitting to the masses.

A word about literature. We had in those several books of English prose and English poetry. No doubt all this was nice. But that knowledge has been of no use to me in serving or bringing me in touch with the masses. I am unable to say that if I had not learnt what I did of English prose and poetry, I should have missed a rare treasure. If I had, indeed, passed those precious seven years in mastering Chinese and had learnt Mathematics, Science, and Sanskrit and other subjects through Chinese, I could easily have shared the knowledge so gained with my neighbors. I would have enriched Chinese and who can say that I would not have, with my habit of application and my inclination here for the country and the mother tongue, made a closer and greater contribution to the service of the masses?

I must not be understood to detest English or its noble literature. The volumes of Hakuan are sufficient evidence of my love of English. But the scholar of the literature cannot avoid the Indian nation any more than the temperate climate or the scenery of England can avoid her India but to flourish in her own climate, and scenery, and her own literature, even though all the three may be unknown to the English climate, scenery and literature. We and our children must build on our own heritage. If we borrow another, we impoverish our own. We can never grow on foreign veldts. I want the nation to have the treasure contained in that language, and for that matter the other languages of the world, through its own vernacular. I do not need to learn English in order to know the beauties of Rabindranath's matchless productions. I get them through good translations. Children boys and girls do not need to learn Russian to appreciate Tolstoy's short stories. They learn them through good translations. It is the habit of Englishmen that the best of the world's literary output is in the hands of that nation in simple English inside of a week of its publication. Why need I learn English to get at the best of what Shakespeare and Milton thought and wrote?

It would be good economy to not spend a class of students whose business would be to learn the best of what is to be learnt in the different languages of the world and give the translation in the vernacular. Our masses chose

the wrong way for us, and habit has made the wrong appear as right.

I find daily proof of the increasing and one-sided wrong being done in the millions by our false dualistic education. Those graduates who are my valued associates themselves flounder when they have to give expression to their innermost thoughts. They are strangers in their own homes. Their vocabulary in the mother tongue is so limited that they cannot always finish their speech without having recourse to English words and even sentences. For one they must without English books. They often write to one another in English. I often the case of my companions to show how deep the evil has gone. For we have made a conscious effort to mend ourselves.

It has been argued that the wastage that occurs in our colleges need not worry us if, out of the millions, one Jagdish Bose can be produced by them. I should freely subscribe to the argument if the wastage was unavoidable. I hope I have shown that it was and is even now avoidable. Moreover the creation of a Bose does not help the argument. For Bose was not a product of the present education. He was an heir of the terrible heritage under which he had to labour. And his knowledge became almost inaccessible to the masses. We seem to have come to think that so we can hope to be like a Bose unless he knows English I cannot conceive a greater superstition than this. No Japanese book or help as we come to do.

Nothing but a better remedy can deal with the deep-seated evil which I have endeavored to describe. The Congress Ministry can, if they will, abolish it. If they cannot remove it.

Unnecessary must be made self-supporting. The State should simply eliminate those whose services it would need. For all other branches of learning it should encourage private effort. The medium of instruction should be altered at once and at any cost, the provincial languages being given their rightful place. I would prefer temporary chaos in higher education to the artificial waste that is daily accumulating.

In order to enhance the status and the market value of the provincial languages, I would have the language of the law courts to be the language of the province where the court is situated. The proceedings of the Provincial Legislatures must be in the language, or even the language of the province where a province has more than one language within its borders. I suggest to the legislatures that they could, by enough application, inside of a month, understand the language of their provinces. There is nothing to prevent a Tamilian from easily learning the simple grammar and a few hundred words of Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese, all allied to Tamil. At the centre Hindustani must take express

In my opinion this is yet a question to be decided by scientists. They cannot decide through what language the boys and girls of a place are to be educated. That question is already decided for them in every free country. So now they decide the subjects to be taught. That depends upon the wants of the country to which they belong. There is the privilege of enforcing the nation's will in the best manner possible. When the country becomes really free, the question of medium will be settled only one way. The scientists will frame the syllabus and prepare text-books accordingly and the products of the education of a free India will answer the requirements of the country as today they answer those of the foreign ruler. So long as we let educated classes play with this question, I very much fear we shall not produce the free and healthy India of our dream. We have to grow by strenuous effort out of our bondage, whether it is Educational, Economic, Social or Political. The effort itself is three-fourths of the battle.

Then I claim that I am not an enemy of Higher Education. But I am an enemy of Higher Education as it is given in this country. Under my scheme there will be more and better libraries, more and better laboratories, more and better research institutions. Under it we should have an army of chemists, engineers and other experts who will be real servants of the nation, and answer the varied and growing requirements of a people who are becoming increasingly conscious of their rights and wants. And all these experts will speak, not a foreign language, but the language of the people. The knowledge gained by them will be the common property of the people. There will be truly original work instead of mere imitation. And the work will be evenly and justly distributed.

Notes

A Minister on Hindi

We had a number of letters from the readers of HARIJAN expressing their surprise, and even indignation, over some of the statements said to have been made by the Minister Gai on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of a textile mill in Solan. Here is the HARIJAN report:

"According, the Minister said, 'I have been asked by a Congress Minister, representing an industrial uniting for the propagation of Hindi one think of laying a foundation-stone for a textile mill. I am not at all surprised at it, because Congress representatives, propagandists, etc., go everywhere and tell that Hindi must be produced and worn. At the same time, I am definitely as a person to state that there is nothing as worse of contradictions between the interests of propagation of Hindi and the encouragement of the mill industry."

Mr. Gai then pointed out that the textile unit had not been affected by the introduction

of the hand-loom weaving, and mentioning the peak, he said that "handlooms and shrews had not affected the trade, as the textile mill in the hand-loom weaving at the textile unit. All these have their proper place," he said. "Hindi cannot claim monopoly in this country, nor can the textile mills, as textile mills as other industries have also been changing their material base. Therefore, there is no question of Hindi industry because a textile mill has come into existence." The hand-loom weaver said that he was referring to a section of the mill. In the speaker's view, all these things could be adjusted properly, without difficulty."

We were no less surprised than the readers and could not believe that a Congress Minister, pledged to the Congress manifesto, would give expression to views attributed to him by the reporter. We wrote at once to Mr. Gai, and we have now a letter from him which states his position clear and which will fully reassure all Hindi-weavers and hand-looms.

"I received your letter dated the 14th this morning. So far as the speech made at Solan, as the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone is concerned it is only an incomplete summary of my subsequent speech. What I improved on the platform was not only that Hindi has come to stay, but it is essential for the purpose of progress to the world that as a country like ours, Hindi is the only thing that can take the place of unemployment relief for agriculturists. I also referred to the question of handloom weaving and I stated that it must also stay, as it has been the biggest industry and is agriculture. I of course stated that as textile mills are there, they ought not to compete with Hindi and in view of their smaller numbers they never affect the millions of India. I never stated that the Government welcome the coming into existence of textile mills. The justification for my going there was that whenever I am requested by influential persons as by the foundation stone of industrial concerns, as Minister for Industries in this province, I may do so. I think the position is being followed by Ministers of other provinces as well as here.

I also see that the version is not complete as far as the industry is concerned. On the other hand I deplored that the textile unit, while surviving in spite of other industrial competition is very rare situation and that we should encourage its continuance.

I thought I always carefully followed the Congress members, and I wanted that while we should encourage the big industries as encouraged by the Congress, we should be careful to see that such big industrial enterprises do not kill the village industries. On the other hand, I have been making it a point to stress primarily on the encouragement of cottage industries including Hindi, as woven and knit of muslin, in various speeches I have made as Minister for Industries. I have an objection in saying that I followed the letter and spirit of that part of

the Congress mandate about I have said once again and which was as follows:

'The encouragement of Hindi and village industries has also been the principal plank of the Congress programme. In regard to the larger industries protection should be given, but the rights of the workers and the producers of raw materials should be safeguarded and due regard should be paid to the interests of village industries.'

I am therefore constrained to say that I have said nothing in disparagement of Hindi or the propagation of the industry. On the other hand I am very considerably in line with what the Congress has said in preference to other industries."

Acharya Ray on Hindi

There was a similar expression of views attributed to Acharya P. C. Ray who was represented by a press representative at Bangalore to have said that the days of Hindi were numbered as it had now become too dense for the poor so much so that an institution like the Hindi Pratishthan had to be wound up. How ridiculous was unbelievable coming from Acharya Ray who was so closely associated with Hindi production for years and whose views were very well known. Here is Acharya Ray's contribution:

"My attention has been drawn to the report of an interview which the United Press representative is said to have had with me at Madras. In the first place there was no such interview. As a member of the Council of the Bangalore Institute of Science, I cannot give press publicity to my opinion about its management. The other matter about Hindi which has come out with a striking brevity is certainly wrong. Here I am reported to have said that the days of Hindi are gone and that the Hindi Pratishthan is almost defunct now."

The Hindi Pratishthan is no sign of my loss, and when in Calcutta, I pay a daily visit to the College Square Office on my way to the Madras. I may have had talks on Hindi Pratishthan with friends but do not recollect having given any press interview. There is nothing wrong with Hindi, and I am as much as before as it is as I was was. The fact is that Hindi Pratishthan's Hindi side have diminished by half due to a change. The All India Students' Association and the Hindi Pratishthan were both working in Bengal. In 1935, the All India Students' Association having left, came nationalized, the Hindi Pratishthan decided to give the whole of working exclusively to the A. I. S. A. in all such areas in Bengal and outside as it wanted to have, while Pratishthan itself wanted to remain confined with whatever was left over.

As a result of this, the area left for Pratishthan for sale of goods was restricted and a retreat from places where Pratishthan was conducting half of its usual sale.

The Hindi market was not expanding and the Pratishthan had to take up other cottage industries to keep up the expenditure on day work. The central activity of Pratishthan is today Hindi as it has been all along. It has added to its scope of activity by taking up other cottage industrial lines, and tries to be thankful to

those students Bangalore is still developing what was in a better way.

I may have talked to friends on various lines on these facts, but what has been published has certainly no basis whatsoever. In fact, the survey of the Pratishthan was never as rigorous as you."

English in Schools

While we are still making investigations into the complaints made by a Madras student published in our article on Hindi Madras Day in *Asoka*—II, we have been getting letters on the subject from other students. The following may not be typical, but it does represent a section which has been recently coming into being (the language, where it is absolutely un-English and ungrammatical, has been altered):

"Your article on Hindi Madras Day in the last issue of *Asoka* reached me. Up to this time I had not noticed that a Madras could be a Hindu well-wisher of Hindutva. (Why do you use that strange word 'Hindu'? 'Hindu' had never a religious connotation, it was the name of a nationality, and those who love the nation are all Hindus. Don't you see that Arabs, Europeans and Africans are different nationalities, and though they are Hindutvas, their countries are Arabistan, Europeistan, Africaistan? Surely all who stay in our country are Hindus and their country is Hindustan.)

I am most sorry about the various corrections. But let me give you my experience.

I repeated many of my Madras friends to teach me 'Hindu'. But they looked at me with surprise. 'Hindu', they thought, was their own person.

Once all the students of our college decided to wear 'Hindus', up to the day the Government visited the college. Everyone agreed, excepting, of course, the Madras students.

I asked some of my Madras friends, who will be graduates shortly, whether they would wear the tie. Most of the seniors, on hearing college. At least half of them solemnly replied, 'There can be no Hindu Madras wear until at least half the population of India begin wearing hindus' (i. e. Indian Madras)."

I did not, like your correspondent, go to the proposal of the president of the Provincial Congress Committee, but I put two and two together and felt clearly driven to the Madras. You must know that the Madras has declared that it would stand up its banner the demand the Congress give up its partially for Madras. The press correspondent's letter surprised me. I should like to make his acquaintance if indeed he is not a member of your organization."

This letter is important for various reasons. It shows how dangerous protection is creeping into our educational institutions, and what it will do when the teachers and professors become voluntary workers in the name of Hindu Madras unity, cultivate close contacts with their pupils, discuss questions freely and frankly, and by means of their own thinking and living set an example of tolerance and respect for other religions. The very letter and the use we quoted in the previous article might serve as a catalyst for discussion and debate, which would be a good occasion for the future to dispel prevailing prejudice and intolerance.

HARIJAN

Editor: MARGARET BHAU

Under the Auspices of The Indian Social League



Vol. VI, No. 25]

POONA.—SATURDAY, JULY 10, 1938

[ONE ANNA

Notes

The Two Methods

It is more broken to say that the methods of violence and non-violence are open to everyone, whether in national or international affairs. All pacifists and non-violence want that of non-violence is the complete exclusion of the other. The present-day statement is not broken about the distinction, but go on with the method of violence and non-violence. Pacifists of the West say that non-violence is the way of the Christ. But the Archbishop of York evidently does not think so. He said in his recent address at — Commission that both the methods "were open to the Christian culture and statement." "One," said he, "is the method of complete pacifism, which would result in total disarmament. For this I have a profound respect, though I think it is mistaken. If it is proposed as a fundamental principle I think it runs as defective theology, as of course, the adherents also think my own position does. If it is proposed as an expedient for preserving peace, I think it runs as a false estimate of political forces. But it is in itself both noble in motive and consistent in practice."

If it was consistent in practice and thoroughgoing, if it was the position of the hour, probably the Archbishop would not object it to serving as defensive theology or as backbone for preserving peace. He seems to have found all the while inactive or passive non-violence. Active non-violence as a method of preserving peace has never been tried on a large scale.

The other method, said the Archbishop, was wholly different. "It accepts force as an instrument. And if force is to be used, the available force must be adequate. There is a strong case though I do not think it is a convincing case, for total disarmament; there is no case at all for insufficient armament. I cannot help thinking that these two methods have been confined in our national policy with disastrous results. We went far in disarmament when others were taking no steps in that direction."

Apart from the characterisation of the two methods as Christian or un-Christian, the Archbishop was right in saying that there is no via media between complete disarmament and com-

plete disarmament. Only to forget that while the former was considerable, the latter was in its nature incommensurable. An armament race surely means suicide for those who are engaged in it.

Does Jack a Jew of Nations

The same week Mr. Lloyd George speaking at Sheffield charged the British Government with cowardice and thereby making the British King a pet of the other nations. "There were," he said, "the great nations which have been increasing their armaments considerably in the last few years—Germany and Italy. What was their attitude in 1911-12? They offered to get rid of all bombing aeroplanes, submarines and tanks, to cut down the size of battleships, to get rid of big guns and of all things that are increasing and are destructive, and that are so horrible in their operation, as you can see today in Spain and in China. If we had accepted that proposal, we would have now not only not been spending two thousand million pounds upon armaments, we would be saving down the expenditures which was being incurred at that date. Why did we not accept it? We dawdled and dithered and failed about."

As a result of this meddling, "We have always been giving in. We began by blustering. When Japan went to Manchuria we said, 'We cannot stand that.' We organized the whole of the League of Nations behind us. America was with us. We were powerful enough to stop it without firing a shot. We dithered —, then came Abyssinia. We told Mussolini, 'We cannot allow this.' We had taken our coat off Japan. We took our coat and walked off to Mussolini and then we left the ring, and Mussolini walked off with the coat and the walkout. If he has not yet got Abyssinia, yet it is no thanks to us. It is because the moralities are still fighting for their independence. We are even selling off to him for his bombing aeroplanes, and taking the money. We are letting his ships go through the Suez Canal, and nearly half the dew come to our ports. We are signing a pact of friendship with Mussolini —, British ships are being bombed off the coast of Spain and British sailors are being drowned and mutilated. What are we doing? We are sending belittling little protests just like a frightened bird on a tree that see

the rest has been discarded and this way. Do we send a protest to Italy and Germany? Oh no, we are afraid of them. When was the British lion been like that? The little protests we send out each time are becoming the joke of the world. The Germans laugh at them, the Italians laugh at them, the Americans too. It is a sad thing for an old fellow in his seventy-sixth year to see the British flag becoming a joke of the nations."

But what is the reason for this pusillanimity? Inadequate argument. Will it be ever adequate? Can this mad race in self-destructive waste ever end? Alternative? Complete disarmament and active and effective non-violence. Would the result be more disastrous than that of the suicidal race, or of a war forced upon the British nation? And even if destruction came as a result, would not that be better one's life to end it?

Internal Weaknesses

The C. P. ministerial circle is fresh in our memory, and things are not quite as satisfactory in other problems as we imagine them to be. The reason is not far to seek. The water that flows down to the stream leaks the party that is tainted in the fountain source. If the Congress organization was free from all taints its party would be refuted in its creation, and its commandments would be carried out by all concerned without the least dissent. But can we claim that purity for the Congress organization? We have all kinds of complexion of election chaplains, questionable methods being employed at elections, unscrupulous shuffling of Congress candidates for Municipal and Local Board elections. Here is a record compiled, to make us look carefully into our affairs and to mend them. A false writing about a Congress Committee election says:

"The five who claim to stand for your philosophy of life and service are going the way of those who sell at it. At the election the regular Congressmen went to the poll clad in khadi, but it was borrowed khadi that they wore, the supply temporarily coming from the A. I. S. A. store and from another store. Each piece of the khadi came in either as uncolored shingles or a new thing. But when people who are closely associated with you had not khadi for clothes purposes, do they not bring the Congress store into violation? These methods are exactly those used by those opponents who make use of truth and science and khadi."

We have made inquiries into the complaint and find that though the charge of buying khadi is not fully substantiated—for the bulk of the khadi that was taken or approved was purchased—those who sold the khadi knew that it was wanted in connection with the elections. If the khadi was loaned out with that knowledge it was wrong. But if it was sold, it puts

no blame on the sellers of khadi who were bound to sell it without looking into the purposes for which the khadi was being purchased. But what about those who purchased the khadi as the few who loaned it? Does habitual wearing of khadi mean making a stampede for khadi on the occasion of elections, and forgetting it for the rest of the year? Let us be honest with ourselves, give up the khadi class if we cannot cleanse it, but not make the Congress and khadi objects of ridicule.

Only Genuine Khadi

In this connection may be mentioned complaints received from various places that the stimulated demand for khadi has encouraged many spurious khadi-dealers who are peddling on their sales. In Nagpur, for instance, there are three certified khadi handlooms, but several other so-called khadiars have sprung up and people of course go in for the cheapest khadi, not knowing the object of the Spinner's Association and the Congress resolution about it. The Nagpur complaint says that one of the un-certified khadiars is being run by a well-known Congressman who is a member of the Provincial Congress Committee and of the A. I. C. C. More legitimate is the fact that in some provinces even khadiars ignore the Congress resolution and purchase their khadi from uncertified khadiars. It is quite likely that some of the khadiars do not know the Congress resolution. At the back of the resolution, they may know, is the determination of the Spinner's Association to give the spinners an adequate wage instead of the 'current' wage that we used to give them, employing their poverty and unemployment, and which is still given by those who sell their khadi through uncertified khadi khadiars. Let all Congress Committees announce the names of certified khadi handlooms in their areas and warn the public against purchasing khadi from uncertified khadi handlooms which also should be mentioned by name. Small handbills explaining the object of the Spinner's Association, giving the Congress resolution and mentioning the certified and uncertified handlooms should be issued by all city and other Congress Committees. Here is the resolution of the Working Committee which met at Haripur:

"The Committee notes with satisfaction the policy adopted by the All India Spinners' Association for securing adequate wages to the spinners and other workers engaged in the production of khadi and the steps taken by it in that behalf, and calls upon all Congressmen and the public in general to give full co-operation and assistance in making this policy a success by purchasing only that khadi which is certified by the All India Spinners' Association."

'Certified khadi' means only khadi sold at handlooms certified by the All India Spinners' Association.

Wanting Suit For Sweepers

Shri Hiralal A. Shah draws our attention to a press report stating that "the Karauli Municipal Council has decided to supply khadi suits to women sweepers in its employment. The Council is already supplying khadi uniforms to the municipal sweepers." Shri Shah rightly draws a distinction between 'wearing clothes' and 'working suits', and wonders if the Municipality is providing the latter as the former. The question is important in that 'working suits' for employees is a thing almost unknown in India, except perhaps in some industrial works. Not if they are necessary for other employees, they are especially necessary for the sweepers who have to handle dirt and get mud on them in order to keep others clean. Every Municipality worth the name and wanting to be considered for its sweepers must supply them with both uniforms and working suits, which latter they may wear only when they are on duty, wash them after the operation is over and leave them in a special place provided for it, and put on clean uniforms when going back home. Karauli is one of the cleanest areas in South India where one finds the 'charita' palaces frowning upon the miserable huts of the poor. The charita can easily afford to start the necessary reform and set an example to other municipalities.

Wanted a Civic Commission

Not for things of this kind a civic sense and a civic conscience are needed. Shrihari Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, President of the all India Women's Conference, with some of the members of the Hindu branch visited the other day in deputation on the Deputy Commissioner, Hindu, with a memorandum of a few necessary reforms to be introduced by way of affording assistance to the poor people working in the municipal area. The memorandum contained a series of suggestions many of which are similar to the conditions of life in Hindu, but as far as the Harjans are concerned they were of a nature general enough to apply to all towns and cities. These suggestions for providing of adequate housing accommodation for the slum-dwellers and rules ensuring that they are not crowded and overcrowded, and provision of accommodation for land carriers and disability of lashing the animals of weights to be carried by them, and so on, are peculiar to Hindu. But the suggestions regarding the provision of improved quarters for Harjans as municipal employes, and certain other suggestions for the provision of better living conditions for the poor harjans are well worth consideration by all municipalities.

"The urgent need of doing away with the unsatisfactory quarters and the slum-like huts of municipal employes."

The urgent need also of declaring suit for houses habitable all such buildings as various parts of the town of Hindu where neither light nor air nor sanitation, and where human beings are con-

demned to live because nothing better is available in them. In this matter we feel that it will be impossible for the Municipality either to frame rules or enforce them until they have on their own house in order by making all municipal quarters habitable in the first instance. The urgency of making these suggestions in this regard is of great importance.

The overcrowding in Hindu in the lower makes it impossible for the Harjans employed for this purpose to clean the town in a proper manner. Steps should be taken to secure the removal of the existing overcrowding where necessary and to ensure that no new ones are permitted. We realize the difficulty that will probably be encountered in the matter of securing the cooperation of the employers and others responsible for the overcrowding. We have been great to understand that sometimes the Harjans are even asked not to clean the drains. Effective propaganda on the part of the Municipal Commissioners would be of value to the Hindu Office and his staff who are often very unpopular people simply because they try to perform their duty properly.

The necessity of lodgings for women and children along the main roads. There are some for men but none where anywhere, as far as we are aware, for women.

"The need of a waiting room with sanitary attached for women at the water stand where women have to wait for long periods."

It is significant that the members of the Women's Conference should have taken up these questions. Every mother is a mother-sweeper, and it is woman's function to keep man in health, so long as it is her function to curb the man. It would be a great thing if women in towns and cities were to begin interesting themselves in the clean and healthy living of the residents, especially the poorest amongst them.

N. D.

The Conquest of Violence

By Datt in Lugh

"The author, a Dutch sociologist, has here made a study of the methods of non-violent resistance, as they have been practised in world history, and as they might be used today by the wronged and oppressed colonial peoples, not only to permit war, but to bring about the Revolution in a non-violent way. One of the author's strongest contentions is that where violence is used in the service of revolution, it defeats its own ends." Pages 24-25-26. Package 2. 2s. value. Available at the Harjan Office—Pages 4.

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HARIJAN

July 34

1938

SPEAKERS AND POLITICS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Some controversy has raged round the propriety of the Speakers of the various Provincial Assemblies taking an active part in politics. There has been the Speaker's calling and a full debate and a resolution in the U P Assembly to the effect that the Speaker can consistently with the due discharge of the obligations of office take an active part in politics. Shri Shankaranand was with me for a few days and exhaustively discussed the question with me. He read to me copious extracts from authoritative treatises dealing with the Speaker's duties in the Parliaments of the world. And there has appeared an article in HARIJAN by Shri Satyapant. I had a long discussion on the question with Shri Parashchandra Tandon during his recent visit to Wadhwa.

After all these discussions and study of the subject I seem to hold a view perhaps different from those I have heard and read. Mine is derived from my conception of the acceptance of office by Congressmen. When I advised the Working Committee to authorise acceptance of office, the idea was that whilst the letter of the Government of India Act should not be transgressed, its interpretation should be stretched to the furthest limit so as to widen the liberty of the people and to strengthen the Congress. The Act was not to be worked in the manner envisaged by its authors, but while it lasted should be fully used for the advancement of the Our given goal and therefore in a narrow sense expected by its authors. Such being my conception of office acceptance, Indian and foreign precedents are of little use to me. Moreover, in the nature of things, they can help or hurt little for the simple reason that unlike ours the constitutions of the world's Parliaments are not imposed on the respective peoples but are their own creation.

A Congressman who is a member of an Assembly, no matter what office he occupies there, is subject to the discipline of the Congress and has to carry out its instructions from time to time. Therefore, so long as the Government of India Act does not in so many words prohibit it, the Congress may, if it thinks it necessary, require Speakers in the Congress Provinces to take an active part in the politics of the country.

But the Congress, as far as I know, has not considered the question. In my opinion Congressmen who are members of Assemblies, whether as mere members or Ministers or Speakers, have in every act of theirs to bear in mind the fact

that they have, in virtue of the Congress membership, to conform to truth and non-violence. Thus the conduct of a Congressman in an Assembly would have to be that of utmost honesty and courtesy in dealing with his opponents. He will not resort to shady politics, will not sit below the belt, will never take a mean advantage of his adversary. The greater his position in the Assembly, the greater is his responsibility in these matters. A member in the Assembly no doubt represents his constituency and his party but he also represents the whole of his province. A Minister or leader advances his own party but never at the expense of the nation as a whole. Indeed he advances the Congress only so far as he advances the nation. For he knows that if he has no regard to give battle to the foreign ruler, he has to give battle to his adversary inside the nation itself. And since the Assembly is the place where all concerned meet together willingly, it is the place where by winning over his opponents he expects to forge questions which can be made inalienable. All the problems that affect the body politic including communal unity can be solved if the Assembly is regarded not merely as the arm of the Government of India Act but as an instrument to be used for solving questions which representatives of different communities composing the nation can be expected to solve if they had unrestricted powers. And the Government of India Act does not prevent the use of the Assemblies for solving the many problems which are outside its scope but which are necessary for national progress.

Limited as from the point of view here suggested, the Speaker's position assumes very high importance, greater than that of the Prime Minister. For he has to discharge the functions of a judge while he occupies the chair. He has to give impartial and just rulings. He has to enforce decorum and laws of courtesy between members. He has to be calm in the midst of storms. He has opportunities of winning over opponents which no other member of the House can possibly have.

Now if a Speaker outside the House means to be impartial and impartial is party politics, he cannot possibly carry the weight he would if he observed impartiality and calmness everywhere. I claim that if a Speaker cultivates the habit of uniform impartiality outside his own very limited sphere, he will enhance the Congress prestige. He can, if he realises the unique opportunity his office gives him, pave the way for the solution of the Hindu Muslim tangle as also many others. Thus in my opinion the Speaker, if he has to be that not only inside but outside the House, must be a first class Congressman. As a man too he has to have a character without reproach. He must be able, fearless, notably just, and above all truthful and unswerving in thought, word and deed. Then he may stand on any platform he likes.

SOME OBJECTIONS

(By M. K. Smith)

A Monitor correspondent writes:

"During the last four months opinions have been expressed in the *Winds Free* regarding the *Winds* scheme. As usual nobody seems to have read the report carefully or to have thought out the subject of basic education. The objections raised total three points—

- (a) that religious instruction has been completely ignored,
- (b) that boys and girls are to be taught together, and
- (c) that a respect for all religions is to be inculcated.

These objections have been raised from the *Winds Free*."

Religious instruction in the sense of denominational religion has been deliberately excluded. Unless there is a State religion, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to provide religious instruction as it would mean providing for every denomination. Such instruction is best given at home. The State should allow enough time for every child to receive such instruction at home or otherwise. It is also reasonable that the State should provide facilities for private tuition by those denominations, which may wish to instruct their children at school provided that such instruction is paid for by such denominations.

As for coeducation, the Joint Hindu Committee has not made it compulsory. Where there is a demand for a separate school for girls, the State will have to make provision. The question of co-education has been left open. It will regulate itself according to the circumstances. So far as I am aware the members of the Committee are not all of one mind. Personally I have an open mind. I think that there are just as valid reasons for an agnostic coeducation. And I would not oppose the experiment wherever it is made.

As to the necessity of teaching equal regard for all religions, I personally hold strong views. Till we reach that happy state, I see no prospect of real unity among all the different communities. I regard it as fatal to the growth of a friendly spirit among the children belonging to the different faiths, if they are taught either that their religion is superior to every other or that it is the only true religion. If that exclusive spirit is to pervade the nation, the necessary result would be that there should be separate schools for every denomination with freedom to each to deny every other, or that the mention of religion must be entirely prohibited. The result of such a policy is too dreadful to contemplate. Fundamental principles of ethics are common to all religions. These should certainly be taught to the children and that should be regarded as adequate religious instruction so far as the schools under the *Winds* scheme are concerned.

A FALLACY

(By M. K. Smith)

An A. I. S. A. agent asks what he is to say to his co-workers who have formed a union and possessed him with terror. I regard the formation of such unions a fallacy. The workers have evidently missed the scope and the message of the A. I. S. A. It is a philanthropic organization formed by the Congress and has been given an autonomous charter for the specific purpose of developing the central village industry of hand-spinning and all its ancillaries. Those who are engaged in this voluntary organization not only derive no pecuniary advantage from it but are expected, if they can, to give their labour free of any hire. And above is this the poorest country in the world many persons cannot do so, a large number are paid an emolument only enough to maintain them. Whilst every attempt is made to make them comfortable, they are not regarded as employees in the ordinary sense. There are no profits shared by anyone, if there are shareholders or proprietors, they are the spinners, weavers and the like. Even the consumers are not beneficiaries. They are expected to wear their own because it is cheaper or better or lack of their mill cloth, but because it gives employment to the largest number of half-starved half-employed persons, mostly women. The whole of the scheme is to these dumb artisans often deducting the salaries and other expenses incurred in running this vast philanthropic organization.

If, therefore, any body of workers form unions as against the Association, they are against the scheme. What they take has to come out of the pockets of the artisans or the consumers. It would be manifestly absurd to tax the consumers in the interest of the workers. Will they, the workers, not realize that the agents are themselves as much workers as they themselves? In several cases the agents are purely honorary. It is of course a different thing where an agent is found to be going beyond the sphere of duty and acting as if he was the lord and master of, instead of being co-worker with, the men working with and under him. In such a case the workers have their remedy through the central office but surely not through unions after the artisanal style. In the one case they are a necessity, in the other they are not only superfluous, but they are, as I have said above, a fallacy and, if persisted in on a wide scale, they may lead the Association of which they are part workers and trustees.

HANDMADE PAPER

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HARIJANS AND INTERDINING

Special Agent Thirth writes from Pappann, North Malabar:

"During one of the recent tours of one of our Ministers, he was invited to a dinner arranged to be at a village. But the host did not take courage to extend an invitation to the Parliamentary Secretary, who is a Harijan. The Minister started for the village under the impression that his Secretary was following him in a separate car, but on the way, he was informed of the real situation by someone in the party. Thereupon the Minister desired the car to be stopped and said it was impossible for him to attend a function where Harijans were not admitted. The host was put to shame. He immediately took a car and drove back to the Secretary. With a pocket hour he apologized to the Secretary for his omission and begged him to come for the function. But the Secretary had taken the occasion as a serious breach of duty on the part of the host who was known as a Congress Socialist. He was not now willing to come since it was an account of the Minister's protest that he was being invited. In view with great persistence that he finally agreed to attend the function which passed off nicely without any trouble whatever. Only some of the 'orthodox' guests quietly slipped away on seeing the Secretary who, they had been given to understand, would not come."

The Minister referred to in the foregoing letter could not have done anything else that what he did. It is difficult to conceive how anyone calling himself a Congressman — or the least in this case is reported to be — could think of excluding a Harijan from a dinner where Hindus of all other castes were invited. A Congressman cannot act in this manner without being false to his word and his pledge. It is satisfactory, however, that the Minister's firm attitude averted the situation in time and averted an ugly development. Though this incident is now some months old, the case it concerns deserves to be laid to heart by all who profess to be Congressmen and reformers.

In this connection a correspondent wrote to know Gandhi's attitude with regard to inter-dining. His thinking practices are well-known, and his views about intermarriage and inter-dining have often been explained in these columns. "In Varanasi, there was and should be," Gandhi has said, "no prohibition of intermarriage or inter-dining. Prohibition there is of change of one's secondary occupation for purposes of gain. The existing practice is therefore doubly wrong in that it has set up cruel restrictions about inter-dining and intermarriage and tolerates anxiety about choice of occupation.... It must be left to the untrammelled choice of the individual as to where he or she will marry or dine." (Harijan 26-11-1932) Gandhi has also defined the attitude of the Harijan Savak Sangh and individual

Harijan savaks with regard to intermarriage and inter-dining as part of the campaign of the removal of untouchability. "We have in the Harijan Savak Sangh," he says, "both the sections well represented. There are Savakists who would resist removal of untouchability to the same inch. There are others who would extend it to inter-dining and intermarriage. The membership pledge lays down the minimum which every member has to subscribe to and practice in life or let one's life. It does not prevent any member from going further as long as he or she does not advocate the advanced view as the policy of the Sangh" (Harijan: 26-11-1932)

There is another aspect of the question which requires consideration in view of incidents like the one narrated above. Hindu society has in recent years made a great progress in the matter of intermarriage and inter-dining, especially with regard to the latter. Orthodox persons there still are who restrict even inter-dining to their own caste, and would in no circumstances dine outside the narrow fold to which they belong. The scruples of these, however numerous they may be in the eyes of the reformers, have a certain consistency about them and ought to be respected. Reformers may try to convert them by reason and by their personal example, but those who dine with Hindus of all castes and refuse to dine with Harijans alone, can have no defence for their action. They cannot pose as reformers because by their very action they show that they still believe in untouchability. "When untouchability goes," Gandhi has said, "untouchables will occupy precisely the same position as customers. And whatever rule or custom then governs customers will govern Harijans who are no longer Harijans. If, Gandhi, caste remains as it is now, there will be no intermarriage and no inter-dining between Harijans and customers. But if caste goes in its present form, as it will some day, there will most undoubtedly be intermarriage and inter-dining between Harijans and customers as there will be between customers and customers." (Harijan: 26-11-1932) There cannot therefore be one rule for the Harijans and another for Hindus of the remaining castes.

This brings us to the question of admission of Harijans to Hindu restaurants. Those admit Hindus of all the other castes but don't admit Harijans. The orthodox, who observe strict caste restrictions, never visit these restaurants. Those who do visit them cannot be said to observe caste restrictions, and cannot put forward a plea of religious scruples for the exclusion of Harijans. There is therefore no meaning in restaurants refusing admission to Harijans alone among the Hindus. It is high time that Municipalities, and failing them the Government, considered the feasibility of making a rule refusing license to such of the restaurants and hotels as refuse admission to Harijans. The example of the

Before World-War II, as we have said in a previous issue, deserts to be ruled by all other nations.

C. S.

THE INTERESTS OF THE CONSUMER

(By J. C. Kinnear)

On the 19th June last it was announced that the Government of India have reserved the revenue surcharge of 15 per cent up the protective duty on paper and wood pulp. This action was claimed to have been taken in the interests of the Indian consumer.

With the advance of civilization the use of paper increases by leaps and bounds. In fact the standard of living of a people can be judged by the quantities of paper consumed by the people. Annually India imports over three acres of paper, stationery and paper materials. With the great ideas of the Congress Government towards spread of literacy and book education the demand for paper is expected to increase in an unprecedented manner. The A. I. V. I. A. has been creating every device to increase this increasing demand and create employment for our villagers who will also be the consumers to the end.

Consumers are not a special species of the human race, consumers are also producers. If by means of disincentives such the opportunity of production is given to foreigners, how are the consumers to have the opportunity to buy their requirements and to effective consumers? Import of manufactured articles or partly manufactured articles from foreign countries is free in which the importing country is capable of supplying its own needs, is tantamount to exporting employment or, in other words, creating unemployment in the importing country. Unemployment and poverty are almost synonymous terms. Therefore action of the Government is calculated to impoverish our country. Is impoverishment in the interests of Indians? No consumers can continue to be consumers for ever without being profitably employed as producers. Therefore we must afford to pass on our opportunities for production to foreign countries.

It is a very shortsighted policy to think of the immediate gain to a few buyers at the cost of the utilization of an industry. It is only by such repeated measures that many of our industries have been ruined, and while inaugurating such destructive measures to talk of the 'interests of the consumer' reminds me of Mussolini's attitude for the backward cause of Abyssinia. Let us call a spade a spade and say this surcharge is removed to enable foreign producers to absorb the extended market for paper.

It will not be out of place here to remind the consumers that buying foreign articles to save a few pice is putting the knife round our own necks, because ultimately it will come back on us as a home-made and place us in the ranks of the unemployed. Let us endeavor to realize what is in our own true interests.

FROM CUTTING TO CULTIVATION

(By Gopesh Nish)

In order to give an impetus to total production a campaign of cutting down palms, the source of important toddy, was authoritatively launched in the British-ruled sphere of 1930, under the auspices of the Indian National Congress. Laths of palms were destroyed with the most feasible motive of ending the dehydrating drink evil. Thousands of our countrymen started lamenting by falling the palm. The palm would not have been the target of the prohibition, had the brighter view of it been realized by the well at the time. Tilling makes or mends the relations between man and the natural world. The more useful a plant to man, the more man is indebted upon it, almost all the parts of a coconut palm are useful. Therefore this palm is extensively cultivated in our coastal tracts. The collectors enter to the seeds, weather and measuring of the palm with the living heart of a mother. It must not be forgotten that not a single coconut palm was cut in the palm cutting campaign of 1930, though it is well known as a toddy-yielding tree, for the obvious reason of its manifold uses to man. In the southern parts of the Madras District of Bombay, there is an age-old belief that the coconut palm serves as a bank. They say, "Invest your money in cultivating and rearing the coconut-palm and you will realize your investment with interest." True, with neither unworldly arguments, the financial soundness of the belief seems to be determined by counting upon the money reserves on the average of land possessed but by the number of coconut palms owned by the tillers. There may be established to know that the coconut palm, a source of toddy, is in many places dedicated to drink and even other uses including weaving it. If we consider the uses of the date-palm, we shall find that the Tamil liquor contractors have regularly cultivated gardens of date-palms in some districts of Bombay for supplementing their toddy supplies, as it enhances their income. Our Bengali brothers have long since realized the importance of the date-palm as a source of sugar, and they have been regularly cultivating these palm all along.

"The date-palm or figger tree is very largely cultivated in Pithapur, and the sugar produced from the juice of the tree forms the most important article of export from the district. The trees are generally planted along the raised boundaries of fields and throughout the village also, about 10 to 15 feet apart, and, as a rule, are allowed to grow at the spot where they are first sown. But if the ground be low and subject to inundation for any length of time, the seeds are first propagated in a nursery. They are transplanted from the nursery in the months of May and June or later after the commencement of rain, a certain degree of moisture being absolutely necessary to ensure

their despatching in the new rice chains for Bata. The farmers generally prefer a deep rich clay soil for cultivation, if possible will show immediate results" (*Warda's Dictionary of the Economic Products of Java* p. 144.)

It is high time that the people of other provinces realized the economic importance of the four kinds of sugar-producing palms, viz. *Dacrydium edule* (sugih), *Bala* (sugih), *Pandanus* (sugih), and *Bura* (sugih). They should give up the prejudice against these palms, particularly the date, palmira and waga. Instead of industriously filling their trees with climbing figs or gardens, they should do their best to propagate and protect the palms wherever possible.

ETHNIC AMONG THE BANIPANAS

(By F. L. Mohr)

The attempt to introduce and popularize the khal movement among the Banipana population of Suralab is noteworthy from many points of view than one. The work is being carried on by the Suraia Adhara of Vaidik which seeks to serve the Banipana community—well-starved, addicted to drink, ignorant—mainly through the industriousness of the churches. The original aim was to make the Banipana families self-sufficient in the matter of their clothing requirements. This work, which had reached nearly 400 villages and over 1,000 families by 1935, received a rude setback during the Civil Disobedience movement, when even the constructive activities that were carried on were suppressed and the Adhara was confiscated. Since the resumption of labour in 1935, progress has been more gradual than in the earlier years, but it is there all the same. In 1937, the number of villages reached rose to 54 and of the families affected 808, the aggregate production being 1,184 spindles yarn.

The satisfactory response that these efforts at promoting self-sufficiency have evoked have induced the workers to attempt to organize in the next a khal production centre. Systematic arrangements have been made to teach hand-spinning and the other preliminary processes by holding classes, granting scholarships and offering progressively higher wages. The number of spinning classes organized was 5 with 141 students. Scholarships were disbursed to the extent of Rs 512 against which the price realized for the yarn was Rs 375. The scale of wages has risen to three-and-a-half annas. Weaving too is done by the Banipana folk, and steps have been taken to ensure that those taking to weaving also at better production and earn good wages. The producers have not to worry about the disposal of these products as the marketing is attended to by the Adhara. The output of khal is still comparatively inconsiderable, being valued at only

Rs. 558, of which it is significant that no less than Rs. 455 constituted the wages of spinners. The entire scheme has been underwritten with the assistance of an endowment created in memory of the late Michael Pandey of Suralab. The local khalists strive to produce to give an impetus to local production and demand after Pandey. They are 5 in number, and have a membership of 165. The bonus at the rate of one anna per yard of cloth produced that these khalists secured worked out at Rs. 124 for the year. The aggregate earnings derived during the year by the villages served by the self-sufficiency and production schemes are shown to have been Rs. 1,504.

The third aspect of the khal activities that attracts attention is the industrial school that was started after the confiscated Adhara was returned last year. This has only 18 students on the rolls who are expected to work for six hours at a craft and machine model teaching for two hours. The students are drawn from Banipana boys who have studied up to the fifth or sixth Ceylon standard, and the course covers a period of four years during which it is expected that they will have acquired knowledge up to the usual entrance examinations, having English. The craft selected is spinning supplemented by carding, but instruction in spinning and weaving is also kept in view. In addition, the students are expected to learn the processes of hand-spinning, spinning and self-spinning as also to study the elements of agricultural practice of the simplest type. No large outlay on equipment has been incurred for the purposes of this vocational instruction. During the year, the amount spent for the feeding of the students came to Rs. 211, while the amount earned by the students on carding and spinning was Rs. 150. The average daily wage earned by spinning while under instruction was seven pence. This experience, limited though it is, and the actual figures of income and expenditure will be of interest to those who are charged with the duty of working out in practice the details of the Wardha scheme of education.

CONTENTS

	Page
SPINNING AND WEAVING	M. S. Gupta 204
Hand Spinning	M. S. Gupta 204
A. PILLAI	M. S. Gupta 205
WEAVING AND WEAVING	G. S. 205
THE WEAVING OF THE COUNTRY	J. S. Gupta 205
WEAVING AND WEAVING	G. S. 205
WEAVING AND WEAVING	T. L. Mohr 205
WEAVING	
THE TWO WEAVING	M. S. 205
WEAVING AND WEAVING	M. S. 205
WEAVING AND WEAVING	M. S. 205
WEAVING AND WEAVING	M. S. 205
WEAVING AND WEAVING	M. S. 205
WEAVING AND WEAVING	M. S. 205



HARIJAN

(Editor: M. K. MURTHY, B.A., LL.B.)

Under the Auspices of The Madras Legislative Council

1190

Vol. VI, No. 10]

PUNJAB — SATURDAY, JULY 13, 1935

[ONE ANNA

Notes

Government Recognition of Vidyapeeth Degrees

Acting on the memorandum submitted by the Vishu Mahavidyalaya Vidyapeeth for recognition by Government of the Vidyapeeth degrees and diplomas for various purposes, the Government of Bombay have passed a resolution recognising these as equal to corresponding degrees and diplomas of the University of Bombay for the purposes of Government and semi-Government service. The resolution is a timely recognition of the fact that those who obtained degrees and diplomas from the Mahavidyalaya and Gujarat Vidyapeeth are entitled to equal consideration with those who obtained their degrees from any recognised University.

Objection has been taken to the language of the resolution on the ground that it involves a comparison between two systems of education which are fundamentally dissimilar, that whereas the system followed by the Vidyapeeth was purely national and therefore entitled to automatic recognition, that followed by the recognised Universities was the reverse of national. The objection is hardly fair, for in that case no recognition at an equal status ought to have been sought. The resolution serves only to remove the bar that may stand in the way of employment of the Vidyapeeth graduates by Government and semi-Government institutions. In fact the Gujarat Vidyapeeth did not even approach the Government for such recognition. As far as we know, the graduates of the Gujarat Vidyapeeth have found employment in all kinds of semi-Government service and have distinguished themselves better than the graduates of the orthodox Universities. It is for the graduates of these Vidyapeeths to demonstrate that they received a truly national education, and not for Government to declare that they had done so.

An unfortunate slip in drafting resulted in the resolution saying that "the Gujarat Vidyapeeth is practically a defunct body now." We saw once the word "Mahavidyalaya" (college) was meant there and not the "Vidyapeeth" which, though it has not been giving degrees recently, has been vigorously active all these years. Its publishing department is as active as ever, its publications having been recognised by the Bombay University as text-books, and it has

issued an authoritative orthographical lexicon of the Gujarati language which has been recognised by the Bombay University. The slip, we are sure, will be immediately corrected, as the public who have been supporting the Vidyapeeth all these years and who gave, during the current year, Rs. 22,500 to it, are likely to be misled.

Another objection raised against the resolution is that it fails to recognise the Vidyapeeth courses and degrees for the purpose of post-graduate courses of standard Universities. It would be interesting to know the number of the graduates or undergraduates intending to prosecute these post-graduate courses. The Government cannot obviously accept this recognition by executive order. But it is open to members of the councils of Universities to accept the recognition by law, that is to say, if it is worth while.

Make Them Really Living

What is more to the purpose is that the Vidyapeeths should now be made really nationally living Universities catering for the higher education of students on the lines laid down by Gandhi in his recent article on 'Higher Education' which has attracted wide-spread attention. It is no too emphasising the fact that though our Vidyapeeths consciously cooperated with the orthodox Universities in keeping a high standard of teaching, they did not succeed in 're-creating' higher education on the best norms of the term. Emphasis was of course laid on provincial languages, but re-creation of higher education was not made the objective. Had it been so, we should have been able to have numerous books in all departments, which would have been standard textbooks by now. The Vidyapeeths, if they are nationalised, must bend their energies to this end. They would serve the service of science, research and culture to help them in their task, and those of the Vidyapeeth graduates who are thinking of post-graduate courses at orthodox Universities had better give their old Alma Mater and pursue their courses there after the new fashion.

It is interesting to observe in this connection how Gandhi's views on the question have been the same all these years, and how even the language he used twenty years ago is almost the same as he has used in his recent article. For this is what he said in the course

of the school and the speaker of the Sanskrit Shiksha Commission.

"I am afraid that this Commission will come to the conclusion that Sanskrit will never have that attraction through the medium of their vernacular. Our language is the reflection of ourselves, and if you tell me that our languages are too poor to express the best thought, then I say that the reason we are kept out of education the better for us. Is there now who dreams that English can ever become the national language of India? Why this looking on the wrong? Just consider the one moment what an escaped man can take here to get with every English lad. I had two printings of a class conversation with some French professors. They seemed to be that every Indian youth, because he received his knowledge through the English language, had at least six previous years of life. Multiply that by the number of students trained out by our schools and colleges and find out for yourself how many thousand years have been lost to the nation. Supposing that we had been receiving during the past fifty years education through our vernacular, what should we have today? We should have today a free India, we should have our educated men, not so if they were brought in their own land, but speaking to the heart of the nation, they would be working amongst the poorest of the poor, and children they would have gained during the past 50 years would have been a blessing for the nation. Today even our who are not trained in our own thought. Look at Professor Bose and Post-mast Ray and their brilliant research. Is it not a shame that their researches are not the common property of the masses?"

The re-centred *Vidya* must not themselves to this task.

A "Wardha Scheme" Experiment

THE GOVERNMENT EDUCATION for October 1935 contained the description of what there was considered a "scheme experiment in history of elementary public education" in England. The experiment was successfully limited in its scope and tried only in respect of one craft which house is charge of the school found particularly suitable. But the way in which it was conducted, the way in which education in different subjects was given through the craft, was exactly on the lines of the new system which the Wardha Education Scheme sponsors are trying to bring into being. The experiment was conducted at the Croyford Junior School, where boys and girls under twelve years of age had the co-operation of their teachers and craftsmen in the building of a wooden house. Says William Carr, the writer of the article:

"The New Think House has been built and furnished throughout in a scale of materials and The plan was prepared by a local architect from the children's own designs and was submitted to, and accepted by, the local Council. Over twenty thousand bricks have been made in situ, or by machine hand power, by the boys

Every subject in the school curriculum has been used to advantage, arithmetic in working out quantities, estimating and measuring, geography in locating the place of origin and manufacturers of raw materials, history in tracing the evolution of the house and houses in other lands. All the processes and in building a full-size house have been faithfully followed, and technical help and advice sought wherever needed.

In these days of machinery and mass production the making of craftsmanship tends to become neglected, and this venture is a step in the right direction. A very real advantage has been given to the children by visiting factories which, producing tiles, plaster boards, and other materials used in the building trade. The girls have been equally active and enthusiastic in hand-weaving and decorating fabrics, basket work, and pottery-making.

This New Think House is a modern house, every, or several detached house with a back and garden and a garage.

To complete the house, garden manufacturers have provided working models of a gas stove, paper, bath and sanitary fittings, and a fitted kitchen cupboard iron in order. An initiative policy for 1936, and one-fifth second rate, has been given by a well-known progressive society. Although the house is finished, work will still continue in the garden, reforming, and redecorating the house will help to make home a pleasure for many more children for a long time to come."

An Epilogue

We notified last week the case of a Congress Committee on the occasion of whose election Congressmen made a case as Khadi at the eleventh hour to qualify themselves for voting. We said that those who sold the Khadi were heartily not to blame, although they knew the purpose for which the Khadi was being purchased, but those who loaned the Khadi for the purpose were to blame. We have now a letter from a friend who takes upon himself even the blame for having loaned the purchase of Khadi for the purpose, and is confident that he should have advised his friends to purchase Khadi or to loan Khadi for the purpose. None of the friends themselves has written, but we think the friend is writing on their behalf. His letter is a grand old letter of words which we cannot further publishing in the interest of the others which the writer accepts and we should all accept if we are to qualify the Congress organization. "I thought," the friend writes, "that after the complaint had been made to you, the persons responsible for the shame would come forward to make their guilt and then would ask you to forgive them. . . . Everyone concerned in this matter is my friend, and we have all known one another for a long time. I believe that my friends after their defeat in this that election last time have made and muddled this fully. I am that

they have found out "their own" and I hope that they will not repeat it in future. Moreover I consider myself partly responsible for the affair, for as I was witness of the purchase of these I might have been able to influence my friends and warned them against these questionable tactics. Under the circumstances I pray that you will be kind enough to forgive those friends and I promise to pay to the Harpur fund my amount which you will impose on us collectively as a fine. They do not hesitate to impose the fine, for punishment is due, and I shall gladly accept it as that by my act I may bring back my wrong friends again to your fold."

Gandhi will gladly accept whatever amount is sent to the Harpur fund by his friend. But a voluntary contribution cannot be called a penalty. It is self-punishment. But what about the other wrong-doers? They feel that, though not political workers at heart, they passed themselves off as such and carried the vote that they did. It is still open to them to occupy their place, declare to the public who they are really, and seek to be elected again next year. But next year after having kept their pledge (which they must now take) of working heartily. That will be proper enough and will help to purify the organization as nothing else can. It will be a great education to the people whom they profess to represent.

Divorce and Monogamy Legislation

A writer, having read the article in HARRIAN on "Divorce and Monogamy among Hindus", writes,

"I have read your article with interest. But I should like to have seen the legislation you support will be of any help in case of the kind I am going to mention. I shall use for once within my knowledge not for the truth of the sake of which I can wait.

(1) A girl named of mine, who is now about 22, was married as child from 12. Her husband is about 40. This man, she now feels, had a liaison with another woman and is still continuing it. She has a child and expects a baby shortly. I heard a few days ago that the man was about to leave home for about a week, but on finding his whereabouts, the wife took him to the house of the other woman, and brought him back home. But he doing has to do her worst. Otherwise he keeps her well. She has ornaments, clothes, money, and the husband says she should have as much as she pleases. What is this poor woman to do? She has not got much of an education. She has not only not the courage to be with divorce, she has not the distinction, and she does not know what to do after obtaining divorce if it was available.

(2) A man married a few years ago and now, after marriage went abroad to improve his prospects. The woman got into bad company and became the mother of an illegitimate baby. I do

not know how the baby was disposed of, but the woman concerned in passing her husband to others. The man got ill, and as the illness was perhaps the least a blow with a friend and comforted. The man was heart of her sister who was the "What is he to do now? Is he to take her out in a foreign land?"

Hard cases like these are bound to happen even after the most wholesome legislation has come in to force and there will be no remedy there excepting the shameful use of "gossiping and boxing it". But the law should make the actual available, no matter whether it will be availed of or not. Thus if separation with the right to maintenance was available in the first case it might be some relief. It is clear of course that she will not seek divorce, but she may prefer staying away from her husband to being a passive witness to his immorality. Cases like these are best handled by consultation run by that class of intelligent spirit and wonderful resource, Hinduish Hinduish Hinduish.

In the second case the husband may not get the wife away—women has been ordered the rights of man—but may co-operate with her, whilst continuing to feed and clothe her.

The important thing is the principle of the two Bills. There is Harpur's Bill and the Harpur's Bill also, which she has now sent in the light of experience received on her first draft. I suggested in our last article some improvements in the two Bills. Harpur's Bill was the basis of the principle of the two, whilst not making divorce available (which she thinks will very rarely be sought), and her Bill makes provision for the constitution of a society, generally and strictly that we mentioned in our article. It would be a good thing for Dr. Bhandarkar, Mr. Gopalakrishna, Mr. Gopalakrishna and others to meet together and, under their own strength, draft an agreed Bill in the light of experience and suggestions received.

M. D.

More Temples Opened

The Bombay Provincial Board of the Harpur North Temple have opened the following Temples:

The Bombay Provincial Board of the Harpur North Temple are glad to announce that the uncommenced Temples belonging to the Indian People's League are also open to Harpur. This brings the total number of temples opened to Harpur in Bombay to 10.

1. New Ram Mandir (Ind. Harpur);
2. Sri Yashwanth Group of Temples (Thakur);
3. Gopabandhu Sri Ram Temple (Kandhar);
4. Sri Thakur Maharaj (Mahan, Harpur);
5. Sri Ram Mandir (Anant, Harpur);

The names of 21 temples previously thrown open have been already announced.

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HARIJAN

July 25

1939

HOW NON-VIOLENCE WORKS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Congress leader said to me the other day in the course of our conversation, "Now is it that to qualify the Congress is not what is used to be in 1930-32? It has deteriorated. Mainly got out of the members are not carrying out the Congress discipline. Can you not do something to mend this state of things?"

The question is opposite and mainly I can't shift responsibility by saying I am no longer in the Congress. I have gone out of it for the purpose of mending it before I know that I still influence the Congress policy. As the author of the Congress constitution of 1930 I must hold myself responsible for such deterioration as is available.

The Congress started with an inflated leadership in 1930. Very few believed in truth and non-violence as a creed. Most members accepted them as a policy. It was inevitable. I had hoped that many would accept them as their creed after they had watched the working of the Congress under the new policy. Only some did, not many. In the beginning stage, the change that came over the foremost leaders was postponed. Leaders will recall the letters from the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and Dadabhai Naoroji in 1930-31. They had expected a new joy and a new hope in a life of self-control, discipline and self-sacrifice. The All India Congress had almost become vague as we moved from place to place. I watched with delight the change that was coming over the leaders. What was true of these four leaders was true of many others whom I saw soon. The selfishness of the leaders had infected the rank and file.

But this phenomenal change was due to the spell of 'Swaraaj' in one year. The conditions I had attached to the fulfilment of the Swaraaj were forgotten. Ehsan ul-Haq Abdul Mughal even went so far as to suggest that, as the ground of the Satyagraha along which the Congress had then been moving, was still to (if only Congress men realize the meaning of Satyagraha), I should have made sure that the conditions were such that they would be fulfilled. Perhaps he was right. Only I had no such provision in me. The use of non-violence as a mass creed and for political purposes was even far beyond an experiment. I could not therefore dissuade. My conditions were bound to be a measure of popular response. They might or might not be fulfilled. Mistakes, miscalculations were always possible. Be that as it may, when the fight for Swaraaj

became prolonged and Mahatma seemed to be a life issue, withdrawal began to wane, confidence in non-violence even as a policy began to be shaken, and violence crept in. People who had no faith in the twin virtues of the Hindu dharma stole in, and many even openly defied the Congress constitution.

The evil has continued to grow. The Working Committee has been making some attempt to purge the Congress of the evil but has not been able to put its feet down and take the loss of members on the Congress register. I myself believe in quality rather than quantity.

But there is no such thing as compulsion in the scheme of non-violence. Violence has to be placed upon violence to reach the intellect and the heart—the latter rather than the former.

It follows that there must be power in the word of a Satyagraha general—not the power that the possession of numbers alone gives, but the power that purity of life, strict vigilance, and unceasing application produce. This is impossible without the observance of brahmacharya. It must be as full as it is humanly possible. Brahmacharya here does not mean mere physical self-control. It means much more. It means complete control over all the senses. Thus to impure thought is a breach of brahmacharya, so is anger. All power comes from the preservation and cultivation of the vitality that is responsible for creation of life. If the vitality is weakened instead of being disciplined, it is transmitted into creative energy of the highest order. This vitality is continuously and even unconsciously disciplined by evil, or even wandering, disorderly, unsorted, thoughts. And since thought is the root of all speech and action, the quality of the latter corresponds to that of the former. Hence perfectly controlled thought is itself power of the highest potency and can become self-acting. That seems to me to be the meaning of the silent prayer of the heart. If man is after the usage of God, he has but to will a thing in the hushed sphere allotted to him and it becomes. Such power is impossible in one who disciplines his energy in any way whatsoever, even as steam kept in a leaky pipe yields no power. The moral art derived from the deliberate purpose of generation is a trained and great force of discipline and has therefore been specially and rigidly chosen for contemplation. But in one who has to organize vast masses of mankind for world-wide action the full control described by me has to be attempted and virtually achieved.

This control is undoubtedly given by the grace of God. There is a verse in the second chapter of the Gita which fully rendered means—"Some-thing remains in discipline whilst one is failing or whilst the particular action is started, but the hindering does not mean except when one sees God face to face." This control is not mechanical or temporary. Once obtained it is never lost. In that state that energy is steady.

up without any chance of escape by the inescapable critics.

It has been said that such brahmacharya, if it is at all effective, can be so only by cover-decision. A brahmacharya, it is said, should never see, much less touch, a woman. Similarly a brahmacharya may not think of, speak of, or so touch a woman. UNPOLLUT. But the prohibition on food is like an brahmacharya is mentioned without the important caveat. The reason for the aversion seems to be that man is no impartial judge in such matters, and therefore except my when he is so is not affected by such contacts. Gandhi's violations are often unpardonable. Difficult though therefore brahmacharya is of observance when one finds when with the world, it is not of much value, if it is observable only by retirement from the world.

Anyway, I have practiced brahmacharya for over thirty years with considerable success though living in the midst of activities. After the decision to lead the life of a brahmacharya there was little change in my outward position, except with my wife. In the course of my work among the Indians in South Africa, I mixed freely with women. There was hardly an Indian woman in the Transvaal and Natal whom I did not know. They were as many sisters and daughters to me. My brahmacharya was not derived from India. I evolved my own rules for my guidance and that of those who, at my invitation, had joined me in the experiment. If I have not followed the prescribed restrictions, much less have I accepted the description found even in religious literature of women as the source of all evil and temptation. Owing as I do to all the good there may be in me to my mother, I have looked upon women, never as an object for satisfaction of sexual desire, but always with the veneration due to my own mother. Man is the tempter and aggressor, it is not women whose touch defiles man but he is often himself too impure to touch her. But recently a doubt has asked me as to the nature of the limitations that a brahmacharya or brahmacharya should put upon himself or herself regarding contacts with the opposite sex. I have not limitations which do not satisfy me. What they should be I do not know. I am experimenting. I have never claimed to have been a perfect detachment of my defilement. I have not acquired that control over my thoughts that I need for my researches in non-violence. If my non-violence is to be contagious and infectious, I must acquire greater control over my thoughts. There is perhaps a few specimens which accounts for the apparent failure of brahmacharya as to the opening sentence of this writing.

My faith in non-violence remains as strong as ever. I am quite sure that not only should it survive all our experiments in our country, but that it should, if properly applied, prevent

the bloodshed that is going on outside India and is threatening to overwhelm the Western world.

My resolution is limited. God has not given me the power to guide the world on the path of non-violence. But I have imagined that he has chosen me as his instrument for promoting non-violence to help for dealing with humanity. The progress already made is great. But much more remains to be done. And yet I seem to have lost the power to make the needed response from Congressmen in general. It is a bad suspicion who quarrels with his tools. It is a bad general who blames his men for faulty workmanship. I know I am not a bad general. I have wisdom enough to know my limitations. God will give me strength enough to choose my toolmaker if such is to be my lot. He will perhaps take me away when I am no longer wanted for the work which I have been permitted to do for nearly half a century. But I do entertain the hope that there is yet work for me to do, that the decisions that seem to have enveloped me will disappear, and that, whether with another body more brilliant than the Dead March or without, India will come to her own democracy through non-violent means. I am praying for the Right that will dispel the darkness. Let those who have a living faith in non-violence join me in the prayer.

SHRIMATI SUBBARAYAN'S REVISED BILL.

A Bill to Restrict Polygamous Marriages Among Hindus.

Whereas the marriage of a Hindu during the life-time of his wife or her husband with another woman or man is repugnant to modern Hindu sentiment and is detrimental to the peace and happiness of Hindu families, and whereas it is necessary to put restrictions on such marriages:

It is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. This Act may be called "The Hindu Polygamous Marriages Restriction Act, 1938."

2. (1) It shall apply to all Hindus in British India.

(2) It shall come into force on the first day of April, 1939.

3. (1) Notwithstanding anything in Hindu Law or custom to the contrary, and subject to the provisions of any legislative enactments for the time being in force, no person, being at the time married, shall except as provided in Section 1, during the life-time of his wife or her husband, contract a marriage with another woman or man unless the provisions of this Act have been complied with.

(2) Every person, who, being already married, contracts during the life-time of his wife or her husband another marriage except in accordance with this Act shall be deemed to have committed

an offence under Section 494 or Section 495 of the Indian Penal Code, as the case may be, and be liable for the penalties provided in those sections, and the marriage or, as the case may be, shall be void.

4. Any person whose wife or husband is living may present a petition to a Civil Court praying that he or she may be permitted to marry another wife or husband on any of the following grounds, namely:

(a) that the wife or husband has for a continuous period of five years been suffering from an infectious or incurable disease,

(b) that there has been desertion by the wife or husband for a continuous period of five years,

(c) that the wife or husband has been guilty of adultery for more than one year,

(d) that the wife or husband has been guilty of such cruelty as would entitle him or her to a decree of divorce.

Provided that:

If the petitioner is asked for on ground (a), the petitioner, if he is a husband, shall in addition state in his petition that he has transferred to his wife and placed her in possession of—

1. the dower and dowry that were given by her parents or relatives,

2. (a) if he has no sons or if he has sons from whom he is divided,—a third share of his property, movable and immovable,

(b) if he has undivided sons,—each share of his property as would be equal to a half of what he would get in such property on a partition with his sons

EXPLANATION.—Where a man owns an undivided share of a joint property or of a joint family property, his property shall for purposes of this section include such share.

5. On any such petition as is referred to in section 4, the Court shall after notice to the wife or husband, as the case may be, hold an inquiry, and if on such inquiry it is satisfied that the allegations in the petition are true, it shall pass an order permitting him or her to marry again. In other cases it shall dismiss the petition.

6. Nothing in this Act shall affect the right of a Hindu wife to recover maintenance from her husband where such right otherwise exists.

7. Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to restrict the right of a Hindu wife to marry another husband, if by law or valid custom she is entitled to do so.

VIOLENCE IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

(By J. C. Kammappa)

I

My attention has been drawn to a criticism of the Philosophy of the Village Industries by Mr. P. N. Narayan Prasad reviewing their pages of THE TWENTY-THIRD CENTURY. It contains nothing new but is a rehashing of the usual arguments of scholars asked in traditional Western economic theories who consider any faith or doctrine not taken note of within the confines of their reference books as fallacious. He evidently objects to religion, humanitarianism and political considerations being mixed up in pure economics, as he is unable to watch the development of the 'economic man' of the last decade, he has opened his mouth to let the 'dark of tortured patches' by stating 'In addition to the numerous movements to which are included the revolt of Russia against the worship of Mammon, the revival of William Morris from the wilderness of machinery, the individualism associated of Frenchism and Italianism, and the religious humanitarianism of Tolstoy, the philosophy centres in an added dose of economic poison poured into it by Mr. Kammappa at the behest of the Bombay Congress, and produced practically to order as a finished alternative to the accepted ideas of Socialism'. He derives much amusement from Gandhi's writings in support of Non-Violence.

The reviewer in doubt may not call for a re-statement of our standpoint, but as it influences misconceptions of the fundamental basis of our movement which are repeatedly put forward in public, it will not be out of place to re-state the basis of our philosophy. Unless friends of the type of Mr. Narayan Prasad realise that the village industries movement is an outcome of a desire for non-violence and truth in the economic sphere they will search in vain for authorities in Western textbooks. Of course, certain aspects of our reasoning can be paralleled from anarchists and others, but that is not sufficient reason to deny us.

The space at my disposal will not allow of my dealing with Mr. Narayan Prasad's arguments one by one, nor is it necessary, as they arise out of a misunderstanding of our viewpoint. It would therefore be better for us to examine the method of mass production by centralisation to see if at any stage it can be carried on without resorting to violence. If our argument shows that violence is an essential factor in that method of production, and if we are convinced that we should adhere violence in all dealings between man and man and work towards lasting international peace, it will leave us no option but to reject such a method at all costs.

Let us, therefore, carry out our scrutiny of the important functions and aspects of this

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method of production, only as raw materials, production, labour, transportation, marketing, distribution of wealth, finance and exchange. In doing so we shall be thinking markedly in terms of producing consumption goods as distinct from public utilities or key industries. In as far as an untried method is followed we do not distinguish between Communism, Capitalism or Fascism.

The feature of this system is that the instruments of production are controlled in one place. Raw materials are gathered from all sources and brought to this place; when finished goods are obtained there may be a small local market, but the bulk will be sent to markets at a distance. Often a demand for these has to be created by high prices, advertisement or advertising.

Raw Materials

Under this system, production being on a mass scale, large quantities of raw materials are required. The manufacturing plant would probably be located in the proximity of cheap fuel or other such material requirements. This will not in most cases be the place where the raw material also is available. It may have to be brought from another place. Thus the question of distance arises with the incidental problems of transport, safety in transit, security of routes or ships. Their rates of freight should not be exorbitant. Raw materials are bulky and require special transportation. Unless the manufacturer can control these it will not be possible for him to carry on production steadily. The success or failure depends on getting at the place of production a steady stream of raw materials at reasonable prices. This means obtaining control over the farmer who produces the material, and the railways and steamship lines that transport the goods. This is not possible for individual manufacturers. It has to be done collectively by the State. As the raw materials are drawn from all parts of the world it leads to the State, which represents the manufacturer, getting political control over others who produce raw materials. We have to resort to violence to achieve this. Without such political control there can be no centralized market for sufficient production. Again, even granting that railways and steamships were available as and when required, the question of safeguarding the main routes calls for military and naval equipment. Thus for securing raw material itself we have to resort to violence. Only waste control over capitalism for such commercial purposes only. It will be perfectly useless having a mill in Lancashire if the cotton routes are not guarded, raw material producers were not held in submission, and railway rate and freight fixing were not controlled in favour of Lancashire. In other words, the power to take all measures to drain away the raw materials at low cost might be a

prerequisite to the working of the mill. It is because of such forced draining away of materials that agriculture does not pay. Farmers are lashed by various wars to grow 'military crops' and are made to part with them at prices far below which they have no say. The situation is so unworkable that it is forced on them. If the Lancashire mill is able to work, it is because the raw material is made available at a price which hardly pays the farmer. It is transported at favourable rates by railway and steamships and processed on ships by the military and naval forces maintained at public cost. All these services are based on violence.

Production (continued)

Similarly, on the production side also, it is necessary to keep the machines going at a certain definite speed, we cannot stop working when we please or slow down at times. There is an economic speed below which or above which we cannot work without incurring a loss. To work at that required speed we must make arrangements to get a steady stream of raw materials. This will again bring us to the position we considered under raw materials giving us no alternative but to resort to violence.

(To be continued)

Prohibition in Ahmedabad

As we go to the press the following telegram has been received from Shri Chhotabhai Mehta regarding the inauguration of prohibition in Ahmedabad. "Prohibition inaugurated tonight. All crimes done closed. Great enthusiasm. Procession, meeting, and one lakh present. Total present approximately 500—European 25, Parsis 125, Hindus 35, Mohammedans 4, no mill workers, no Harpans." The prohibition campaign is no new thing in Ahmedabad. Few can have forgotten the glorious days of the prohibition of liquor shops by dedicated citizens of Ahmedabad headed by persons like Dr. Vallabhbhai, Ganpat and Mahadevi Vithayalji Ranpat. Few can have forgotten the handsome banners by prohibition and the prohibitionists. Indefatigable four years of organisation, suffered by mill workers selected for this work by Mahadevi Anantabai Bhabhai and Shri Chhotabhai Mehta. It was partly a women's and workers' movement, and it is highly gratifying to note that among the prohibitionists there are no Harpans and no mill workers and we hope, no women. A campaign begins under such hopeful auspices is bound to be a great success. May we hope that the thousands who joined the prohibition and attended the meeting will make themselves volunteers and workers in the cause and will make of it a success before the year is out? Let us hope Ahmedabad will set a glorious example to other industrial areas in the country.

DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS

(By N. K. Dasgupta)

I have before me several letters, some protesting against the constant rise in the price of khadi, and some passionately appealing to me to show the way to poor middle class people for buying dear khadi.

The A. I. E. A. exists only for the betterment of the khadi producers, the majority of whom are poor women spinners. I hold that the Association cannot be expected till every woman who puts in an hour's time in spinning gets one anna per hour. We are on the point of reaching half an anna per hour, and if the consumers and the Congress Government do their duty, the Association expects to give the same per hour much earlier than most people expect.

This must mean some rise in the price of khadi, but not a proportionate rise. Our people should know that constant effort is being made to create greater skill among the artisans so that the weight of the increase in the wages may not fall upon khadi. Overhead charges are also being constantly reduced. Still overhead increases with experience. But when these increases in the wages of spinners cannot all be brought about merely by increased efficiency. Therefore some rise in the price of khadi is inevitable with the increase in the wages. This is being unequally distributed among the different grades so that the poorest one will take place in the khadi that is purchased by the middle classes. Everything that can be done to ease the burden on poor buyers is being done and will be done by the Association.

But khadi-wearers should know that the economics of khadi are different from the ordinary economics which are based on competition in which politicians, engineers and business play little or no part. Khadi economics are based on production, sustenance and humanity.

Before the new policy of the Association was laid down, its aim was to cheapen khadi, mostly in disregard of the wages of the spinners, the most helpless women perhaps in the world. This continued for nearly a decade. It was a mistaken policy, but the mistake was unconscious and based on faulty reasoning. I must take the largest share of the blame for the mistake. Khadi-wearers had the sole benefit of the mistake. Is it right for them to complain when the mistake is being repaired and the spinners are gradually being paid what is their due?

The Association has expected heavy competition from the khadi-wearers, and I am glad to be able to say that on the whole the increase in the price of khadi has not been resented by them. Many consider it a privilege that they are partners in the lucky picture that is being

drawn to the khadi shawl whose need is infinitely greater than that of the wearers of khadi.

I know that there are many middle class persons who find it difficult to make the two ends meet, and for them every additional anna becomes a problem. And they will not spin. They have my sympathy. But they cannot have it both ways. If they will not spin, they should cut down their expenditures or reduce other expenses. In this climate we do not need the clothes we use. Where there is a will there is a way.

A correspondent suggests that khadi is mainly supported by the poor middle class, and contends that if the prices are not brought down to the level at which they can buy it, it will not survive me. If that is the condition on which alone khadi can live, it deserves to perish. Happily there is a deluge behind the argument. The question of cheapness mainly affects the city-dwellers. If all of them, rich and poor, took to khadi, they could hardly use more than ten per cent of the possible production of khadi. The rest has to be used by the producers themselves who are villagers. The question of price does not affect them materially, if at all. It is true that khadi has not penetrated the villages to the extent expected. During the transition period, therefore, it has to depend upon the profitable export of city-dwellers both rich and poor. Those who believe in the message of khadi will not consider any price too dear for khadi. It is the only real message against famine and unemployment. Even if India were to be industrialized overnight, much of the unemployment would remain. In this country the problem is to find work for a white nation which has one-fourth of her share without competition. If pollution, poverty and bloodshed are to be avoided, there is no remedy but khadi and other village industries. Those who believe in this mission of khadi and who believe also in a living wage being paid to the spinners, will not grudge the increase that has to be made in the price of khadi. They may only upon the Association working with the utmost caution. The past two years' experience warrants the hope that the public welcome the increase in the wages that the spinners are receiving.

CONTENTS	PAGE
HOW THE VOLUNTARY WORKERS — N. K. Dasgupta	194
ART EDUCATION IN INDIA — H. L. Sen	195
PROGRESS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY — J. C. Sen	196
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	197
CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN INDIA — H. L. Sen	198
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	199
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	200
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	201
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	202
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	203
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	204
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	205
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	206
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	207
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	208
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	209
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	210
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	211
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	212
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	213
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	214
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	215
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	216
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	217
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	218
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	219
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	220
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	221
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	222
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	223
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	224
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	225
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	226
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	227
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	228
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	229
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	230
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	231
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	232
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	233
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	234
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	235
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	236
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	237
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	238
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	239
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	240
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	241
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	242
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	243
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	244
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	245
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	246
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	247
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	248
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	249
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	250
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	251
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	252
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	253
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	254
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	255
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	256
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	257
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	258
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	259
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	260
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	261
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	262
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	263
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	264
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	265
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	266
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	267
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	268
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	269
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	270
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	271
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	272
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	273
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	274
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	275
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	276
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	277
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	278
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	279
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	280
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	281
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	282
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	283
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	284
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	285
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	286
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	287
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	288
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	289
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	290
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	291
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	292
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	293
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	294
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	295
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	296
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	297
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	298
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	299
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	300
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	301
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	302
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	303
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	304
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	305
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	306
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	307
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	308
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	309
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	310
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	311
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	312
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	313
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	314
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	315
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	316
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	317
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	318
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	319
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	320
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	321
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	322
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	323
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	324
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	325
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	326
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	327
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	328
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	329
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	330
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	331
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	332
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	333
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	334
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	335
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	336
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	337
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	338
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	339
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	340
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	341
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	342
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	343
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	344
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	345
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	346
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	347
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	348
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	349
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	350
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	351
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	352
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	353
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	354
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	355
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	356
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	357
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	358
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	359
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	360
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	361
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	362
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	363
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	364
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	365
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	366
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	367
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	368
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	369
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	370
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	371
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	372
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	373
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	374
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	375
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	376
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	377
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	378
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	379
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	380
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	381
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	382
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	383
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	384
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	385
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	386
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	387
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	388
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	389
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	390
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	391
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	392
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	393
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	394
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	395
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	396
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	397
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	398
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	399
THE DUTY OF KHAND-WEARERS — N. K. Dasgupta	400



HARIJAN

Editor: MANABENDU GHOSH

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

1190

VOL. VI, No. 15.]

POONA — SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1945

[ONE ANNA]

NOTES

Past Sacrifices

We have received again a number of protests against the tone of the article 'Defying Past Sacrifices' in the issue of May 24. These friends forget that there was no question of misjudging the value of those sacrifices. If anything the article was a warning against doing as so those who claimed certain things as an ASSET from Congress Government because of those past sacrifices, did so at the expense of their own mission. And our whole objection was directed against claiming maintenance as a matter of right.

But there is another complaint against us, and not without a semblance of reason. "The nation, let it be remembered," we had stated, "did not call upon Government servants to resign." Against this statement is cited the following extract from the Congress Working Committee's statement issued on the 24th October, 1931.

"That it is contrary to the national dignity and national interest for any Indian to engage or remain in the service of a Government in any capacity whatever—a Government that has used the violence and the price for suppressing the just aspirations of the people, as during the British Act system, and that has refused the violence for the purpose of creating the national spirit of the Egyptians, the Turks, the Arabs and other nations."

Let it be remembered that the statement was issued in protest against the arrest and prosecution of the Air Brothers and their comrades, who were responsible for a catastrophe caused by the Kamohi Khilafat Conference declaring it "unlawful for any faithful Muslim to serve from that day in the way or help or co-operation in their recruitment." Let it also be remembered that whilst the Working Committee in their statement declared the principle and challenged the prosecution as an undue interference with religious liberty, they also made it clear why they had NOT called upon the civil and military servants to resign in the name of the Congress.

"The Working Committee has been very deterred from asking not the soldiers and the officials in the name of the Congress because the Congress is not yet ready to support those Government servants who may have Government service and

who may not be able themselves to find means of livelihood. The Working Committee is, however, of opinion that in pursuance of the spirit of the Congress resolution on Non-co-operation it is the clear duty of every Government employee, whether soldier or civilian, who can support himself without Congress assistance, to leave such service."

We do not think that this declaration of the Working Committee proves in any way that our statement was incorrect. On the contrary it shows that it was consistent to say that the nation, i.e. the Congress, did not call upon the Government servants to resign, and the reasons stated sufficiently justified the remarks in our article in question.

"But," says a memorial presented to a Prime Minister on behalf of those ex-Government servants, "it is inconsistent with the ordinary sense of justice, not to speak of the high ideals of the Congress, to make the special plea that the Congress did not call upon the Government servants to resign their appointments and that therefore they are not entitled to any relief. When those whose services have contributed to the present position of the Congress, are suffering from want and distress, it is the duty of the Congress Ministers unapologetically to afford relief to such sufferers."

To ask for RELIEF is one thing, and to ask for an appointment of 'that grade and status which I would have got had I been in service all these years,' as is being done by various claimants, is another thing altogether. There is no question of granting any relief, and it is altogether without grace to remind the Prime Minister that he and his Government owe their position to these workers. Relief everyone is entitled to, but only in so far as it may be possible for a Congress Government to give it. It was not their intention to give any relief, or to give it unapologetically, they would not have invited applications from these ex-Government servants. It is hardly fair to impute to the Ministers with allegations of injustice and treachery when they declare their inability to afford relief.

Why He Supports the Wardha Scheme

We have on our 15th a pathetic letter in which the correspondent indirectly gives his reasons for supporting the Wardha education scheme.

"By depriving my seven children of their mid-day meals," he says, "I find the posture to send this letter to you." He then refers to a Madras Government order to the effect that textbooks in all schools which need to be changed once in FIVE years would be changed once in TWO years, and gives a formidable list of books which we are tempted to reproduce in order to show the necessity of the writing of our present day education. We look at this list of books for the 5th form boys:

English.—Old English Text.

Macdonald's New English Reader No. 1

English.—Rama in Lanka by Longman

Uttin Chena

Selections in Poetry by the Headmaster of Sir James Macdonald Memorial School, Mysore

Grammar by P. S. Krishnaswami

Synopsis

Arithmetic by T. Ramakrishnan

Tamil.—Original Tamil Reader No. 1

Raja Yennala

Tamil Grammar

Uthappa

Tamil Grammar

Geography of Madras Presidency by S. Panigrahi, revised. Iyer, Madras edition. Book costing Rs. 5

History of India.—by T. V. Chelappa Iyer

Science.—by B. Subramanyam Iyer

Look at the number of books in English, with a Grammar to boot by a particular author, and also books on arithmetic and science (in English of course) by various favourite authors. The correspondent rightly says:

"As a private tutor myself I can say that it is not the object of the school authorities to impart as much knowledge as young boys, but to obtain their commendation to new books presented to them, which ranges from Rs. 10 to 15 per cent on the sale price. I was born and bred in villages and have known thousands of wage workers, peasants, and others, *peasants*, who live on their poor people's sweat to buy for their children textbooks which are changed every alternate year." I produce old textbooks for my children. How can I afford to purchase them if they change every alternate year? Indeed here was the williness of our poor parents to buy these textbooks at all?"

But, surely, the educational authorities will say to our correspondent that the class of people mentioned in this letter are not expected to educate their children in these schools and to buy all these books! No wonder the correspondent says "We welcome the Wardha Scheme and expect it would result in an educational revolution in India." The responsibility of the sponsors of the Wardha Scheme is immense. They have to bring about a thoroughgoing revolution, and teach all the subjects mentioned above (excepting English) without any textbooks or with the fewest and cheapest textbooks

possible. One textbook will not be published for competing publishing firms, they will not need to be changed every alternate year, they will be in the language of the people, and they will be within the means of the poorest.

Debate Khandi

The Maharashtra Charkha League, which has taken a further step forward by increasing the spinners' wage so as to make it about six annas per an eight hours' day, has devoted one whole issue of the *Mahatma Khandi Patrika* to explaining the rationale of the increase in the wage. It contains articles by Balu Rajendra Prasad, Shri Chakrabarti Das, Shri Keshavnand Mashruwala and other friends kindly volunteered in Khandi work. One argument against the increase has been successfully used in favour of the increase by Shri Mashruwala and Dattatreya. The argument is that the increase in the spinners' wage is sure to put up other workers' wages also and would even make agriculture impossible. "This is an argument," says Shri Mashruwala, "that is only partially true. It is forgotten that the increased wage will raise the standard of living all round and therefore necessarily the *self-sufficiency* also. It is for us workers to show them how this will happen and how it will be all to their good," Shri Dattatreya says: "The argument reveals to us the really revolutionary aspect of the new departure. Khandi used to have for us only a patriotic appeal, but if it will bring about an increase in wages all round and ensure to all workers a living wage, it will be a consummation devoutly to be wished. In no other way could you bring about a radical change in our social structure which is needed as much as the political change." Balu Rajendra Prasad says: "The process that justified the higher price of Khandi up to now should justify the still higher price today. The overwhelming reason for the fresh increase in wage is that it is a close approach to the minimum wage of eight annas a day that we want to secure for every manual worker. The moment we secure the spinner No. 15 a month we do so for every other worker throughout the country."

The question of the decrease of Khandi was disposed of ably by Shri Gopalrao Nanda in his brochure *Some Aspects of Khandi*.

"What really affects the whole of the movement is not the fact that the price of Khandi is high but that it is higher than mill cloth. During the War we paid for most commodities many times more than their present price because we had no alternative before us than a question of abstinence. If as mill cloth is available, the price of Khandi will no longer be felt as prohibitive." And then, we must not miss the purpose of the movement to encourage the sale on terms of village producers including Khandi. If those who wear Khandi consider that they do so at a sacrifice, let the sacrifice be large enough

to cover the enormous gap. I professes of black, i. e. to profit from the professors of black, a deficiency of mind and the lowest education of these republicans of human life. If black fails to do this, the eyes of black would be taking out of the citizens much more than they would be putting back into them. Of such great education no lover of black would care to be guilty, even if he has to make a little more expenditure on his clothing expenditure under the new arrangement."

And that Vanda put the meat for the opinion in his strikingly telling way in a recent speech.

"We black workers are supposed to be working at a great machine. If we are content with the 10 a month. But we forget that we enjoy sexual love and child love, whereas the poor opinion working under us gets only 10 a month and a half and has to live on 10 a month a day. He has no sexual or child love. He may enjoy any amount of love without pay. If he has no sexual or child love, he must live on at the cost of his wage and will soon be pay for his food. We are being told that the machine are that replacing the manual workers, and that we must therefore identify ourselves with them and wear them down their influence. But how shall we identify ourselves with them? If we will do so voluntarily, we should help the full that operates on love them. We should demand to their steadily and increase their wage. It is impossible to identify ourselves with them without running them a losing wage."

Conclusion

The Daily correspondent of the *Manoanua* dynamite says that a demand for the recognition of labor, as a temporary basis, to come into force on the first of July was presented the other day, and that the industries which are likely to have labor drafted to them will be primarily those connected with amusement and public works and agriculture. "The demand," says the correspondent, "applies to all men and women in all occupations who are capable of working, and advises them temporarily to be appended to a special plan of work to perform services in accordance with an ordinary employment agreement or to attach themselves to a specified training." This means that interference with all employment inasmuch as everyone will be liable to be conscripted as to whether or not he is last employed.

But if a nation waited to violence become conscript labor for the purpose of the State, why should not we, a nation, we hope, united to independence, introduce voluntary conscription for the purpose of the nation?

But the cry of conscription is raised here the moment any attempt is made for any kind of conscripted action. We have not yet forgotten the storm of indignation that was raised by the introduction of the spinning franchise a few years ago.

And now a storm is raging over the Madras Government's attempt to introduce the study of Hindi (not affecting geography or procedure!) in order to secure the welding together of the North and the South of the country. There is obviously no side over the terrible waste of the years of students over learning through a foreign medium, over churches and immovable landmarks, over high fees, etc. Every institution must have certain rules for its conduct, and it is open to it to have compulsory periods of work, prayer or spinning. Voluntary conscription to the rules involves no compulsion.

A Real National School

Some national schools have survived the vicissitudes of our political struggle, and they have done so because they are truly national. One of these is the Kiangang National School. Because of voluntary conscription spinning has been compulsory there for years, but those in charge of the school are steadily adding new departments. That Vanda describes the latest in a recent issue of *Green Sea Press*.

"Spinning is compulsory for all days in the week excepting Thursday which is the market day. Spinning is a holiday for all other purposes but not for spinning. Two and a half hours have been set apart for spinning to enable the students to have their full supply of clothes for the week. 54 students do their regular spinning every day in the week and everyone has to spin a length of full yards every day in addition to the other cloth work and household duties. All students have not yet succeeded in doing their spins, for some are quite fresh and some have not yet acquired the speed. This part pays for part of their food. We have introduced two new features this week. (1) Formerly spinning was arranged in two of the students who used to be paid Rs 1 to Rs 20 as remuneration for their work. This has now been changed, and every one of the students, excepting the pregnant, will now have his turn of working and each will get help to help for more than one turn during the day. Spinning takes 5 hours and cooking takes about the same time, and so the time for work is accepted from spinning this day (2) Formerly we had managers to clean the latrines and boys used to help in maintaining general cleanliness. We have now dispensed with the services of the managers and the boys are doing the whole of the latrines by turns. We have now two target students but there is no inconsistency. They not only help in the working and serving with the rest on terms of absolute equality."

This is from one of the regular reports that the Vanda receives from the school. But Vanda says: "National education has now a chance to be universalized, and if we use the day when it is universalized, much of the world will belong to schools like the Kiangang school which are conducting the experiment in the proper spirit."

H A R I J A N

Vol 10

1938

A CLARIFICATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An independent writer a long while on my article on Higher Education from which I take the following relevant extracts:

"There is need for further clarification of your views on Higher Education as they have appeared in the HARIJAN of the 24th inst. I agree with many of your views—especially those regarding the necessity of the change caused by the foreign mission. I also said that what passes as higher education today contains much more medicine for pain. I quote these expressions as I was a teacher in the line of the so-called 'higher education.' All very recently. It is a post hoc conclusion about general aversion and desire of higher education and its necessity, not that Government should be self-supporting, that has left me unconvinced. I believe that every country to be a progressive country must have sufficient facilities for the pursuit of all branches of knowledge—not merely chemistry, medicine and engineering, but every kind of knowledge, literature, philosophy, history, sociology, law, science and applied. All higher pursuits require money facilities which cannot be had without State support. A country depending on its voluntary effort for such pursuits is sure to fall behind and suffer. It can never hope to be free and to able to maintain that freedom. The State must be actively interested even the position of higher education is not definite. Voluntary effort must be done and we must have our Middle and Englishmen. But the State cannot and must not be allowed to remain a third spectator. It must actively come forward to organize, help and direct. I wish you to clarify the aspect of the question."

Thus at the end of your article: "Under my scheme there will be more and better libraries." I do not find "our scheme" you speak of in your article, nor am I able to make out how "more and better libraries and laboratories" will come into being themselves. I am of opinion that such libraries and laboratories must be maintained, and so long as direct and voluntary support are not coming forward in sufficient numbers, the State cannot shirk itself of the responsibility."

My article is clear enough. If the expression "define me" mentioned in it is given its extensive meaning I have not pictured a poverty-stricken India containing ignorant millions. I have pictured a roused India now steadily progressing along the lines laid out by her genius. I do not, however, picture it as a filled class or even a first class copy of the

dying civilisation of the West. If my dream is fulfilled, and every one of the seven lines of villages becomes a well-being republic in which there are no illiterates, in which no one is idle for want of work, in which everyone is usefully employed and has something to do, well-ventilated dwellings, and sufficient food for covering the body, and in which all the villages have and observe the laws of hygiene and sanitation, such a State must have varied and increasing needs, which it must supply unless it would stagnate. I can therefore well imagine the State financing all the education my correspondent mentions and much more that I could add. And if the State has such requirements, surely it will have corresponding liberties.

What, however, according to my view the State will not have is an army of B. A.'s and M. A.'s with their brains clogged with too much cramming and minds almost paralysed by the impossible attempt to speak and write English like Englishmen. The majority of these have no work, no employment. And when they have the better, it is usually dissipation at which most of the knowledge gained during their twelve years of High Schools and Colleges is of no use whatsoever to them.

University training becomes self-supporting when it is ordered by the State. It is ordained to pay for a training which benefits neither the nation nor the individual. In my opinion there is no such thing as individual benefit which cannot be proved to be also national benefit. And since most of my critics seem to be agreed that the existing Higher Education, and for that matter both Primary and Secondary, are not connected with reality, it cannot be of benefit to the State. When it is directly based on reality and is wholly given through the mother tongue, I shall perhaps have nothing to say against it. To be based on reality is to be based on national, a State, requirements. And the State will pay for it. Even when that hour comes, we shall find that many institutions will be conducted by voluntary contributions. They may or may not benefit the State. Most of what passes for education today in India belongs to that category and would therefore not be paid for from the general revenue, if I had the way.

But the statement of my critics as the two main points, medium and the 'realities', cannot tell me to rest. They have criticised and belittled all these many years the existing system. Now that the opportunity for reform has come, Congressmen ought to become impatient. If the medium is changed at once and not gradually, in an incredibly short time we shall find teachers and teachers coming into being to supply the want. And if we mean business, in a year's time we shall find that we need never have been party to the brain waste of the nation's time and energy

is trying to learn the essentials of culture through a foreign medium. The condition of success is undoubtedly that periodical languages are introduced at once in Government offices and courts, if the Provincial Governments have the power or the influence over the courts. If we believe in the necessity of the reform, we can achieve it in no time.

THE C. P. CRISIS

The Working Committee issued the following statement on the 14th inst.

"With reference to the meeting of the C. P. Congress Parliamentary Party convened at the instance of the Working Committee, the Working Committee have decided that in the special circumstances that have arisen the President is possible over the meeting, communicate to it the resolution of the Working Committee passed on July 24, 1935, relating to the misbehavior which in the C. P. and conduct its proceedings. The Working Committee also decided that the meeting be held at Narendrabhai Vithaldas, Wartha."

The following is the resolution of the Working Committee referred to in the foregoing statement.

"After having heard the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and given serious consideration to the events that have happened since the agreement entered at in Parliament between the Ministers in the presence of the members of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the Presidents of the three Provincial Congress Committees connected, and after having had several interviews with Dr. Khare, the Working Committee have unanimously come to the conclusion that by the series of acts committed by Dr. Khare, culminating in his resignation of his charge and demanding the resignation of his colleagues of their charge, Dr. Khare was guilty of gross acts of indecent, which have exposed the Congress in the C. P. to ridicule and brought down its prestige. He was also guilty of gross indiscretion in that he acted in spite of warnings against any precipitate action.

His resignation was the first cause for the sorrow, for the first time since office acceptance by the Congress, by a Governor of his central powers, whereby Dr. Khare's three colleagues were dismissed. The Working Committee acts with satisfaction that these three Congress Ministers showed their loyalty to the Congress by resigning, without instructions from the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, to tender their resignations which were demanded by the Governor.

Dr. Khare was further guilty of indiscretion in accepting the invitation of the Governor to form a new Ministry, and, contrary to the practice of which he was aware, in actually forming a new Ministry and taking the oath of allegiance without reference to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the Working Committee, specially when he knew that the meetings of these bodies were imminent.

By all these acts of his Dr. Khare has proved himself unworthy of holding positions of responsibility in the Congress organization. He should be so considered still, by his services as a Congressman, he has shown himself well-balanced and capable of observing strict discipline and discharging the duties that may be undertaken by him.

The Working Committee have also come to the constant conclusion that H. R. the Governor of the C. P. has shown, by the ugly trade with which he turned right into day and forced the crisis that has created the present, that he was eager to weaken and discredit the Congress in so far as it lay in him to do so. The Working Committee held that knowing, as he must have, what was going on among members of the Cabinet and the instructions of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, he ought not to have, with unworthy bias, accepted the resignation of the three Ministers and demanded the resignation of the other three, dismissed them on their refusal to resign, and immediately called upon Dr. Khare to form a new Ministry and even so the available members of the new Ministry without waiting for the meeting of the Working Committee which was imminent."

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

The Working Committee at its recent sitting at Wartha passed the following resolutions:

1. The Working Committee sympathize the people of Madras, Vaid, Bandung, Jambhundi and May, on the success they have achieved in their brave and unselfish struggle for the vindication of their economic and political rights.

2. The Working Committee express their sympathy for the people of the United States in Union on the non-violent struggle they have been carrying on against the regulations banning meetings and processions, and the formation of associations within the State.

3. The Working Committee resolve that State Congress Committees do function as hitherto under the prohibition of their respective Provincial Congress Committees for the time being.

4. The Working Committee express their sorrow at the premature and sudden death of Shri B. Rajeswar, a former Office Secretary to the A. I. C. C. Office, and convey their condolences to the family of the deceased.

Resolved that a gratuity of Rs. 1,000 be granted to the widow of Shri B. Rajeswar in recognition of his loyal services to the Congress organization.

5. Resolved that no complaints regarding elections be heard before he addressed to and entertained by the Working Committee until after such complaints have been placed before the final presidential authority and decided upon.

4 Received that Shri Kripanda Prasad be authorized to go into the Bihar-Bengal controversy relating to the questions of (1) domicile, (2) public services, (3) education, and (4) trade and commerce, and settle it finally. Pending the settlement of this controversy the Working Committee agreed to all concerned, particularly to the people of Bihar and Bengal, to desist from any further agitation in this behalf, and help in creating a proper atmosphere for a just and harmonious solution of the whole problem.

5 With reference to the resolution passed by the Working Committee at Wardha on August 14-17, 1937, relating to the appointment of an expert committee to explore the possibilities of an all-India industrial plan, it resolved that as a preliminary step the President be authorized to convene a conference of the Ministers of Industries at an early date and call for a report on the existing industries in the different provinces, and the needs and possibilities of new ones.

6 Having heard the views of the deputations of the Andhra P. C. C., the Andhra Mahasabha, the Karnataka United India Committee, and the Kerala P. C. C., on the question of the re-distribution of provinces in India on a linguistic basis for administrative purposes, this Committee declares that the resolutions of the Madras Legislature on linguistic provinces and of the Bombay Legislature on the separation of the Kanara Province were passed with the previous sanction of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and have the full approval of this Committee. This Committee desires to assure the people of the areas concerned that a solution of the question will be undertaken as a part of the future scheme of the Government of India as soon as the Congress has the power so to do, and calls upon the people of those areas to desist from any further agitation in this behalf which may divert attention from the main issue now before the country.

7 Having heard an account of the settlement of the Jajpur-Orissa dispute from Seth Jamsundh Bapat, the Committee congratulates the people on having listened to his counsel and shown a true spirit of harmony in having decided to give up the idea of armed resistance and adopt the method of non-violence, resulting in the prevention of bloodshed which was imminent. The Working Committee regrets the needless loss of life that has resulted during the firing on Orissa on July 4 and expresses its confidence in the fidelity of the demand. The Committee hopes that its future dealings with the people of Orissa the Jajpur authorities will not be in a spirit of confrontation, as so to restore friendly relations between the State and the Raj Rajs and the people of Orissa.

8 The Working Committee received a deputation of medical practitioners other than allopaths. The Committee is of the opinion that harmonious peace in towns and villages in India are resulting in the benefit of treatment under

other systems like Ayurveda, Unani and Homoeopathy and they should receive recognition and encouragement from the Congress Government. The Committee is further of the opinion that, while measures may be adopted to assure the efficiency of such practitioners, nothing should be done to pervert any particular system. As regards objections to particular proposals in the Bill pending before the Legislative Assembly of Bombay, the matter is referred to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee.

9. The Working Committee appreciates the action of the Afghan Government in abolishing the monopolistic arrangements made by them for controlling the export trade in dry fruit which were detrimental to the interests of Indian merchants in Afghanistan and India. The Committee welcomes the restoration of the status quo in this behalf which will help to improve friendly feelings between the people of India and Afghanistan.

BAD TEETH ARE REFINED CARBOHYDRATES

[The following note is sent by a medical friend.
Ed. Harijan.]

It has been observed in the past that the incidence of dental caries in the West has increased in proportion to the increase in the consumption of sugar, cane-sugar, chocolate, etc. Sugar was regarded as the arch-enemy of teeth, the decay being set down to the fermentation caused by the presence of sugar in the mouth. Later on the deficiency of vitamin D came to be regarded as a contributive factor in the causation of dental caries. Lack of this vitamin leads to disturbance of calcium phosphorus metabolism in the body, and thus to deficient calcification of bones, teeth, etc. Moreover when vitamin D is deficient in diet various animals have a decalcifying influence on teeth in different degrees, rats being the worst and rice and wheat being the least harmful in this respect. Recent research has, however, shown that it is not the exclusive use of carbohydrates themselves nor the deficiency of vitamin D alone that is responsible for the production of dental caries. The use of REFINED carbohydrates, which is one of the features of the 'era of civilization', is an important factor. It has been experimentally proved that crude carbohydrates contain a 'protective agent' which checks the process of dental decay. This protective agent is lost in the process of refining. THE HARIJAN WEEKLY JOURNAL, dated February 29 had, given an account of the experiments of Osborne and his co-workers on the basis of which they have come to this conclusion.

Undeveloped natural teeth were obtained from patients who had been advised extraction for various reasons. These were immersed in various substances which had been held in the mouth for two minutes and well rinsed with saline,

control being a mixture of saline and saline. In one case the substance used was crude cane-sugar juice, in another refined sucrose, in still others whole wheatenmeal and whole flour, whole mealie meal and highly refined mealie meal 48-70%, and whole mealie meal and 80% of extra-fine mealie meal, were respectively compared. It was found in each case that the bulk in refined material decayed more than three or unfined and in unfined more than three in saline and saline.

The diet of the African Beasts was also supplied with, to find out how combination helps decay to Beasts teeth. It was found that dental decay was associated with molasses-ground mealie meal, white bread and refined sugar. This further supports the conclusion arrived at from the above experiments that crude cane sugar and wheat are complicated with some 'protective agent' which inhibits the process of dental decay and which is destroyed in the process of refining.

Thanks to the experience obtained to the cleaning of the teeth the first thing in the morning and after every meal that we have handed down to us from the earliest times, and to the use of toothpaste in their unrefined and natural form, the incidence of bad teeth amongst has in India they among the people in the West. This splendid heritage of ours, however, is likely to be seriously imperilled, judging from the rate at which sugar and flour meals are multiplying in this country, unless the evil is checked in time.

More Temples Opened

The Bombay Provincial Board of the Marjuna Sewak Sabha have issued the following press note:

The Bombay Provincial Board of the Marjuna Sewak Sabha are glad to announce that they have received intimation from the trustees to the effect that the aforementioned temples under their control are also open to Marjuna. This brings the total number of temples thrown open to Marjuna in Bombay to 41.

1. Shri Banga Mankar, 15 Gaidewadi, Bombay
2. " Vallabh Mankar, 17,
3. " Bhagya Mata, Bhandra, " 15th " Mankar
4. " Shri Mankar (Compound), Marjuna, Bombay
5. Anand Mata Mankar, Bhamburda, Bombay
6. Vardha Mata Mahadevi Mankar, Pydhon, Bombay
7. Shri Dattatraya Mankar, 1st, Gargan, Bombay,
8. " Banga Mankar, 16, Third Khandowadi, Bombay
9. " Vishal Mahadevi Mankar, at the compound of Shri Mahadevi Mankar, Marjuna, Bombay

The Conquest of Violence

By Part de Logi

"The author, a French biologist, has here made a study of the methods of non-violent resistance, as they have been practiced in world history, and as they might be used today by the working classes, and oppressed colonial peoples, not only in present war, but in long ahead the Revolution in a modern way. One of the author's strongest convictions is that where violence is used, in the course of revolution, it follows an iron rule." From Rs. 1-3-4. (Lodge) - An entire Available at the Marjuna Office - From 4

NO DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HARJIAN

The Government of Bombay have published the following press note:

It has been represented to Government that members of the Scheduled Classes are sometimes not admitted into public conveyances and buses, and sometimes are indirectly discouraged from entering public conveyances.

The attention of the public is invited to this connection to rule 14 of the Rules to regulate the use of motor vehicles let or hiring for hire in public places outside the City of Bombay. This rule provides that no driver or owner or agent employed on behalf of an owner shall refuse to sell a ticket to any person on the ground of caste or community or refuse to admit a recent entry to any Motor-holder on such grounds. Rule 43 of the same rules empowers District Superintendents of Police to suspend or cancel any public driver's permit or owner's permit when the holder thereof or his agent has committed any breach of these rules or of any orders issued thereunder.

Government have issued instructions that Superintendents of Police should see that the rules which forbid any discrimination against the members of the Scheduled Classes in respect of the use of public service conveyances and buses are strictly enforced and that instances of the breach of these rules brought to their notice are severely dealt with.

It has also been represented to Government that some hotels refuse to enter for members of the Scheduled Classes. Government desire that no such distinction should be made on account of caste or creed in places of public entertainment. The attention of the public is now invited to a new rule, which provides that no person keeping a place of public entertainment under a license shall refuse admission to such place to any member of the Marjuna Caste or Scheduled Classes on the ground of his being a member of such caste or class. Government have decided to insert this rule in the rules for keeping places of public entertainment made by the Commissioner of Police for the City of Bombay under section 153(4) of the City of Bombay Police Act, 1902, and by the District Magistrate in the method under section 29-A of the Bombay District Police Act, 1915. For a breach of this rule the license granted under the rules shall be liable to be cancelled by the licensing authority.

Save National Education

The first edition of *Save National Education* is announced. The second edition, containing the report of the Marjuna Education Committee, the detailed syllabus, and a foreword by Mahadevi Gandhi, is in the press and will be available for sale by the end of the month. Free single copies, postage extra. The Marjuna and Caste education will also be available very cheaply. To be had from the Secretary, Marjuna Education, Sirgh, Warden, or the Marjuna Office, From 4

NUTRITIVE VALUE OF RICE

(By F. L. MILES)

There has been published recently a monograph* on the nutritive value of rice, which should be of interest not only to all workers of the All India Village Industries Association, but also to others who give some thought to problems of nutrition. The research on which the Report is based was carried out in the Department of Biochemistry at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, and in the concluding portion of the Report Dr. Shrivastava outlines the problems of practical importance on which further research which is proposed to be undertaken in the immediate future. The researches already carried out provide, however, ample justification for the emphasis that the A. I. V. I. A. has laid on the use of husked/unpolished rice. "A very large part of the essential nutritive constituents—protein, minerals and fats, of the husked (unpolished) grain are concentrated in the outer layers, so that the process of polishing, which has now become a prevalent practice even in the countryside, operations of rice pounding and milling makes the rice almost entirely devoid of nutritive qualities,"—that is the conclusion arrived at after detailed investigations. The complete removal of the bran layers in the grain, Dr. Shrivastava proceeds to observe, results in the loss of about 15, 20, and 40 per cent, respectively, of protein, fats and minerals. The use of polished rice, as the A. I. V. I. A. have already recognized, need not be discouraged to the same extent as that of highly polished rice because polished rice contains more of nitrogen and phosphorus than rice polished in the same extent, and besides, this variety of rice is also more easily digestible than rice rice.

Here we usually looked upon as possessing poor food value. But investigations made by Dr. Shrivastava show that some of the concentrated and colored varieties contained large quantities of protein and mineral constituents particularly phosphorus, calcium and iron, often compare favourably with wheat which holds a place of pre-eminence among cereals. These varieties of rice possess much thicker bran layers, so that, the researches show, even on milling the extent of the loss of nutritive constituents from each variety which are considered inferior, is less than with the superior varieties under ordinary conditions. It is also possible to enhance greatly, Dr. Shrivastava holds, the nutritive value of rice as ordinarily consumed. To secure this it is necessary to encourage the use of unpolished rice especially from coloured and coarse varieties known to be rich in essential nutritive constituents and to prevent the losses of these constituents arising from the faulty practices in regard to washing and soaking. Lastly, it should be possible, according to Dr. Shrivastava, by proper fertilizer applications to enhance the nutritive value of rice by enriching its protein and mineral constituents. This work may well be taken in hand in provinces where rice forms the staple food of the people, through the agricultural breeding experts attached to the Provincial Departments of Agriculture.

One difficulty, which has been experienced not in rural areas but in large centres of population, is that of devising satisfactory arrangements for the storage of unpolished rice. These problems of storage too have been studied by Dr. Shrivastava, although further research work is still necessary. Husked rice has better keeping quality than rice even when unpolished; while boiled rice in the unpolished condition undergoes a rapid deterioration "with the development of off-flavours on keeping". It may be possible, Dr. Shrivastava suggests, by suitable control of humidity and storage methods to prevent, or at any rate greatly to minimize, the deterioration of husked rice on storage, but the exact nature of the changes on storage need to be studied further in detail. Lastly, Dr. Shrivastava proposes that to overcome the difficulty of storage of unpolished rice, steps should be taken to derive and introduce cheap and efficient stockstalls which can be continuously used in small households. This is a matter which has already attracted the attention of the A. I. V. I. A. which has placed in the market the Maganandi chikla made of teak wood available at Rs. 4-0-0 each. This type of chikla can hold 40-50 lbs. of paddy per hour. Other types of chiklas are also under examination so that the output can be increased and the wear by continuous service reduced.

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* Progress Report on the Science of Nutrition, as applied to crops with special reference to Rice (During the Period December 1932 to November 1937) by Dr. A. Shrivastava, M. A. B. Sc., A. I. C.

HARIJAN

Editor: MANABENDU GHOSH

Under the auspices of The Indian Social League



Vol. VI No. 74

POONA — SATURDAY, AUGUST 4, 1940

[ONE ANNA]

Notes

A Non-violent Army?

Several newspapers have recently given currency to a report that an 'army' was being raised in several districts of U. P. out of the various Volunteers or Ray Samiti organisations, and the name of the Education Minister of the province, Sri Sampurnanandji, was especially mentioned in connection with this. Some newspapers have taken the news to mean that regular military training would be given, and must have applied the adjective 'non-violent' to the news 'army' in an unthoughtfully sarcastic manner. On Gandhiji writing to the Minister of Education in the matter, he has received from him a letter in Hindustani which deserves as much publicity as the distorted reports referred to above have received. The following is a free translation:

'I am pained that some opportunists and misguides of the Congress should have given you cause for anxiety by their false propaganda. These people have opened the current that a big army is being organised, with the apparent object of harassing the Government, or the creating the hatred in the Congress to secure the English. It has been revealed that this army will be working for non-violence, and Hindustani and other communities have been assigned to take the first and second classes seats.

As this propaganda is baseless. If there was any truth in it, Mr. M. S. Gopal also, although a Member has been president of the Congress, whether organisation in the province from 1931 to 1934 and who has now accepted the office, responsibility of a Minister imposed on him by you, would have remained silent from it.

The fact is that ever since the Hindustani Sam Dal has been declared illegal, the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee began to concern itself with organising a host of volunteers. The Sam Dal is no longer under a ban, but as it does not give such the Provincial Congress Committee is drawing special attention to the work. Sri Sachin Kumar Verma is in charge of the work. Two articles on the organisation of a 'Dusse Bahadur' gave an added encouragement, and many plans began to organise whatever camps in accordance with it. The Hindustani Camp is the work. It is necessary to having a

number of volunteers, workers and hence it has taken the lead in the matter. All the work is being done under the supervision of the Provincial Congress Committee's Volunteering Department and in accordance with the system of training laid down by it. The District Congress Committee is organising it, and I am hoping that the volunteers, trained by it will be able to pass through your test as laid down related. Two lakh men's life has been demanded and not three are left. The rest there is looking them with a number of people are being started to address them. Only recently Sri Vaidya Swamiji of the Gandhi Ashram Varanasi was there and I also was specially invited to address them. They passed an order, and there is no violent atmosphere.

This is how the story of 1940 was started. The Provincial Committee's Volunteering Department in a meeting announced that there should be the volunteers for every hundred of the population of the province. That means 40,00,000 volunteers for the province, and as there are 40 districts, each district would have to have 1,00,000. This is all the truth about the 'army' and its military training. I do hope these facts will remove your anxiety.

There is really nothing wrong in this, and the idea of proving that there was any military training intended or that there was any violence in the air lies on those who have given currency to the rumours.

Leaving Prohibition

The example of Solan is spreading. There is no prohibition, that is to say by legislation, in the Naunand District of the Madras Province, but in order that the district may come to share in the introduction of prohibition, voluntary prohibition has been introduced in 'Thermal Wells' comprising about 12 villages in the Naunand area. This area, it will be remembered, is the one which has been the scene of trouble between Natives and Europeans in the past, and when the Natives agreed to bury the hatchet only a short while ago. The determination by the whole of the Madras population in the area to distance from all kinds of intoxicating drink may be said to be the direct result of their examples having been followed for constructive work by the newly created atmosphere of unity. Here solemnly the thing was inaugurated with the men from the fact that the new was taken

at the Holston temple, before a huge hall of smelter which was lit before the altar of the temple. There could have been nothing more beautifully symbolic than the vision of the deep liquid, the lines of those who smoke it must be full of the fragrance of smelter. An amusing incident, says a newspaper report, occurred when an old Haragan came forward with a request that he be allowed to drink as he suffered from an ailment which could not be cured otherwise. He was in tears, and would not be quiet until he was assured that he would be treated by the Haragan Smoke Temple if he should fall ill for want of drink. He took the oath but only with the reservation that he should be allowed to cure his final drink that evening!

These men 'conscience', if we may so call them, have their weakness as well as their strength. Speculations taken on the spur of the moment and in a fit of collection enthusiasm do not last long, and when they are broken the last state is worse than the first. Unless, therefore, the thing is followed by an intensive educative propaganda and also by Government closing the Haragan shops in the whole of the area and neighboring areas, it might well come to naught. Western, we hope, will make the best of this new wave of reform and persuade Government to help them by closing down the Haragan shops in the area. If the Haragans will keep their noses, they will have not a glorious example to the non-Haragans who may be still given to the habit.

Abstinence and Longevity

Wherever the experiment of prohibition is introduced, we hear of people being applied for by people for medical and health reasons, and among the applicants the majority are Europeans and Parsis. Let these friends make up their minds to do without drink and derive courage and hope from the message of a contemporary, Mrs. Caroline Amfield from Thet, France, writes a characteristic letter (We shall not disturb the writer's spelling):

"Dear Brother Gandhi—Thousands of the English drink of India ought to hear that you are striving to induce the Hindus to abstain entirely from all alcoholic drinks. Alcohol is the greatest enemy to mind reform on the Holston Army knows well. I am 70 years old and have never allowed in my home a drop of wine or any other alcoholic liquor, either for drinking, or for use in cooking or for medicine. I am the fourth generation of total abstinence in my family. My husband also was an active worker in the total abstinence rank. I came to France after his death to engage in Russian work. After the outbreak of the country from the use of alcohol drinks we could have started in connection in France per person there in any other country in the world. I know that you do the highest good of your fellow-countrymen

and that you lead the rest of women. Every nation which does not observe justice equally between men and women must suffer. The Holston Army and the Society of Friends (Quakers) of which I am a high-spirit member have always protested against drinking. The woman with her distinct personal character is the complement of man, each one has need of the other in the home and in the nation. Your English friend Caroline Amfield."

Another characteristic letter is from Henry Salt, the renowned humanitarian who is wearing 70, and who would like to have a message to the world that it is possible to live up to 80 although one may be a total abstemious from drink and meat, as perhaps HARRIS was in an abstinence. His message of hope is one to be written every worker in the cause of non-violence.

"I am taking the liberty of sending you a few lines, to tell you what you would not be likely otherwise to hear, that I am still living, at the age of eighty. This is a good deal beyond the ordinary bounds of age, in this country, so that I was excited by a doctor, some thirty years ago, that when I returned to a first-class, I might not expect more than two additional years of life.

It is well to have passed that limit, but as social matters, and political, life is rather moderately less past now. The agreement was every where to hold the upper limit, and one is surprised to find that the Humanitarian League (1902-1903) was founded a century or two before the world was ready for it. But one's hope is in the future."

A Different Mission

The good old lady is a missionary, and Henry Salt is also a missionary of a sort, but different, however, is the missionary who will not shrink from attacks for the sake of spreading his particular brand of religion. He will not see the obvious truth that in doing so he is denying Christ and his religion. We have before us a copy in Hindustani of the letters which are periodically addressed to "the leaders of the Oppressed classes of India" from the Laing Ashram, Lucknow. The signatory is John W. Robinson, and we have received the copy from a Haragan worker who was the recipient of it. With the paragraph about Jesus is the only section, who suffered for the sins of mankind, we need not quarrel. Nor need we quarrel with his indictment of the Caste Hindus. "The high caste people do not regard them with respect, they do not treat them as human beings and try to keep them crushed by means of the tyranny of custom."

Then follows the appeal.

"Though Christianity is a new religion as compared to Hinduism, I believe Indians have embraced it, and hold of those holding to the depressed classes. It is not easy in India to give up one's religion and to accept, hence, because certain beliefs may have had weaknesses

for their own selfish purposes endeavor to keep them under their subjection. These people and even your own people will surely disparage your missionary Christianity. They will not only disparage you, but they will persecute you for enlightenment," said Luther when he was in prison. He will condemn our people and closed in our way, but we should not listen to him. Now that so many of the dispossessed classes are embracing Christianity, and these high caste people feel that those whom they had persecuted as being are going out of their hands, they have set about doing things which might lead you to think that perhaps it would be best for you to remain in your old land and not to accept Christ. They are telling you that they are going to give temples for you where you may go and worship. But they are doing this in order to keep you under their thumb, and in order that your going to the temples may increase the priests' income and that they may continue to lord it over you. But wherever they may do, what our remarkable images of wood and stone reveal you, when the sacred Lord, Our Father, calls out to you! The high caste people, who have up to now called you untouchable, are now calling you Hindus, but instead giving you that name they are persecuting in other clumps. Don't think of the same class, think of the real thing."

And so on. The agitators then urge how he was a rejected youth 20 years ago and how the message of Christ brought him back to earth and reality, and appeals to all in the name of the Redeemer to embrace Christianity.

If this is a sample of the letters that have proceeded and those to follow, one can see what kind of propaganda is still being furnished to by some "Barnabas of India." There is a deliberate attempt to deny the Hindu movement and to distort the only purpose of the movement, viz. purification and self-purification. This attempt cannot but recoil upon itself.

Farbridge Farm School

Evidence is every day accumulating to show that the Warlike Hindu Education Scheme is an unworkable venture, and not even without a precedent. We have during recent weeks given quite a number of instances of educational institutions run on similar lines. The Warlike Scheme contemplates the application of the experiment over a vast area, but the star of all institutions reporting disaster through work or handicrafts has been the same, viz. turning out of "self-respecting and self-respecting citizens." We are using the phrase from the recent article in *Kardini* on the Farbridge farm schools which will be read by all with some interest.

"The story of Ranganath Farbridge's life-story was told at a meeting of the Royal Society of Arts on February 1 by the Hon. Sir Basil Oakland, Agent-General for Western Australia, who as a member of the Western Australian Government, saved the original Farbridge Farm School from collapse during the Great War by arranging for State subsidy on a. It had at first been founded wholly from private subscriptions raised by the Child Emigration Society which Farbridge joined in 1889 while an Oxford student scholar. The purpose of the scheme was, said it, to take from superfluous, if not surplus, surroundings children of 7-12

years of age and give them a good general education with special training in all phases of farm and domestic training, up to the age of sixteen years. Their subsequent careers are self-chosen. Many do not choose farm work, but their farm training is used for the less valuable in them. The Farm School method involves residence in a village house situated in bushland forests (days are going controlled by a carefully selected house-master, working combined with teaching, providing for leisure-time occupations, an education "afternoon" system, including the teaching of half of all savings up to the age of twenty-one years. Judged by results, as recommended by some 100 examples, all self-respecting self-supporting citizens, raising their full weight in the community, the scheme has been an outstanding success. Similar schools have now been founded in Canada, Victoria and New South Wales."

The Anti-Hinduist Agitation

A real Hindu speech made by Sir Mahomed Vemsey, who to be remembered is an Congressman, was unfortunately frank in one or two important respects. He was presiding over the annual prize distribution function of the Argonne-Island-Orkney Research Industrial school which was entering on its 17th year of existence. The school is not confined to Mohammedan boys only, and Sir Mahomed said he was glad of this aspect as there was "urgent need of bringing the Hindu and Muslim communities together." Speaking on the need for technical education he said, "higher education had brought about a good deal of unemployment, and institutions like this, in so far as they were intent to give technical education to their young men, helped to solve the unemployment problem." One wonders if this aspect of the higher education as it is given today has ever occurred to those who are its ardent supporters. As regards the controversy that is raging over the introduction of Hindustani, Sir Mahomed Vemsey was most explicit, and his words deserve to be read by not only those who are attacking the Muslim Government but also by those who would divide the Hindu and Muslim communities at the Hindu-Hinduist controversy. He said:

"My own impression is that Hindustani, which is being taught by the Government to be introduced in schools, is a denigration of every support from the Muslim community. I think that Hindustani is Hindi by whatever name it might be called—in the language of the people of Southern India, both Hindu and Muslim, and it is written either in Devanagari script or in Persian. It may be true that when it is written in the former script, it contains more Hindustani words, and when written in the latter script, more Persian words. Nevertheless, the majority of the words in the language are common to all, and I have that in Urdu letters many Muslims write the Urdu script. Therefore the Urdu script is not the monopoly of the Hindu community alone. Whatever that might be, my feeling is that the Muslim community as the whole should be guided by the teaching of Hindustani in schools. I am of opinion, therefore, that every Muslim should support the Government in their endeavor to teach Hindustani. We should also remember that the Government have given us the option of choosing the script we want."

H A R I J A N

Aug. 6

1938

FUNCTIONS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

From outtings on the industrial crisis in C. P. make most instructive reading. That the resolution of the Working Committee condemning the action of a veteran leader like Dr. Khare would come in for some severe criticism was a foregone conclusion. But I was not prepared for the ignominy betrayed by the critics as the functions of the Working Committee.

Dr. Khare was not only guilty of gross incompetence in heeding the warnings of the Parliamentary Board, but he betrayed incompetence as a leader by allowing himself to be misled by the Governor, or not knowing that by his capricious action he was embarrassing the Congress. He lightened the measure of indignation by refusing the advice of the Working Committee to make a frank confession of his guilt and withdraw from leadership. The Working Committee would have been guilty of gross neglect of duty if it had failed to condemn Dr. Khare's action and rebuke his incompetence. I write these lines in sorrow. It was no pleasure to me to advise the Working Committee to pass the resolution it did. Dr. Khare is a friend. He has run to my aid as a physician when quick medical assistance was needed. He has often come to me for advice and guidance and has expressed himself to be in need of my 'healing'. I talked to him friendly when, on the 15th instant I appeared in him heavily to stand down and work as a comp-follower. He himself seemed to be willing but he was badly advised, and not only declined to accept the Working Committee's advice but sent a letter abroad, questioning the propriety of the whole of the action of the Working Committee. In connection with his ill-advised and hasty resignation of office and equally hasty formation of a new Cabinet, I hope that an mature reflection he would have seen the error of his conduct and taken the action of the Working Committee in a spontaneous spirit. There is no moral catastrophe involved in his action. He is a good fighter; He is true with his gun in helping needs. There are qualities of which anyone may be proud. But these qualities need not make the possessor a good Prime Minister or administrator. I would urge him as a friend to work for the time being as a comp-follower and give the Congress the benefit of the admitted qualities I have noted.

If Dr. Khare was to resign (i) his ministerial colleagues he should have resigned not to the Governor, but to the Working Committee and tendered his resignation. If he felt approved by its decision, he could have gone to the A. I. C. C. But as we can avoid any Minister into Ministerial quarrels to the Governor and seek relief through him without the previous consent of the Working Committee. If the Congress machinery is slowing-moving, it can be made to move faster. If the men at the helm are self-wishers or worthless, the A. I. C. C. is there to remove them. Dr. Khare acted grievously in ignoring or, what is worse, not knowing this simple remedy and rushing to the Governor on the eve of the meeting of the Working Committee to end his agency.

It is suggested that the men who accused him are self-wishers and incapable, and can make no approach to Dr. Khare in character. If they are as they have been portrayed by their critics, they are bound to fail in the discharge of the serious responsibility they have undertaken. But here again the Working Committee has to work within the limits prescribed for it. It cannot impose Ministers on a province after all they are elected members, and if the party that has the power to elect them chooses to do so, the Working Committee has no authority to interfere so long as they remain under discipline and are not known to be persons unworthy of public confidence. But the crisis should surely put the Ministers on their heels. It is up to them to show by their conduct that the charges levelled against them are baseless, and that they are capable of discharging their trust ably and selflessly.

I speak well for the impartiality of the Indian Press in that several journals found it necessary to condemn the action of the Working Committee in procuring the opinion it did on the part H. E. Mr. Governor of C. P. played during the unfortunate crisis. I am not in the habit of hastily judging opponents. The criticism of the resolution has left me unconvinced of any injustice done to the Governor by it. In endorsing his action, I am in of the service. In accepting the resignation of Dr. Khare and his two colleagues, in demanding resignations from the other three Ministers, in rejecting an immediate answer to a memorandum regarding their explanation and dissolving them and for this purpose keeping them, I, his staff and the four Ministers awake almost the whole night, the Governor betrayed a haste which I can only call indecent. Nothing would have been lost if instead of accepting Dr. Khare's resignation there and then, he had awaited the meeting of the Working Committee which was to meet two days after the strange drama. In dealing with a similar crisis the Bengal Governor acted differently from the C. P. Governor.

Of course, the Governor's action conformed to the letter of the law, but it killed the spirit of the tacit compact between the British Government and the Congress. Let the critics of the Working Committee's action read the Viceroy's carefully prepared declaration which, among other endorsements, informed the Working Committee to say the office department, and ask themselves whether the Governor was not bound to take official notice of what was going on between the Working Committee and Dr. Khan and his colleagues. These indisputable facts led one to the inevitable conclusion that the Governor, in his eagerness to discredit the Congress, kept a vigil and brought about a situation which he knew was to be uncomfortable for the Congress. The unwilling compact between the British Government and the Congress is a gentleman's agreement in which both are expected to play the game.

The resolution therefore gives English administrators more credit than credibly the critics would give. Englishmen are apostrophized. They have ample cause of offence. They are hit hard and take a beating also in good game. I have no doubt that the Governor will take the Congress resolution in good part.

But whether he does so or not, the Working Committee was bound to express what it felt about the Governor's action. It wishes to avoid a fight if it can. It will take it up, if it must. If the fight is to be avoided, the Governor must recognize the Congress as the one national organization that is bound some day or other to replace the British Government. The U. P., the Bihar and the United Provinces walked for the Congress last when a crisis faced them. No doubt, in the three cases, it was obviously to their interest to do so. Is it to be said that in G. P. S. was obviously to the British interest to precipitate the crisis in order to discredit the Congress? The Working Committee resolution is a friendly warning to the British Government that if they wish to avoid an open rupture with the Congress, the powers that be should not allow a repetition of what happened at Nagpur on the night of 28th July.

Let us understand the functions of the Congress. For national growth and education, it is as good a democratic organization as any to be found in the world. For this democratic organization has been brought into being to fight the greatest superstitious power known for this national work, therefore, it has to be likened to an army. As such it seems to be democratic. The central authority possesses primary powers enabling it to impose and enforce discipline on the various units working under it. Provincial organizations and Provincial Parliamentary Boards are subject to the central authority.

It has been suggested that, whilst my thoughts have good when there is active war in the shape

of civil resistance going on, it is unfair whilst the latter remains under suspension. But suspension of civil disobedience does not mean suspension of war. The latter can only end when India has a Constitution of her own making. Till then the Congress must be in the nature of an army. Democratic Britain has set up an inglorious system in India which, when you look at it in its minutiae, is nothing but a highly organized efficient military control. It is not less so under the present Government of India. And the Ministers are mere puppets so far as the real control is concerned. The collection and the police, who 'are' them today, may at a mere command from the Government, India and maintain, arrest the Ministers, arrest them and put them in a lock-up. Hence it is that I have suggested that the Congress has entered upon other cut to work the knot in the manner expected by the masses but in a manner so as to hasten the day of substituting it by a genuine Act of India's own making.

Therefore the Congress maintained as a fighting machine has to centralize control and guide every department and every Congressman, however highly placed, and expect unquestioned obedience. The fight cannot be fought on any other terms.

They say this is too harsh and simple but they forget that Jawahar is the noted sword. Under Dr. Khan should have his head. The Congress is the very backbone of freedom, because it is based on non-violence pure and unadulterated. Its activities are all moral. Its authority is not derived from the control of punished blackbills. Under the Congress regime Dr. Khan can remove the horns of Nagpur, and the students and officials of Nagpur, and for that matter other places, may remain as ^{the} and the Working Committee without a hair of the demonstration heads being touched so long as they remain non-violent. That is the glory and strength of the Congress—not its weakness. Its authority is derived from that non-violent attitude. It is the only purely non-violent political organization of importance, in my knowledge, throughout the world. And let it continue to be the heart of the Congress that it can command the willing and hearty assistance from its followers, some whom Dr. Dr. Khan so long as they choose to bring in it.

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VIOLENCE IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

(By J. G. Harjiane)

II

Labour

In this method of production the effort is to reduce to as low a level as possible the cost of production. The chief item on which savings are usually made is labour. When we reduce wages we reduce the purchasing power in society. In other words, distribution of wealth is restricted. When consumers, who are mostly workers, have their purchasing power reduced they cannot buy the articles that have been made, which will therefore remain unsold. This will lead us to our next method: free markets where such surplus goods may be dumped. We shall have to search for "backward people to strike." Here we shall be again on the war path.

Organisation

When the production is controlled it will involve a heavy overhead charge. This can be borne by the consumer lightly only if such overhead is distributed among a large number of units. Therefore the manufacturer is driven to produce as fast as he can at such as he can. This forced production on all sides will again lead to overproduction and oblige us to discover controlled markets for dumping as in the previous case. This also leads us inevitably to violence.

Marketing

As we have already seen the method of production and organisation is such that willingly the manufacturer has to produce feverishly. He cannot help himself! His pace is set by circumstances beyond his control. When to this is added the urge of competition we can understand the extent to which overproduction takes place. When production exceeds the local demand, immediately there is a cry for relief: then abroad by getting political control over other nations. The present attitude of Japan to China is a case in point. Selling and dumping of the products also creates wars.

Distribution of Wealth

Every nation is driven to reduce cost under this system. We had pointed out that the method of reducing wages among the means of cost methods distribution of wealth. Any system of production that does this cuts the branch from under its feet. To function satisfactorily production of wealth and distribution of wealth should go hand in hand. If not, purchasing power is depressed or suppressed and the demand cannot express itself effectively. This lack of purchasing power leads to periodic economic depressions. To get the economic machinery going nations turn to armaments and launch out on so-called "defensive" wars. If the atmosphere of international politics is overcharged with violence today, it is in no small measure due to this cause.

Finance

Because this system instead of distributing wealth concentrates it, it helps to create large

entities which seek investment in foreign countries to find an outlet to those fortunes unemployable at home. Foreign loans and investments used eventually to subvert the capital and reduce payment of interest. Thus again we need to resort to violence.

Exchange

The centres of production being situated at considerable distances from raw materials and market, the medium of exchange assumes an importance out of all proportion to the service it renders. In fact, money has almost obliterated the function as a medium and has practically assumed the roll of an end in itself. A good medium has to represent the articles to be exchanged perfectly but because gold is practically imperishable while consumption goods are perishable, metals are not so all items with consumable goods. This fact places the metalholder at an advantage in regard to the hoarding power. The greater the importance and use given to the medium the greater is the disadvantage of the owner of perishables. Therefore this system which widens the field of activity necessitates the passing of the hoarding power to the metal owner or financier. This leads to class hatred and revolutions apart from other evils of financial penetration and control of poorer countries.

Costs under Industrialism

We have to consider the costs of production. If centralisation can produce greater wealth and happiness for all, there will be something to say for it. On the surface, if we cannot look beyond our nose, this system appears to produce a lot of goods which can be sold at low prices. On closer scrutiny we shall find even the money cost is exorbitant. In computing costs every item that helps in the process has to be taken into account. We cannot arrive at the cost price accurately by ignoring overhead charges. All costs, direct and indirect, have to be brought into account. As we have already seen this system of production requires enormous slavery stage. Therefore controlled methods cannot be carried on for a day without military and naval expenses. Though these are not paid by the individual manufacturer, the nation pays for these services, and it forms part of the cost put as much as wages or depreciation for plant. In the traditional method of computing cost this service by the State, which is essential for any factory to make, is usually ignored. Only the costs paid by the manufacturer is passed on to the customer. In effect, it is ignoring the costs paid by the nation, the general body of taxpayers whom large scale industries in this manner, and so the ordinary consumer does not realize the actual cost of their manufactures to the nation. Decentralized industries do not require these services at all. Hence it is fallacious to compare the prices of articles produced under these two methods as the one has only the direct cost and the other involves subsidies from

the nation which are not indicated in the policy put up for comparison.

In Blood and Freedom

Apart from those services which can be measured by the amount of expenses incurred in military, naval and air forces and other government services which are already connected with large scale industries, there is a price that can never be measured in terms of money. And that is the sacrifice of human lives in war. There was when such conflicts were motivated by private ambition or revenge. But at present wars are economic in their origin. Hence, as we have seen, violence is a necessary factor of production as important, if not more important, than capital or labour, it becomes a direct charge on production. The cost of war in terms of money is trivial compared to the cost of war in terms of human lives. Who will venture to appraise the cost of the millions of lives lost when there is freedom, liberalism and chaos as this stage of capitalist industries? Perhaps our friends in favour of industrialisation will call all this sentimental stuff. Is it? Or is it a grim reality? Let the reader judge.

To enable manufacturers to produce, the nation pays through the taxes for the economic programme, holds out material producers in justified demands and subsidies for more. When the cost of production includes all these who will say that centralised production is cheap?

In all these considerations we have left out the dehumanising effect of violence and other such evil effects on workers which may, in a certain type of modern, appear 'sentimental', and we have restricted ourselves to purely material considerations.

Responsibility

Whose then is the responsibility for this state of affairs? Is it only the manufacturers who in the violence of the place? Every consumer who unthinkingly supports these industries shares the responsibility for this violence. If we would have nothing to do with such violence, we should have no truck with centralised production. If the workers in England realised that the apparent low cost of articles they buy is made up by the blood of those whom they are called upon to murder in the name of 'Our King and Country', will they realise these articles cheap? People are kept in stupid ignorance by a skillful propaganda of articles and are led to believe in the efficiency of a machine which finally is built up on a foundation of human lives.

Peace

This violence in the economic activity of man has driven out peace and has stifled justice law. Today violence is on the throne. Fearful and professional murderers (which is fast what the army is) are given national honours as generals and admirals and are given their final

resting place in cathedrals. All the talk we hear of peace is only a cry for a stop of active warfare because there can be no peace based on fear and hatred. Even this people is only asked for for time to be moved better. As long as capitalist methods are prevalent there can be no peace. If we advocate industrialising India, then in that case, to be perfectly logical, we should advocate as the first step building concentration factories. Because without these an effective industrialisation can take place. Let us remember Japan's history. Industrialisation and warfare are inseparable Japanese twins. It is of no use thinking we won't go the way of Japan, Italy or Germany.

Conclusion

Our analysis shows that at every turn, centralised industry calls for violence. An industrialised nation can no more dream that a Nagar can do away with its arms. This being so we are left with no alternative but to choose the method of peace and goodwill indicated by decentralised methods, for which the All India Village Industries Association stands. Any other course will be taken to our shame of non-violence, and truth. No reader who produces seriously and conscientiously over the facts in which attention has been drawn in this article will ever subscribe for large scale industries for consumption goods. I hope such readers will reduce their thoughts into action by giving up articles of centralised production. This may mean foregoing certain comforts and luxuries.

"Better a life with the law of the Lord than great treasures and trouble thereafter."

"Better a life with righteousness than great revenue without right."

"Better a life moral and righteous than with them a house full of gold cheer with strife."

(King Solomon the Wise)

If we do this they will wash their hands of the blood of their fellow men and help to usher in world peace based, not on fear and hatred, but on love and love.

BOOKS ON NON-VIOLENCE

Mad Society by Gurdip. Price 4 An. Pp. 114.

The Power of Non-violence by Richard B. Sewall. Price Rs. 5. Pp. 114.

India and Africa by Alfred Huxley. Price Rs. 7-12-6. Pp. 114.

The Concept of Violence by Bert de Ligt. Price Rs. 4-8-4. Pp. 114.

Requiem for England Edited by Alfred Huxley. Price 4s 6, including postage.

Why The Village Movement

By J. C. Karmayya,

Price 4 An. Pp. 114. Also in

English in English Office—Price 4

AN UPHILL TASK

That the manufacture of handcrafts which have a hopeful future but which are today in a wretched condition, is proving an uphill task for those engaged in the effort, will be seen from a letter, reproduced below, from a Congressman seeking to help producers of paper in Khandal, a well-known manufacturing centre in East Khandesh, Bombay.

"There were in this town formerly about fifty factories producing paper by hand processes. But the introduction of mill-made paper resulted in their progressive downfall, and now there have there were only two factories working satisfactorily. Since the beginning of our movement, however, these number has risen to four, and at the time of the March, when there is a good demand for handmade paper even I or I factories keep working. In each of the factories, generally, there are four men or fifty-five workers, and women help in their labour house. The workers in the different factories come from me to twelve cents for eight hours' work. Most of the work, however, is done at government and not by daily wages. I factory ordinarily produces one lakh (100,000) sheets of paper per day. The workers are more industrious as like. The women work along with their husbands and also supervise the work at lack of experience, it is feared, might lead to indifferent quality or indifferent output. All the workers are Musalmans.

We very often suggested improvements in their methods of production, but they are too conservative to give up the old one. However, all recently they began to work on amount of expense which, happily, we have now been able to overcome to some extent, and they have gradually begun utilizing it as.

The town contains 15 families belonging to the community whose hereditary occupation was the manufacture of paper. Out of these about 10 persons have still retained the skill, others have lost it altogether. Those who are still engaged in paper manufacture are in bad straits. The business is not progressing. They have no capital to invest. It is difficult to find them capital for their loans not by their credit but by the improved condition in their industry. And we too have no capital which we can lend them. They have decided to mortgage their paper mill to pay interest at the rate of 10 to 15 per cent. We make various attempts to improve the industry as a better living, but have not with failure on account of circumstances. We therefore are entirely unable with finding customers for the handmade paper and hope for better results. We had lost of all in the condition of the producers, which we have not yet fully succeeded in doing. About two hundred sheets of paper have accumulated, and we are worried as to how to dispose them of."

It is deplorable that paper is such large quantities should accumulate in any production centre for want of customer. If only our Congress Committee, national organisations and individual Congressmen devoted to our hand-made paper for all their correspondence, there would be a steady demand for hundreds of tons. These tons are our commercial success which also can and should encourage this industry. Good varieties of handmade paper are both non-absorbent and durable. It is relevant in this connection to mention that one of the first things that the Congress Ministers of Bombay did on their taking office was to introduce the use of handmade paper for all ministerial correspondence, and now it is understood Government have issued orders that hereafter handmade paper should be used for letter papers and envelopes in all Government offices. The example of the Bombay Government needs to be widely emulated, if village industries are to be revived and encouraged. This sort of encouragement will inspire in the producers hope and enthusiasm to improve the quality of their work and also to introduce improved methods of production.

GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT

Gandhiji issued the following statement on 26th July:

"With regard to the recent misinterpreted action in C. F. & Co. has been suggested that Dr. Khande was asked to sign a prepared draft containing hand-writing specimens. I have no hesitation in saying that this suggestion is baseless. Dr. Khande, accompanied by several members of the Working Committee, came to Nagpur on July 25, and after discussion he prepared a statement to be placed in the Press. I made corrections and additions to it, but after making my corrections and additions he changed his mind and said that he would consult his friends and then decide whether to issue it or not. In my opinion there was nothing hand-writing in it, if only because it contained nothing but facts. I hardly think Dr. Khande will dispute this. The last thing, however, to let the public to have the statement itself before it I wrote Dr. Khande to publish a foreword of it. I have kept no copy of the pen with my comments. He took it with him to Nagpur."

CONTENTS

	Page
Statement of the Working Committee in C. F. & Co.	100
Foreword in HANDSOME INDUSTRY-II J.C. Khande	101
AN UPHILL TASK	C 1
GANDHIJI'S STATEMENT	102
Notes	
A New Journal at Nagpur	M. D. 103
Technical Education	M. D. 104
Amendment and Improvement	M. D. 105
A FUTURE HISTORY	M. D. 106
Parliamentary Cases Review	M. D. 107
The Anti-Parliamentary Movement	M. D. 108



HARIJAN

Editor: MURRAY JESAI

Under the Auspices of The Welfare Society, Bombay

Ten Paise

Vol. VI, No. 27

POONA — SATURDAY, AUGUST 19, 1939

[Open Area]

HINDU MUSLIM UNITY IN ACTION

III

Readers will remember that we published some weeks ago a letter from a Mohammedan student wherein he had made certain allegations against his fellow-students, his professors and other people, to show the difficulties in the way of Hindu-Muslim unity. The allegations were serious enough, and we got into touch with all the gentlemen named in the letter and invited their explanations. We are happy to say that most of the allegations have been found to be unfounded, though we are sorry that a promising young student should have been misled away by his prejudices and hypersensitiveness to make those allegations. Here briefly are the allegations he had made:

(1) That he, a vegetarian student, was, after having with great difficulty secured admission to a Hindu students' club, humiliated out by the students.

(2) That he had represented the matter to the Principal and the Rector but failed to secure relief.

(3) That he approached the President of the Provincial Congress Committee but in vain.

(4) That a professor with whom the correspondent had gone on an excursion would not be seated by him when they all sat down to eat.

(5) That a kind of boycott was being practised against his brother, a medical man, by Hindu students being dissuaded from going to him.

(6) A distinguished Congressman had used words about Mohammedans which did him no credit and breathed a hatred of them.

As regards the first charge I have had a number of letters from the correspondent's fellow students who have been accused by the allegations made. Several of them have independently written to me that though he had to leave the club because two or three students would not let him sit with him, none of the students of the club left it and formed the 'Jawahar Club' which the correspondent was invited to join. It went on for about a couple of months during which the correspondent stayed there and there was no communal untowardness there. Some of them have asserted that the correspondent is not a vegetarian, and that he often visited non-vegetarian restaurants, and that it was open to

him to join any one of the many clubs in the college which are run not on communal but on noncommunal lines. They have also narrated in detail the petty personal quarrels which had compelled the correspondent to leave the club.

As regards the second charge, I had, immediately on writing to the Professor referred to, a letter from him which gives the lie direct to the allegation.

"My view of the matter is that he was allowed to join the club by that club by the managers, knowing him to be a Muslim, that have no club members thought of asking him to leave the club for reasons of their own (possibly unpermitted non-vegetarianism), and asked upon the heavy accusation of his being a Muslim. When questioned by the Principal and the Rector, their defence was that their parents would be against their taking their meals with a Muslim. The defence was pure jawbairing, but it seemed to us that it was not a matter in which College authorities could possibly sympathise. The club have a tradition of autonomy in internal management, and we felt ourselves precluded from going beyond procedure."

This did not mean, however, that the student would be unable to take his meals in the hotel at all. There is a correspondence club in the College and he could have joined it at once, and that was arranged the Principal asked him to take meals at his own house. The student declined to go to the correspondence club and persisted in his that. We were more than prepared with the club members and brought about a compromise, under which the student was allowed by them to take his meals at the club to the end of the term."

As regards the third charge, the President of the Provincial Congress Committee says.

"I remember the student. As you write I persuaded the boy not to proceed with the suit to go on that. To say that I even could not induce him otherwise is not true, because the said student never came to my office and never gave me an opportunity to help him."

As regards the fourth charge the Professor says:

"The allegation that I refused to be seated by him is untrue, and he must know that it is so. At the end of the excursion when he privately asked me whether I avoided being seated

By him, I distinctly told him that it was not a fact and that I was prepared to take negative leave on the basis of anyone. We had all sat down in two rows I in one with the others. Many students did the morning, none of whom were girls. I never noticed who stood and who didn't. Until the student asked me about it, the thing simply had not entered my mind. I am now wonder how he came to carry that impression. In any case, after my explicit disclaimer, it is strange that he should go on repeating the exploited myth. I cannot help thinking that the domestic instinct is low—the love of making a public show out of private material—the impulse has taken an exaggerated statement. I am not willing upon to prove my veracity to anybody, but let the student come for a word to me any day."

As regards the 18th charge, I have had several letters from the correspondent's pen. The Hindu doctor, who is said to have suggested or suggested a boycott of the correspondent's medical practice says:

"The allegation is so baseless that I don't be grateful if he can cite a single specific case to prove it. Let me state a few facts:

(1) I started my practice only three years ago and am struggling for my existence.

(2) A majority of my patients have been Muslims and a majority of the ... patients are Hindus.

(3) He has made a lecture from Hindu patients. He has a card signed by Dr. B. B. from the State, for a Sheringa private practice, besides the services of the State hospital at his disposal.

You may forward the letter to the correspondent's brother and ask him to establish any one of these statements."

As regards the 24th charge, I have a long letter from the Congressman challenging the truth of the allegation and expressing pointed surprise that one whom he had treated as a brother and had often invited as an honored guest should make such a baseless charge.

I passed all this information up to the correspondent and invited him to say what he had to say in reply. I am afraid his reply has been a sad disappointment. He continues that he was not a representative; he says that though he joined the 'Jawahar Club' it is wrong that it was formed for him, that he never meant to say that all the 400 students of the hotel were unanimously agreed, that almost all Hindu students were free from communal unbecomability that he disbelieves the Professor's statement that he had not refused to be served by him, that he had been invited by the Principal, but that as a self-respecting student he could not go after all the hatred that had taken place. The explanation on the copies received regarding the 18th and the 24th charges is not even worth a mention.

We are happy to be assured that there is no communal unbecomability in the college, and we have had other letters to say that the correspondent has been treated on terms of equality by his Hindu friends whenever he has gone. We would appeal to the correspondent to express his regret to the many friends and the professors whom he has, perhaps unintentionally, wronged, to shed his prejudices and hypocrisies, and to work actively in the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity.

M. D.

A I V I A REPORT

The latest annual report of the All India Village Industries Association gives a detailed and modestly worked account of the work done by the Association during the year 1937. "In the last two years the Association had not new ground and passed through the pioneering phase of finding its policy and programme," in the latter half of 1937 a new avenue of service opened up for the Association with the establishment of Congress Ministries in seven Provinces and the provision of handsome amounts in the provincial budgets for the development and encouragement of village handicrafts. The advice of the Council was sought by the Governments, and "the preliminary programme of work submitted by our Association was in effect a plan to supply the need of workers by getting workers trained to carry out our ideas." The industries selected for training were those "which supply the primary needs of food, clothing and shelter of the masses, which utilize the raw materials available locally, and which require little or no capital by way of equipment." Paddy-husking and flour-milling, oil-pressing from unrefined palm oil, basketry, oil-pressing by press, papermaking from village waste, weaving from indigenous materials, tanning and bone-working, were chosen as industries satisfying the foregoing standard. Indeed the Association has been concentrating its energies on these since its inception, and in regard to all of them much headway has been made, much useful work has been done and ground prepared.

Handpicking of rice is one of the main village industries that had almost died out and is now sought to be revived. "It has ancient work for a number of women," says the report. "In Coimbatore, Kollegal, Madhavaram, parts of Central Provinces, Bengal and Gujarat, in Madras the Government has agreed to use handpicking of rice in its hospitals and jails." In a village in Bengal, "two rice mills had to close down as a result of the propaganda of the local workers of the evil effects of rice." In a village in Bihar District, Sonar, "a flour mill has also stopped working as a result of our propaganda." Experiments are being made at Nagpur, the headquarters of the

Association, to improve the wooden chairs used for holding public

As to oil pressing by the indigenous plant, the Association seems to have concentrated on making improvements in the present plant so as to increase its output, and it also recommends that power mills should be subjected to heavy license fees in the interests of the public.

Bed-making from palm palm is essentially a cottage industry not amenable to large scale production. "As it is," says the report, "we have millions of beds and palmyras being given away with waste hands repeating hardly any collaboration at all, and people have been accustomed from time immemorial to make good out of the worst palm extracted from them." The prospects for this industry have brightened up with the introduction of prohibition, for, as the report rightly says, "apart from the moribund as a national cottage industry Government is bound to encourage palm-leaf industry as a subsidiary to its prohibition programme. Otherwise lakhs of toddy drawers will be thrown out of employment and, what will be a greater national loss, there shall still be allowed to run to waste." Experiments have been carried on at several places, and in Magan-well, "in all 100 date palm trees were tapped this year and 1,143 more of good produce."

These industries, besides their economic value as a remedy for fighting unemployment, have also a great importance from the diabolic point of view, as the products of hand processes in the case of these all possess better nutritive value than the products of mills. This is now a universally accepted fact, and the only serious difficulty that is encountered is in persuading people to shed their old habits and prejudices. Nevertheless, "our workers," says the report, "everywhere are trying to show by example the importance of unspiced rice, whole-wheat flour, green oil, good, steamed or baked rice, fruits, ghee, and of fresh, uncooked leafy vegetables in diet."

Another industry that has made good progress is that of handmade paper, and there is no narrower scope for its expansion. "With the spread of literacy this industry will have increasing scope," says the report. At Magan-well, "successful experiments were carried on in making paper out of old gunny bags, rags, wheat and paddy straw, cotton stalk, leaves and stalk of date palm, palmyra fruit fibre, coconut-tree leaves, grass, cane husk, sugarcane waste, old bamboo mats and baskets, dried stalk, tobacco and waste paper, the idea being to make paper as far as possible from village waste."

Bamboo-wool, silk, silk and tamar industry, basket-making, butter-making, soap-making, cane work, match manufacture, tanning and leather goods are some of the other industries to which the workers of the Association have devoted their efforts in various parts of the country.

Apert from the revival of village industries, "rendering the village and its surroundings clean," says the report, "is one of the chief aims of work in almost all our centres" that have the workers are coming up against what is called "the psychological barrier". "It is and women's labours are being neglected, but as a rule the villagers do not take to them. Only one or two centres report success in this direction. The value of nightsoil as manure is being demonstrated, but the village people will not easily give up their prejudice against the use of such manure. Sweeping and the disposal of nightsoil have met with little response from the people so far." The Indulger centre in the Pampas is one of the few bright spots noticed in. "Where formerly Marjans were employed out of a common fund raised for the purpose in the village, now the residents of the locality have taken to cleaning the village regularly themselves and use the common fund for whatever improvement they deemed necessary by way of repairing or building house, kitchen, drains, wells, and such like, or for street lighting. The collections are made in kind, chiefly grain or sugar, and the villagers give their labour and sometimes even material free of cost." The creation a sanitary movement requires the education of the whole nation, and needs continuous efforts of a whole army of workers. Sanitation, or what is in more technical language called environmental hygiene, is one of the aspects of preventive for all sorts of diseases, and its importance cannot be overemphasized. There are many things relating to sanitation which would require constant and Government help, but there are many more things which can be achieved by change in individual habits and ways of living and by voluntary corporate action. It is this latter that the A. I. V. I. A. is seeking to create in the people among whom it works.

A Training School for Village Workers is conducted at Magan-well. "Of those who were admitted in July 1929 for the regular course for village workers, sixteen were sent out to various rural uplift centres to receive practical training and submit their village survey reports. Of these six were awarded pass certificates up to Dec 31, 1929. Sixteen students underwent training in the school. Of these five are working either in villages or in institutions engaged in the work of village uplift."

This is the record of work done under the direct auspices of the Association. There is much more work going on in several parts of the country, it not directly under the supervision of still under the impetus given by, the A. I. V. I. A., which further the aims the Association has set before itself.

C. S.

A Correction

In the last issue, on p. 204, col. 2 line 21, read 44 instead of 45.

HARIJAN

Aug 18

1938

IS VIOLENCE CREEPING IN?

(By M. K. Dasgupta)

Mahadev has passed on to me information containing complaints about violence being done by Congressmen. One complaint is that, in the name of peaceful picketing, picketers are resorting to methods bordering on violence, such as making a living wall beyond which no one can pass without being hurt or hurting those who make the wall. As the author of peaceful picketing I cannot recall a single instance in which I had encouraged such picketing. Indeed I have quoted Mahadeva against me. I had suggested the suspension of such work. But that is wholly incompatible to the case under consideration. In Mahadeva the objective was the work which of which possession had to be taken, and maintained to sustain the Government. The action could hardly be called picketing. But to prevent workers from going to their work by standing in front of them is pure violence and must be given up. The names of mills or other factories would be fully justified in forcing the submission of the police, and a Congress Government would be bound to provide it if the Congressmen concerned would not desist.

Another instance brought to my notice is that of a body of Congressmen having taken possession of the office of a Congress Committee recognised by the Provincial Congress Committee. This is surely reprehensible conduct.

The third instance is that of breaking up meetings by shooting and otherwise creating disturbances.

The fourth is that of reviling capitalists as a class and seeking people to beat them.

All these are clear instances of violence and indiscipline. I am told that such conduct is on the increase. I have before me a letter which bitterly complains that whereas capitalists used to get justice during the old regime, now under the Congress regime they not only get no justice but are even humiliated and harassed.

There can be no doubt that the British system favours capitalism. The Congress, which aims at securing full justice for the hitherto millions, enough former capitalists. But the Congress, so long as it retains non-violence as its basic policy cannot resort to sympathy, much less allow any class of persons to be humiliated or harassed in any way whatsoever or allow any Congressman or a body of Congressmen to take the law into their own hands.

How can the Congress tolerate violent picketing or speeches bordering on violence.

If violence is not checked at this, the Congress will go to pieces partly from internal decay. It is up to the heads of provincial and subordinate committees to root out the evil without the least delay. If on the other hand Congressmen in general are tired of non-violence, the more the first article of the constitution is revised the better it will be for all concerned and the country; but it not be said of the great organisation that it used truth and non-violence as a cloak to cover selfish and violence.

Notes

Picketing or Intimidating?

A friend writes a long letter with reference to my article on "Speakers and Politics". What is discussed in the letter can be put down in the form of a question: "When you say that the language of the Government of India Act should be avoided to the fullest limit, so as to give the greatest strength to the movement for Independence, do you imply that the Speaker should, as you, knowingly limit any action of the Act so as to give it the desired meaning?"

I should be surprised if such an implication could be extracted from my article. It will amount to misrepresenting myself. A Speaker who knowingly gives an interpretation contrary to the plain meaning of a text, renders himself unfit for the high office and discredits the Congress cause. He must, at all cost, preserve the Congress motto for honesty and integrity. What, however, I have meant is that where a motion is unalterably capable of two meanings or more, he is bound to give that which furrows the national cause. And when a motion bears only one meaning which is manifestly subversive of the people's liberty, he must unhesitatingly give that meaning. I have no doubt that such impartiality on the part of a Speaker will enhance his reputation and to that extent increase the moral prestige of the Congress. Having discarded violence, the strength of the Congress depends wholly upon the moral fibre and firmness of individual Congressmen.

M. K. G.

Dr. Jawaharlal and Non-violence

No one could have failed to notice the extraordinary triumph of Dr. Jawaharlal's tour in Europe, of the numerous meetings he is addressing and the innumerable private conversations he is having with people of all schools of thought and of all political persuasions. Whenever he has gone he has made everyone look up to him as the accredited representative of India pledged to win Complete Independence, and to win that

Independence not by violence but by non-violence. He has had hostile listeners and hecklers too, but his steady wit and steady bearing have charmed them all. One heckler, out of the numerous he must have had at these meetings, is worth notice. Most of our youths ran away with the idea that Pandit Jambhwal is opposed to non-violence, and as soon as he mentioned the Congress policy of non-violence at the Left Book Club meeting in Queens Hall in London, one of the Indian youths shouted 'Shame!', supposing perhaps that it would find a responsive echo in the distinguished speaker's mind. But favor his description when Pandit Jambhwal came down upon him and said "It astonishes me that anybody should imagine power's methods a shameful thing. The non-violent policy has not been passive but dynamic. It has brought tremendous pressure to bear on the Government, and has given the Indian people self-reliance, faith and courage again."

The Legacy of Science

NATURE contains a symposium of distinguished scientists' views on science and its effects on human life. Sir John Randall, F. R. S., says that the most far-reaching effect of scientific discovery on human life has been "the saving away from religion as the basis of life and character", and "another important change has been the sweeping away of materialism and the substitution of standardized machine products. It would be impossible now to build beautiful villages such as one can still find in the less known, and to use the human spirit's word, 'unspoiled' parts of our countryside, and it is difficult to believe that the old craftsmen would have tolerated the Marxist valueless proliferation in parts of Great Britain now being 'developed'. A further consequence of the advance of the machine has been supersession of a considerable class of people who are needed for industry, and who ask for nothing more than unskilled unskilled work to do on their farms, leaving them abundant leisure for the 'pleasures' and football matches. They are found chiefly in the democratic countries, countries having a short way of dealing with them, but they are a growing menace and likely to cause serious difficulties in the future."

There are what may be described as the unfettered, unrestrained, apart from 'gas' and useful bombing and other modernization that are delirious and properly planned. May not one wish a respite from this 'science' and long for a revival of the craftsmanship (and all that is meant by the physical and mental life of the people) that 'science' has ruthlessly swept away?

Science Teaching "in Britain"

This report, says another eminent scientist in the symposium, Prof. John Randall, F. R. S., "with depend largely upon the character of science teaching in the future. Such teaching in the past has consisted too often of a systematized

inculcation of facts and theories, unaided by any adequate reference to the bearing of these facts and theories upon every-day life, or to their influence upon the development of modern civilization. A neglect of the historical and humanistic aspect of science has been equally pronounced; incidentally, the scientific worker's aspect of history has found a counterpart in the historian's neglect of science."

We have taught science in Britain says Prof. Randall, and a frequent consequence of this 'inculcation of science in Britain' has been a confusion and misapprehension of a vast field of human thought and endeavor which is fraught with possibilities as an instrument of education as distinct from instruction. In George Bernard Shaw we find that "the more science enters into our lives, the more it must be humanized, and there is no better way to humanize it than to study the history. Such studies, recording the purely scientific, the historic and the philosophic phases of new world in the course of the scientific method." The man of science is a planner, and an architect of human progress, and as such he would cultivate a wide vision. Only by so doing will he be able to help effectively in building up a human society capable of appreciating the spirit and method of science and of putting the discoveries of science to sane and effective use."

The scientific advance of basic education alone of nature but only the advance of called but all instruction and all knowledge "is more and effective use."

It Cannot Come to Good

After giving the testimony of scientists one may turn to that of a renowned historian Professor H. H. Hall, in his foreword to *History of the World*, comes up to a verdict of the effect of industrialization.

"Material, particularly in our time, has been taken up in all great cities away from nature and from its health and its beauty. Our time, more than any other, is devoted the use of its tools which machinery replaces, is devoted the suppression of all human instincts, the delight in nature and nature, scientific and then, material and material, science, culture, tools and tools. For hundreds of thousands of years mankind has lived on the top of nature. It is only in the last century that he has ruthlessly been swept away and taken away from his mother earth, taken away from God's country in man's only artificial home, where he has nothing of nature but a thin strip of sky between the atmosphere. It is not, it cannot come to, good."

"A Good Fabrication"

Dr. Christiana de la Cruz, from the United Theological College, Bangalore, has addressed a letter to Gandhi endorsing a calling from the Madras Government which gave currency to what purports to be the report of a commission headed

Bishop Pickett and Ananth on the one hand and Goshalg on the other at Nagpur in March 1932 and published in the London Quarterly World Dominion. The editors apparently were doubtful about the accuracy or authenticity of the report, though the editor of the GUARDIAN remarks that Dr. Macpherson, who has given the report, "has critically led access to information that has been denied to the public. He cannot but guarantee authenticity of his statement." The editor might have had the obvious courtesy of referring the report to any one of the three directly concerned in the interview, before he thought fit to publish it. But he did not, with the result that Bishop Ananth of Dornahol has addressed a letter to him in which he emphatically contradicts the report. These are the Bishop's words:

"Goshalg and I agreed at the very outset that neither of us will (a) publish anything that took place at the interview. Both sides have heartily kept the promise."

Every statement—without exception—attributed to Goshalg by Dr. Macpherson is wholly and clearly untrue. Whether Goshalg made any such statement or statement, anywhere else or in, is hardly deserving other than, I do not know. But simply he did not say or suggest, directly or indirectly, anything like what is attributed to him in this article. The whole, as far as my interview in March 1932 is concerned, is a cruel distortion, and that is the only interview I have had with him in twenty years."

We are happy that the Bishop of Dornahol has unapologetically denied the lie to the reporter. It is true that we realised that the first qualification of anyone claiming to call himself a true Christian, or a true Hindu, or a true Hindu, etc., is that he will not utter or give currency to a lie.

For the Village Ghani

The Agricultural Marketing Adviser to the Government of India has published a leaflet volume on the Marketing of Ground in India (pp. 55) which contains some valuable information from the point of view of our village industries. The report points out the fact that "out of the 1000 acres annual value of the crop, amounting to 16 to 17 per cent of the whole world production, the real producer gets nothing more than 10 per cent of what is paid by the exporters and Indian millers, and only a little more than half of what is paid by buyers in the United Kingdom," and shows the various ways in which the returns to these growers can be improved by reducing the cost of distribution from the field to the final buyer. It adverts to the numerous wasteful practices (e.g. of celebration of harvest and paying wages as dirt and unnecessary cleaning and recondition, and to the excessive market charges and voted and withheld taxes. "Increased parties have

been quietly replacing the cultivator," says the report, with the result that "the poor cultivator must find himself lucky at the end of the day if he is left with his crops and begins to take home."

Most of the recommendations are such as can be given effect to by provincial legislation, but why should the clumsy process of exporting 125,000 tons of raw linseed and then importing 145,000 gallons of oil from abroad be insisted? Why need we import any oil at all? Some 10 million gallons of oil is wasted annually in India, and apart from the wastefulness of the oil used in the manufacture of paints and varnishes, the remainder is used for waste purposes. The report reveals the fact that, like the handloom which still holds the field against the power-driven loom, the village ghanis maintain a good competition with the power-driven oil mill. The ghanis crush annually 20,000 tons of seed, and the mills crush 121,000 tons, and the report makes out a plan for the reorganisation of the village ghanis. "Although," says the report, "the efficiency of the village ghanis cannot be compared with modern machinery, and inquiries in various provinces indicate that their numbers are very slowly on the decline, it is most unlikely that even with the advance of industrialisation the village ghanis will ever be superseded." The reason is simple. "When crushing plays an important part in village life, and for waste purposes oil produced by the village ghanis is considered to be sweeter and to have a better flavour than mill-made oil." "When crushing plays an important part in rural life so that any improvement which would tend to increase its efficiency must be regarded as of primary importance. Further, the crushing of seeds by the village ghanis is closely linked up with the consumption of sticks by cattle and the utilization for manure. Any improvement in this direction would undoubtedly benefit the cultivator by improving both his land and his stock."

The report takes as a basis of the various experiments made by the All India Village Industries Association is the improvement of the ghanis, not of the fact that every ton of seed crushed before it is pressed to oil. The report suggests no ways of improvement, but one of them is obvious, viz. that more oil should be placed on a professional basis in comparison with the unimproved oil. There are as a rough estimate about 400,000 ghanis in the country, and the number of oil mills is 220. Of these only 125 crushed linseed in 1926-27, and only a few of these handled linseed exclusively. If the whole of our linseed oil requirements were to be supplied by ghanis, the number of them can be tripled, giving correspondingly increased employment to the growers and the carpenters.

GANDHI SCHOLARSHIPS

The following Bangia students have been awarded Gandhi Higher Education Scholarships for the year 1955-56 (July 1955 to June 1956) & are open for the under consideration

Name	Course of Study	B. F. M.
ASSAM		
1. Bannu Singh Das	Indian Medicine	10
2. B. K. Das	B. A. Hindi	10
3. V. Lakshminath	Indian Medicine	10
4. L. Subbarao	I. A. Jr.	8
5. J. S. Appaiah	I. A. Jr.	1-8
6. B. Mahalingam	I. A. Jr.	6
7. One name under consideration		1-8

8. Mahalingam N. S. Das	B. A. Jr.	10
9. M. S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	10
10. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	10
11. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	10
12. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Medicine	10
13. M. S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	10
14. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	10
(A & W. Term)		
15. Anant Singh Das	I. A. Jr.	1
(A & W. Term)		

BIHAR		
16. Mahalingam S. S. Das	B. A. Jr.	1
17. Mahalingam S. S. Das	B. A. Jr.	1
18. Mahalingam S. S. Das	B. A. Jr.	1
19. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	1
20. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Medicine	1
21. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Medicine	1
22. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Medicine	1
23. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Medicine	1
24. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Medicine	1
25. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Medicine	1
26. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Medicine	1

GUJARAT		
27. C. M. K. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8
28. P. S. Das	Law	1-8
29. S. K. Das	Agony	1-8
30. G. G. Das	D. A. Jr.	1-8

KARNATAKA		
31. Mahalingam S. S. Das	B. A. Jr.	10
32. One name under consideration		10

MAHARASHTRA		
33. Mahalingam S. S. Das	M. A. & Law	15
(If studying for both courses)		

O. P. BANGIA		
34. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8
35. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8
36. Mahalingam S. S. Das	B. A. Jr.	10
37. S. K. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8

O. S. MARATHI		
38. W. V. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8
39. S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8
40. M. A. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8
41. V. D. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8
42. M. D. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8
43. S. D. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8
44 and 45 under consideration		10

46. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Indian Medicine	10
47. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	10

GUJARAT		
48. S. K. Das	B. A. Jr.	8
49. One name under consideration		10

KERALA		
50. Mahalingam S. S. Das	B. A. Jr.	10
51. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Medicine	10
52. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	10
53. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	8
54. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	8
55. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	10

KARNATAKA		
56. V. D. Das	B. A.	10
57. C. D. Das	I. A. Jr.	10

KARNATAKA CITY		
58. D. S. Das	M. B. B. S.	10
59. D. S. Das	B. A. Jr.	1
60. One name under consideration		10

MARATHI		
61. D. S. Das	I. A.	1
62. S. D. Das	I. A.	8
63. S. D. Das	I. A.	8
64. S. A. Das	(for 6 months only)	
Warden's sponsor's course		

MILK & DOMESTIC		
65. P. S. Das	Law	10

GUJARAT		
66. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	10
67. One name under consideration		10

PUNJAB		
68. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	10
69. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	8
70. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Medicine	10
71. Mahalingam S. S. Das	D. A. Jr.	10
72. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	10
73. Mahalingam S. S. Das	D. A. Jr.	10

RAJASTHAN		
74. Mahalingam S. S. Das	B. A. Jr.	10

GUJARAT		
75. S. P. Das	B. A. Jr.	10

O. P. BANGIA		
76. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Overseas Course	10
77. One name under consideration		10

O. P. WEST		
78. Mahalingam S. S. Das	Indian Medicine	10
79. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr. (If he does not get Govt. B. day)	10
80. One name under consideration		10

TAMIL NADU		
81. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8
82. Mahalingam S. S. Das	D. A. Jr.	1-8
83. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8
84. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8
85. Mahalingam S. S. Das	I. A. Jr.	1-8

connection, asked the following significant question: "The whole of the Orient is overwhelmed with British might, and how is it then that the tyranny of short-lived Zambianism is not stopped? The lawless King of Abyssinia but his sovereignty by mistreating a few Italians, why then, under their empire, is there no remedy for the oppressions perpetrated on the ryots under the shade of the big machines of Government officials?"

In the second chapter of the essay Bankin subtly defines his attitude as a goldfish saying that, personally, he has never been harmed by the Zambian stronger whom he has numerous friends, that he is deeply pained to expose their injustice to the people who are helpless and voiceless. "It would be a great sin if we watched the dumb folk's agonies without even a timid protest in the hope of preventing them. Because of this essay I may antagonize the Zambians who are the leaders of Society. . . Some may condemn me as a fool, an unwise creature as a Har-Bot II, due to that fact, my friend Norham does not agree with the grounds of the oppressed, does not try to relieve the distress of the persecuted, does not speak the truth on account of requests and obligations, they accuse the Journal to finish the letter." Such passages, penned nearly 70 years ago, challenge our respectful attention even today. He frankly admitted that there were good and bad Zambians, that many works of public benefit were to the credit of good landlords who, according to Bankin, should try to rectify the conduct of bad Zambians through the British Indian Association which was the only organization at that time to work the welfare in favour of the common people. But Bankin mentioned the members, as a class, to be mainly responsible for the degradation and deterioration of our peasantry. He admitted, however, that their degradation was due to the unfortunate operation of "natural factors" which he assigned to deal in the third chapter which ends with the optimistic note that several disadvantages imposed by Nature could be overcome through the combined goodwill of the Government and the propertied classes.

In conclusion, I give a rough English rendering of a few characteristic passages from Bankin's *Har-Bot II*:

"We are making a tremendous loss out of the needed prosperity of our country. This land was going to rich and men, but now, thanks to the dishonesty of the British administrators, we are getting cheated and lots of good are coming to our country."

Bankin's this prolonged denunciation of so many good things, I have only two simple questions to ask: Do you know to what writers referred? Does it refer to William Smith and Thomas Edworthy, who are calculating the debt with a keen business plough, in midday sun, kneeling in mud deep by a pair of bullocks, all

skin and bone? Their hands are occupied under the cruel sun of the Indian, and they are almost dying of thirst and drinking the muddy water with faded palates. Their hunger is almost unbearable, and yet they cannot go down to take their last breath of the enjoyment of the dream of civilization. Only towards the evening they would raise their bodies and probably satisfy their hunger with baked stones raw, salt and green shells mixed in sufficient amount of water. Then they would stretch their limbs on a hard mat on an ear side of the floor of the mudwall. They do not feel the sting of the mosquitoes. They would remain, dead, until, say, their work on the debt boundary is over; or they would be detained in the way by some landlord or moneylender who would drag them away, for their debt, and the work of the field would be stopped. The landlord may even condemn the indebted plot. What then will happen that year? Starvation for the whole family. Now tell me please, O Jala, filled with experience in your time, what evil of god has come to these people? What good have you done to them by looking to soil and water? And O ye Shikar Omen, look! looking down on the fields, visiting your debt mountains with one hand and giving your plough with the other, dreaming to turn the skin of the's cowards, which wealth have you received as William Smith and Thomas Edworthy? Sit a bit or till, like an my companion. So I cannot join in the chorus of denigrating. Whether for wheat! For the country! Some good has come to you and me, but not so good that we represent the country? If we have not of enlightenment about poverty, how many will live in us, our land! The administrators from the neighbouring empire not, so not, considering, they represent the country. What can you and I achieve? Where shall we be of the cultivators go beyond water? Where there is no good for them there cannot be any good for the country."

Nearly fifteen years before the foundation of the Indian National Congress, Bankin Chandra, with prophetic insight and profound sympathy, drew our attention to the tragic condition of the majority of our countrymen who, as he stated at the end of his essay, would some day raise such an awful voice of protest as would almost bring the dominating race of the world.

Two Donations

We referred in the issue of HAKJIAN of July 22 to a friend who had generously offered to make a voluntary contribution to the Hakjian fund in expiation for what he regarded as his error in questioning the sale of blood for station purposes. The friend has now sent a donation of Rs. 25 which we thankfully acknowledge here.

We are also happy to announce that Shri Jagdishlal Mehta, President of the Harjain Social Sangh Society, has received Rs. 1,000 from the students of the Feroz Shah School, being the bulk of the prize-money received at a contest they had staged, and at which they had invited Shri Mehta to preside.

powerful, for the workers in their fight against oppression."

"Leave aside the question of debating the motion, it is hardly possible to get even reforms by adopting this method (non-violence). Communists are not for individual heroism. In their view violence means fight between the masses and their enemy."

"It is only violence that can save violence. We must make the people understand that the Government is to be destroyed by violence."

The Government think that anyone tempted with such propaganda will give thought to the role of severity and violence which is the inevitable consequence of any counterpoise to such a movement, and to the inevitable harm which would be caused by it, to the spiritual and material progress of India and to the cause of true freedom.

There is an possibility of success for such a programme, and no one need have any apprehensions of it. But the thoughtless repetition of such phrases and ideas so form the arguments in this and similar propaganda, and any unwitting support given to such secret organizations as spread such ideas, must tend to weaken the forces of the great non-violent movement for social and industrial progress and full political freedom to which the Government is pledged.

TRAINING SCHOOL FOR VILLAGE WORKERS

1. The next few years of the All India Village Industries Association Training School for Village Workers will begin from 1st December 1938.

2. Admission will be closed on the 1st of November and students must present themselves at the school not later than the 1st of December.

3. The course will be as far as may be for a period of five months. Training is one of the following two industries, together with some theoretical knowledge for village work, will be given. Not less than four hours a day will be devoted to training in industry.

1. Paper Making, 2. Oil Pressing

Theoretical knowledge in the following subjects will be given during the course:

(1) Gandhi Vihar Dehans (2) Rural Economics (3) Health, Hygiene and Sanitation (4) Working of the A. I. V. I. A. (5) Book-keeping (6) Education through media.

Special courses in the following seasonal industries will be given during September to May:

(1) Paddy-planting and Rice-grinding (2) Book-keeping (3) Dye Palm Gar making

For particulars, forms and terms of admission write to the undersigned. Nobody should come before receiving a letter of admission.

T. B. BHATT

Secretary, Training School

Dehra Dun, Bagpat Road, Wardha, C. P.

ELOQUENT FIGURES

Elsewhere in this issue will be found a table of figures of production and value of the A. I. S. A. for the half-year ending June, 1938, along with similar figures for the same period in 1937. In sending this table for publication, the Secretary of the A. I. S. A. writes:

"As a result of the efforts made by the members of the Association and assisted organizations, the production of khadi has well-nigh doubled during the last six months of the current year. Altogether 14,71,411 sq. yards of khadi valued at Rs. 12,37,892 was produced up to the end of June 1938, as against 10,85,474 sq. yards valued at Rs. 12,77,268 for the period ending June, 1937.

The khadi value here also increased though not in proportion to the increase in production. The total value up to June, 1938, was Rs. 14,79,716 as against Rs. 12,45,258 for the last year. The work out at 15-1/2% increase over last year, at against 200% increase in production. It is, however, hoped that the khadi-loving public will rise to the occasion and take up all the khadi that is produced, so as to enable the Association to offer continuous relief to the thousands of poor spinners and other village artisans who need the help."

These figures bear eloquent testimony to the efficiency and expanding capacity of the workers of the A. I. S. A. and to the readiness with which spinners and weavers are seizing the opportunity for honourable occupation given to them. The increased value of wages must have provided an additional incentive. The A. I. S. A. and the artisans have done their part towards the progress of khadi, and it now remains for the khadi-loving public to buy up the additional khadi produced and thereby encourage greater production. The recent increase in prices should not result in a reduction of sales, for the thousands of khadi are not based on the selfish economist's idea of buying cheapest and selling dearest. As an Scottish economist has said:

"For the politician on his side is apt to regard industry merely as a technical problem, whereas it is fundamentally a human problem to sell, and its object is not merely to secure the maximum of profit, but to secure them with the minimum of human suffering and inconvenience, and in such a way as to promote the best distribution of wealth. Cheap production is not an ultimate good. It is a good only if it leads to right distribution, and if it is hampered by the demand of the workers for tolerable human conditions of labour" (G. D. H. Cole, *World Class*, p. 212).

It is khadi, more than mill cloth, that satisfies the two criteria laid down here, and the increase in wages rates is just a small effort on the direction of ensuring a more equitable distribution of wealth. It devolves on the khadi-lovers to show that they appreciate the effort and desire to help it. C. S.

HOW TO SAVE HANDLOOM WEAVERS

(By M. E. Douth.)

The statement that the handloom industry has defied mill competition is only partially true. There are not today half as many handloom weavers as there were, say, twenty-five years ago. There was a time when, as the spinning wheel spun the whole of the yarn required by the weaver, the handloom wove all the cloth required. When the mills were established the spinning wheel still had died out for the very simple reason that it gave a paltry return and was never a whole-time occupation. But the loom offered sufficient resistance for the reason, among others, that it was a valuable occupation by itself and paid the weaver enough to do out a living. When the spinning mill came, the weaver still took upon it his last basis of yarn. He even welcomed the change because he could get more ready spun and stronger yarn. Little did he know that he was to become perfectly helpless if the mills for any reason could not supply him with yarn. Unlike the village spinner the mill-weaver depended the price of his yarn. By and by the weaver who wove simple patternless cloth could not withstand the mill competition and he died and for the past few years the weaver of fancy cloth has left the pressure from weaving mills. Public taste is slowly but surely changing. If the mills cannot exactly copy the patterns woven by the village weaver, they say, as they do, produce new patterns and by efficient advertising attract customers. Therefore several thousand Orissa weavers are able for want of custom, & similar dry crops to see the other day from Amardapur, a

strong weaving center. My advice to them all was that if these weaving families would but introduce spinning and spinning in their homes, they could be wholly independent of mill yarn and retain the comfortable earnings of the A. I. S. A. It might be that the weaver might not earn as much as before because of part of their time being given to spinning. But now, under the revised policy of the A. I. S. A. which aims at giving one anna per hour to the spinner and is actually giving one and half paise per hour, the weaver would hardly feel the reduction in his income. And in any case a reduced wage is surely better than starvation.

Let it be borne in mind that the weaver, in introducing spinning and working in his family has to go in his very little outlay. The wheel he already has. It will no doubt require some improvement. He has to invest in a carding box costing a few annas.

I understand that the Orissa Government is looking well upon their plan and restricting their cloth purchases to khadi. They desire compensation for conforming to the conservative programme of the Congress. Let the weaver on charge of the organization remember the prescription herein suggested, and they will find that production of the yarn required will be the reason by educating the weavers to take up spinning. They will also by this method probably find that khadi can be comparatively speaking, more cheaply produced than if they were to wait till they trained poor villagers to become efficient spinners. No doubt they will have to introduce spinning in all the villages. For that is the goal of the A. I. S. A. But they may not neglect the handloom weaver till the high purpose is accomplished.

HOW KHADI HAS PROGRESSED

Statement of Producers and Sales of A. I. S. A. and Certified Organizations for the half-year ending June, 1933

Produce	Value		Sq. Yards		Sales	
	1932	1933	1932	1933	1932	1933
	Rs.	Do.			Rs.	Do.
Andhra	1,64,087*	51,331	4,39,431*	1,43,400	1,21,910*	81,254
Assam	400	450	1,334	1,719	900	800
Bihar	2,75,244	1,25,494	7,44,800	4,61,800	2,40,400	1,20,700
Bombay	27,333*	44,817	6,46,133*	1,20,200	99,040	94,700
Burma					2,25,000	1,20,000
Central Provinces					57,910	38,220
Coorg, Malabar	242	1,317	491	4,400	57,040	1,00,700
Madras	43,070	48,470	1,48,800	1,48,400	1,24,000	94,400
Madhya Pradesh	2,08,010	1,25,000	61,000	1,47,200	20,710	70,700
Morbi	11,100	18,100	1,27,000	45,000	30,000	30,710
Nizamabad	2,00,100	1,40,400	6,71,800	3,40,200	3,25,000	3,31,000
Punjab	1,81,000*	99,100	5,40,000*	3,23,710	54,000*	70,000
Rajasthan	2,08,070	46,470	2,08,340	1,40,040	27,000	21,000
Roorkee	4,710	1,200	5,320	100	28,100	28,000
Tamil Nadu	2,40,700	4,61,100	10,10,700	4,30,700	4,40,000	3,17,000
U. P.	2,00,000*	1,10,100	3,31,000*	4,33,100	1,24,000*	2,40,000
United	10,000*	4,700	40,000	20,000	27,000	9,000
Total	26,51,861	13,77,400	87,12,400	38,00,000	20,70,700	15,00,000

Up to May, 1933
Do do

* Figures incomplete

HARRIAN

Aug 28

1938

RECENT RIOTS IN BURMA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A telegram says:

"Burma riots attract more attention than you get. Whatever Government information, no pace left with when I left Rangoon by aeroplane. Indians indignantly protested. They adopted poor and violence, suffered terribly. Different steps rapidly evolved."

The step that I took immediately on receipt of a wire from Rangoon was the only effective step I could then take. I was not then, even in possession of facts. How then is before us a perversion of the sense of the Burmese fury? It appears that a Burman wrote a tract in disparagement of Islam some time ago. A Burman Buddhist who had become a convert to Islam wrote a counter tract attacking the original and also attacking Buddhism. No Indian had a hand in the writing of the counter tract. It did not attract notice at once, but the Burman Press fiercely criticized it and inflamed the Burman mind. The result was the orgy which took many precious, innocent lives and destroyed property worth, it is said, millions. For was it confined to Rangoon, it spread throughout Burma wherever there were Indian settlers.

It, as my correspondent says, "Indians adopted your (i.e. my) non-violence". I can only say they suffered less than they would have otherwise done. Non-violence has no limits. If a particular dose does not seem to answer, more should be administered. It is a never-failing remedy.

But why call it 'my' non-violence? Probably the war is a gentle rebuke to me, as much as to say that my remedy failed. The pertinent question is whether they believed in non-violence as a more readily applied violence, as was it undertaken because there was no help for it? I, however, need not wait for a reply. If one is to believe the papers, there was not complete non-violence practised by the Indians. I have, however, no difficulty in believing that a considerable number observed non-violence whether from belief or necessity.

The question for consideration, however, is 'what of the future?' There will no doubt be some kind of an inquiry. There may be some compensation paid to the losers. There would be some parliament voted out to the offenders who are not likely to be the prime movers but their dupes. I must confess that I am uninterested in these proceedings. They will be no insurance against future collisions.

Indians in Burma should realize that they are at the mercy of the inhabitants of Burma. They have no Government in India that can really afford them protection. We know what is happening in the other parts of the world, and in it is to be wondered at England will come to the war with any nation or country because it has insulted or wronged Indian settlers in that country. It may it will, make representations, show its concern; it will lodge energetic protests even. But these too help will end. And in a case like the Burman riots, the belief that the Government of India can afford will be used to nothing. What does it do, where riots take place in India itself? It can do very little after they are over. The nearest it can do is to take measures to quell riots when they take place. What have even Congress Governments been able to do after the riots that have recently taken place in some Congress Provinces? They do not admit of relief being granted to the victims except in rare cases. What is possible in Burma I do not know.

I am concerned with attainment of permanent peace in so far as permanent is possible in this very imperfect life. When once religious animosity is roused, it has a knack of repeating itself with periodic regularity, if radical measures are not adopted by the communities concerned. One such measure is cultivation of mutual respect for the several religions professed by the parties. If the Buddhists of Burma have little regard for Islam and the Muslims for Buddhism, the seeds of dissension are there. They will take little waiting to sprout into the orgy such as we are now seeing. I would, therefore, suggest a mutual understanding of these rival religions.

My fear is that at the bottom of the riots there is an anti-Indian feeling due, perhaps, to economic causes. For, though Muslims seem to have suffered most, Hindus too seem to have come in for a fair share of the Burman fury. Therefore, Indian settlers must see to it that their dealings with the Burmans are fair and above board. It is said that everything is fair in trade, and that no impulsive attitude is a leader taking advantage of his customer's ignorance and demanding from him even an unreasonable price for his goods. That kind of dealings will surely excite feelings. Whenever we have gone, even before the British rulers took possession of our country, we have depended solely on the goodwill of those among whom we have lived and with whom we have traded. Such is the history of our relations with Siam, Ache, Java, etc.

Times have however changed. The people all over the world have become conscious of their rights. Whomever formerly foreign settlers in other lands did questionable things with impunity, they suspect us no more. Honesty has never been as much prized to be the best policy as it is now for those who do not or cannot look

their liberality with gunpowder and poison gas. If India is to escape that training and is to adopt, as a free nation, peace as her motto, in every walk of life and in every country where her children go, they will have to practice strictest honesty in her business dealings.

To the Buddhist monks we went. When I was in Burma some years ago, Buddhist priests were good enough to invite me to their monasteries and honour me with their address under the shadow of the mighty Pagoda. They were good enough, as Buddhists, to clean me as one of them. H. Thurman, here, was when I read of the mob fury which knew no distinction of sex or age and wreaked vengeance on persons who could never have had anything to do with the offending pamphlet. I have the greatest reverence for the Buddha. He is one of the greatest producers of peace. The gospel of the Buddha is gospel of love. Its passive comprehensions have incomprehensibility of that faith would prove themselves up to emergency, and that on an apparently flimsy pretext. The pity of it is that if the newspaper reports were true, even priests, the representatives of the Buddha's gospel, were to be seen among the mob, not adding its fury, but actually taking part in looting, arson and murder. Would that the rage were among those who would do a little heart-searching and take steps to proving a recurrence of the tragedy which all night-dreaming persons must deplore!

Notes

69 Solowing Days

Shri Narayana Gandhi, who continues to be the manager of the Rastapagada Ashram, which was physically disbanded in 1931, when all the adult inmates marched to prison, has a unique way of celebrating Gandhiji's birthday—a way against which even Gandhiji has not only no objection, but which he welcomes. Shri Narayana Gandhi is also in charge of a national school, and in co-operation with his students he gives the start to an intensive speaking programme which he appeals to all the members of the old Ashram, wherever they may be working, to take up. This year the programme began on the 11th of July and will be over on the 11th September—a period of 55 days, as Gandhiji finished his 55 years on the latter date according to the Hindu year. Anyone, at any stage, may join the programme, but a special appeal is made to everyone who was an inmate of the old Ashram and who is still a member by virtue of his allegiance to the life and principles for which the Ashram was established.

The staff and the students of the national school, Rajkot, have in pursuance of the programme resolved to give 55 talks of 15 minutes each. The Marham Ashram, Belanwall, has resolved to give 55 talks of 15 minutes, and many others have indefinitely promised to do a certain quota every one of the 55 days.

Shri Narayana Gandhi also makes collections in celebration of the event in the shape of 55 notes (papers, half-papers, four-cent pieces, two-cent pieces, annas, paise, or pils, whichever one can afford) to be contributed for various objects. This year half of the collection will be devoted to the cause of the Marham one-fourth to the cause of India, and one-fourth will go to the school. The programme has continued so intensely every year, and Rs. 12,000 have already been given to the Marham Fund as a result of the past two or three years' celebrations.

Perhaps no one is less interested in his birthday than Gandhiji himself, as he himself believes that a man may not be judged except after his death. But he would welcome anyone's birthday being made the occasion of useful national activity, and as he has without the slightest hesitation supported the appeal for speaking and contributions and any other constructive work during the period: "The Rastapagada Ashram as a collect on the bank of the Sabarmati no longer exists, but the members who were pledged to live the Ashram life of 11 years are thus scattered in different places. In fact because it is no longer viable physically the spiritual nucleus have withered, and anyone who believes in and makes an endeavour to fulfil the 11 years may regard himself as a member of the Ashram. Every old member is representative of the Ashram and carries the Ashram wherever he goes. As such he or she responsibilities have increased. Let them all remind themselves of their mission and co-operate with Shri Narayana in all possible ways."

11th of July is gone but, as we have said, anyone may join at any stage and towards his debt to Shri Narayana Gandhi, Rajkot, India, Rajkot (Established).

A word here about celebrations elsewhere. A correspondent last year drew our attention to the celebrations at Bangalore when we were told every year a large amount was being collected, but it was used for no better purpose than for a grand cosmopolitan dinner. It is safe to dubiate on these matters, but one may say that that is not the way in which Gandhiji would have his, or for that matter anyone's, birthday celebrated. He sets no store by loyalty to his person, but he does so loyally to his principles, and anyone who professes that loyalty may, if he must, join the celebrations by doing something to promote the objects that are dear to him.

The Right Way

Elsewhere we reproduce the Madras Government's communique on communist propaganda. It studiously evades the language of dissemination, but shows up the channels for which the communists are working, by publishing relevant extracts from the pamphlets the communists are circulating among members of their party. There is a full-blooded violent programme, however

they believe that it is only violence that can meet violence. We must make the people understand that this Government is to be destroyed by violence." Unfortunately they believe in secret methods. It has therefore been the practice of Governments to make arrests en masse, but a Government whose aim is to meet violence by non-violence has to avoid such action as far as possible. The Congress Government in Madras has thus adopted the right way of fighting the communist propaganda. No one who has the good of the country at heart and who believes in achieving it by all peaceful methods will be taken in by this propaganda of violence. Should remembrance be identified with violence?

Democracy or Mob Rule?

But there are people who are neither communists nor ultrarightists who go by catchwords and who are moved by the prevalent passions of the moment. We hear every day of noisy demonstrations and open-air meetings and hand-banking at meetings held in order to support "democracy." Little do these people or their popular leaders know that that is the surest way to end democracy and to play into the hands of the forces of reaction and imperialism that the Congress is pledged to fight. There have been instances of farious assaults on workers in Nagpur and Coimbatore and Calcutta. There are other forms of violence also, and a correspondent in the course of a letter to Gandhiji says:

"I respectfully beg to draw your attention to an incident which has passed many times. Congressmen deny. The incident occurs against the Bengal Ministry came up for consideration on the 16th instant, and Sir Earl Buxton had voted for the Ministry. The accompanying letter addressed by me to the President will explain the objection. The procession resulted up to about 1,000 in number and used most provocative language. The cry was, 'May soon override Sir Earl Buxton and his whole family.' A dead body was being carried in front of his house. The young men were shouting 'This is the corpse of Sir Earl Buxton and' For two days and half of the night these young men are sitting in front of his house and shouting the above slogan."

You can easily conceive how your noble banking of non-violence is being abused by so-called Congressmen and their willing far four arms of the Congress. Such conduct abhorred by the President and the Secretary of the District Congress Committee (North Calcutta) has raised grave doubts in our mind whether this is the official method recommended by the Congress for carrying out its aim with it. We cannot conceive of greater violence in word and thought than that adopted by these so-called Congressmen. A. they will surely reject such methods as shown on such occasions, may I respectfully request you to express your strongest opinion on the subject of the Executive for the protection

of their organized people and also for the maintenance of the general public?

Let it be said that not even the demonstrators believe that the method described in the letter is "the official method recommended by the Congress". All this is being done in spite of the Congress. We may hope the allegation against the President and Secretary of the District Congress Committee (North Calcutta) is incorrect.

Congressmen must avoid such meetings and demonstrations, and if they go to these meetings, they should go in the spirit of the peace brigade, determined to receive blows without retaliation. Let them make a declaration to that effect and present a solid non-violent phalanx determined to stand any amount of violence.

New Ultrath Speech

Ever since the Madras **CHARLIAN** quoted the long paragraph from the London quarterly **WORLD FORUMS** and gave authority to it, it is set on its heels on the one side. The *Star*, as we saw last week, has been called to the counter by one of the Bishops concerned, but will those Christian papers that published the lie publish the repudiation too? A correspondent draws our attention to a leading article in the **MILWAUKEE STAR** of the 11th August. The repudiation was published (without a comment) by the **CHARLIAN** in its issue of the 8th August, and yet the **MILWAUKEE STAR** of the 11th August publishes that long paragraph, does not question the truth of the statement made therein, and indulges in comments of a more sweeping character than the offending paragraph itself. We should have guessed it, if the paper was just a scoundrel about finding an alibi, but we are told it is a leading Catholic organ and is widely read. This is what it writes by way of supplementary order. By McCutcheon's statement (This is our correspondent's translation from Malabar):

"McCutcheon's statement of the propagation of the Christian subject is well-known. The fact that the late George Joseph—a notable writer of the Congress—had brought to light the Christian interest of Malabar, is not known to our correspondents. Through Malabar, it was once a first-time member of the Congress, undoubtedly known that he is the driving force behind the Congress movement. McCutcheon had on a previous occasion declared that had he been permitted he would have asked Christian missionaries to leave India. Thus the National Congress was well in power. Today the majority of the members are on the banks of the Congress, under the present state of affairs the threat that conversions will be stopped by law is unnecessary."

will be printed only once, next is Christianity? Or does he intend to apply the law to conversions in India also? He has said nothing about the latter. He has not, because there is no movement for Hindu Mission only. — It is a pity that most of Gandhiji's people are trying to belittle even the slightest

Minister of others. With the Congress, I wish to pledge to preserve the rights of minority communities."

Every one of these statements is new to us. We do not know when and where the late George Joseph made the statement attributed to him. We do know that his relations with Gandhi were cordial to his dying day. As to the fact we know positively in the country, Gandhi has never advocated compulsion, and Hindu-Muslim unity does not mean merely the unity of Hindus and Muslims but of all communities.

Inter-religious Harmony

Shri K. K. Kothandaram writes:

"May I open my penmanship for a little space in *HAWAIIAN* column? I want to share a most encouraging attempt at inter-religious harmony among students. The report came to my hands but today is the last number of the *Hawian*.

You have known of the latest religious brotherhood fellowship in Kerala. Nappay was perhaps one of their conferences in months ago. This last last sister, instead of having a conference, a small group decided to go to work in the village. I wish there were space for the whole report. For example, one night when the villagers wanted a car to bring a dinner with various players in their park, 450 people of all communities got out and in 24 hours built a mile of road. The next night a car came to this village for the first time! And a small group of Hindu, Muslim and Christian students did this. But let me quote:

"The biggest lesson provided here was perhaps inter-religious and intercommunal harmony. It really exists there. It was the first time they saw Hindu, Christian and Muslim playing, singing and living together. We don't think we had been of much help to them. It has helped us a lot. We have been able to realize the need of inter-religious love for our kind of world service."

May I say also that last Christmas I worked with that same group in a conference? It was one of the great joys of my life—as was analysis of their various communities, well together in happily making a conference of whole people. I wish that more of our students would forget for the time being their many problems of intercommunal unity and go together into the villages. There they would not begin to see all in a more new light as they faced the terrible realities of our rural villages. I am glad to say that the Kerala students plan there such contact work during next May and I hope we can have at least one here in Kerala. May others follow this noble example and intercommunal harmony will be becoming a fact."

The Problem of Poverty

The inter-religious group mentioned in the last paragraph visited hundreds of houses, organized

classes for boys and girls, talked to them about balanced diet and breast-feeding, sanitation and cottage industries. One paragraph in their report vividly describes the conditions in a Malay village:

"We cannot blame of the appalling conditions they are in. There was nobody to look after the aged women who was laid up. A three-year-old child was starving. She was her mother. Her father left the last early morning to work his land and came back late at night, leaving her blind man to look after the sick child. It was a week since the boy had taken his bath. There was nobody to take water for him. The well being two fathoms away. Somewhere there was poverty and starvation. Though we had already made a daily programme of work among them we could not carry it out. How could we go and tell them about balanced diet and the use of latrines while they were starving? It was perhaps the first time that some young men of the village visited them. They have a desperate feeling that they are hopeless by themselves. We could not find a way out and so we had to keep them there. We realized that what was needed was not charity but a thorough rethinking of the whole economic order. One great lesson we realized was that the essential right with us is to help them. It is helpful only to the adults and people."

That is a correct picture of many of our villages, and it comes to one with poignant vividness when there is an epidemic like cholera raging in Japan, for instance, where there is cholera, parties led by Dr. Shukla Nayyar have been going every day to clean the village streets and lanes and houses and in order to keep the source of water supply free from contamination. It is simply impossible to rely upon them to take preventive measures, and so Dr. Nayyar has inoculated about 300 people. The inherent difficulties of poverty are almost insuperable.—no fuel to keep plenty of boiled drinking water, no change of clothes or shoes, no attendance when the adults have to go out to work for their daily bread, no wherewithal to treat the ill and stand hygienically, and so on. There in the little village of Ervi, one of our island centers, where there is no cash and available, there have been 170 deaths and four to five people die daily!!

M. D.

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WEALTH FROM WASTE*

(By F. E. Harlan)

The All India Village Industries Association has from its inception, interested itself in the question of preventing the economic loss to masses of equipment and rubbish, both in towns and villages, and it has recommended the preparation of different types of machines and compounds to suit varying local conditions. The use of night-soil and refuse for manurial purposes is not a new one, but the A. I. V. I. A.'s interest in the problem arises from its desire to see that the fullest advantage is taken of the rich manurial value that is available, and to secure that the price of the manure and manures is kept within the capacity of the average agriculturist to pay. From this point of view, the pioneer effort made by a co-operative sale society at Madras is of considerable interest to the members of the A. I. V. I. A., especially to those who have contact with town and city municipalities.

The Madras Co-operative Sale Society was able in 1937-38 to secure from the Madras Municipal Council a contract for the disposal of nightsoil and rubbish for a sum of Rs. 25,000. In previous years, such estimates had been taken by private individuals, who supplied the nightsoil and rubbish to agriculturists from the surrounding villages on their own terms and made no attempt to treat the refuse sanitariously. The price charged was Rs. 3-0-0 per cart-load of night-soil and Rs. 5-12-0 per cart-load of rubbish. After framing a rough budget of working costs, the Sale Society straightforwardly reduced the price to Rs. 1-12-0 per cart-load of nightsoil and Rs. 3-0-0 per cart-load of rubbish. The latter price was later on reduced to Rs. 2-0-0, and it was found from experience that further reduction was possible which unfortunately could not be carried out as the contract was not renewed for the year 1938-39. Notwithstanding the reduction in price effected, the Sale Society was able to have at its disposal a net income of Rs. 10,000 at the close of the year, which shows the considerable measure of exploitation that was practised in the past by private contractors. This surplus will be available to the agriculturists, numbering as many as 275 who become members of the Society, in proportion to the purchases made by them. The rebate will give a further reduction of roughly almost two in the rupee of the price paid.

The lowering of the cost of the refuse does not represent the Sale Society's main achievement.

* Based on an article on "The Co-operative Supply of Manure to Madras" by Mr. B. G. Sridhar, Deputy Director of Co-operative Societies, Madras, published in the Madras Journal of Co-operation—Vol. XXX, No. 1, July 1938.

most it set about investigating how best it could utilize the refuse so as to able to supply manure to agriculturists cheaply, and in the last days of the war officers from it told the "Indore Times" and found it a simple one. This consisted in spreading, on the floor of a wide shallow trench, alternate layers of rubbish and night-soil until there were three layers of nightsoil between four of rubbish. The mixture was turned over two days after being thus charged. This process was repeated for two weeks, water being sprayed over the surface if it got too dry. After about four weeks, the mixture was suitable for being used as manure. Simple compounds were prepared with one cart-load of night-soil and two cart-loads of rubbish, but though this preparation was ineffective in itself and had manurial value equal to that of farm-yard manure, its cost was prohibitive, being nearly twice as high as that of farmyard manure. With the assistance of the Agricultural Chemist of the Government of Madras, the Society conducted various experiments and ultimately decided to mix rubbish and night-soil in the proportion of 4:1. It eliminated the expense of clearing trenches and of compounding for the long period. It was thus able to bring down the cost of production from Rs. 3-0-0 to Rs. 1-10-0 per cart-load. Not only were these tests in manurial value conducted in the laboratory, but the Society adopted agriculturists to carry out the tests in their fields, thus assisting in the diffusion of scientific knowledge in rural areas. The other service was to convert the dangerous and offensive night-soil into an innocuous material—no more serious when it is noted that under the present contract system the conditions prevailing in the villages in the vicinity of which the manure was being stored were filthy in the extreme. By regulating the use of the refuse, the Society gave an impetus to the sanitation of manure and cleanliness and in the safeguarding of public health. From all these points of view the Madras Co-operative Sale Society's venture was indeed an admirable one, and it is unfortunate that the contract could not be renewed. The manurial terms at which it was offered were paid liberally to the Society members, beyond doubt, on passing on the benefit of the connection to the neighbouring rural community.

CONTENTS

	Page
CONTENTS LISTED	125
General Index, see Volume	
WIRELESS	T. H. Davis 714
Recent Events	O. B. 714
How to Save Navigation Wireless	M. E. Gault 715
NEW CRASH RAIL PROJECT	— 715
RAILWAY SHORT IN SCOTLAND	M. E. Gault 716
Wrecked from Wreck	T. L. Baker 716
WRECK	
ON TROUBLE IN THE	M. B. 717
THE NEW WAR	M. B. 717
DISCOVERY ON THE BRITISH	M. B. 718
HOW TO SAVE THE WORLD	M. B. 718
THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD	M. B. 719
THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD	M. B. 719



HARIVAN

Editor: MADANMOHAN BHATT

Under the Auspices of The Harjan Social League

Vol. VI, No. 29

POONA — SATURDAY, AUGUST 23, 1936

[CONT. FROM P. 1]

THE MENACE OF "(INDIA) LTD."

A large army has gone up against the growing domination of India by foreign capital, and the great establishment in this country of more and more industrial concerns under the control and management of foreigners, and the expansion by them of the fields in which Indian industries have till now been struggling to live. The non-national economy, having vast financial resources at its command, wages a merciless war against indigenous companies and threatens to wipe them out of existence. An impression is also sought to be made, by the extension of the words "(India) Ltd." to their names, that these concerns are available, and thus to explain the prevalent spirit recently manifested in the country. Flaming advertisements are made on a large scale of the goods produced by them, and the same measures of protection is claimed from the Government as is afforded to the indigenous industries. It is becoming more impossible for the Indian industries to withstand this unequal competition at their very doors, and they are rapidly succumbing, or will have presently succumbed, before it. The grave apprehensions felt by Indian manufacturers and business alike at this new and force concentration has been recently voiced, among others, by the Secretary of the Bombay Indian Merchants' Chamber, who says:

"My Committee had recently occasion to refer to the Imperial Chemical Industries (India) Ltd. There are also several companies which have come to their notice of non-Indian concerns and factories having been put up for the manufacture of matches, cigarettes, soap, beer and stout, chemicals, rubber, etc. These factories are staffed by powerful companies with a big capital, and it is hopeless to expect small Indian industries to compete with them. The only result will be, therefore, that the small Indian industries will be wiped out and eliminated from the country."

I have seen (India) Ltd., Green (India) Ltd., Colver (India) Ltd., Candy Palace (India) Ltd., Bhatnagar Brothers Co. (India) Ltd., Goshwami Tyre & Rubber Co. (India) Ltd., Khosla Iron & Co. (India) Ltd., Ramdas (India) Ltd., Bhatnagar (India) Ltd., Tata Water Oil Co. (India) Ltd., and some of the companies belonging to the class have referred to.

Taking advantage of the tariff wall, on one of the relevant sections of the Government of India Act, non-Indian industries are now starting up with a colonial production in some cases. In the competition between a British and a foreign, the latter goes to the wall, and my Committee are afraid that this will be the case with Indian industries unless immediate steps are taken to safeguard and protect them."

This is but a new stage in the exploitation of the weaker and poorer nations by the richer and physically stronger nations of the world. The first stage consisted of the monopolising of their manufactured goods, by force or fraud, on subject nations. The theory of "Free Trade" was devised to justify this transaction by England, who was first in the field of monopolised manufacture of goods and who wanted "open markets" throughout the world. The "free trade with India," was, however, as an Englishman remarked in 1884, "a free trade from this country (England) not a free trade between India and this country." This concealed free trade resulted in the ruin and total extinction of many of India's staple industries and drove millions of her millions out of employment. To quote the words, recently written, of an English writer,

"The principle of free trade worked as a poison arrow. The same economic consequences of our administration was to swamp India under a flood of cheap manufactured imports. It was impossible for Indians, without experience or knowledge of applied science, to compete with the products of our modern machine industry. . . . The heaviest injury of this free trade policy fell, however, not on India's agriculture, but on her handicrafts industry. Very gradually, yet by an inevitable doom, the weaver, the potter and the smith were reduced to poverty and despair by the competition of British machines. The debilitation of transport delayed their loss, but today when motor buses carry the hordes of the remotest villages into the towns to do their marketing, the end for these skilled craftsmen is in sight. . . . Thus Free Trade, which made in England our wealth and development, even development of industry, produced in India a paupered and so far disproportionate concentration in agriculture."

And, in fact, every week scores of India they lose, as they stand, on the lowest stages of survival, in total loss, with a few more and

pose as their sole possession, often without a change of clothing, on a diet of rice and pulses that supplies a minimum of energy to their slight and emaciated frames....[The means of poverty the Empire yielded]."¹

Then came the second stage.

"Europe's industry brought huge profits to its owners. Super-profits. More money than the owners knew what to do with. It made empires, but it was more than the profits were so great that the businessmen could not possibly spend all their money, even if they had tried. They didn't try. They saved their money.... The surplus capital which had to find an outlet found one in the backward countries—in colonies. Therein lay the seed of railways, electricity and gas systems, roads, etc., places rich in natural resources, where 'concessions' of mines and plantations were obtained—it was in these colonial areas that surplus capital found opportunities for profitable investment."² "In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap."³

The importance of capital to weaker nations, irrespective of whether they were willing or not, became the second stage in the exploitation of the world, and it was proclaimed to be part of the "White Man's Burden". The process is thus described by an English economist.

"The enterprise started in the less developed countries are often not only financed by alien capital, but also controlled under alien control by companies registered and administered in the leading country. The profits of the enterprise are sent back home to the alien owners, and the country in which the enterprise is carried on, unless it is recognized as a fully settled nation, has to submit to the policing and often even to virtual censorship, either open or disguised under the form of a protectorate. Its resources are in effect locked in labour for the alien capitalists whether they will or no, and sometimes a large part of its tax revenue is earmarked or mortgaged for the payment of interest on the alien capital....While Europe was working within its own borders the right of nationality and self-determination, it was also keeping the right of non-European people to choose from among in the full the political wealth of their lands and their labour, and was denying the right to nations, the development of any territory occupied by uncivilized peoples, was against the will of its inhabitants, as part of the ordering scheme of the white man....That is the scheme—a pattern of civilization for the world as well as of enrichment for himself, a machine made machinery in the interests of the progress of civilization."⁴

So far as India was concerned, the first good opportunity for fostering her industries, unobscured by foreign competition, presented itself to her during the World War, and several of the industries made a rapid progress. This was followed by the Fiscal Autonomy Convention granted to her in 1918, under which she could in a limited extent impose customs duties on foreign imports. The resultant movement that followed gave a still greater impetus to these industries, and imports began rapidly to decline. The growing demand of English labour for better wages made British goods dearer in foreign markets and profits began to decline. It is in order to counteract the difficulties created by all these factors that foreign-owned and foreign-controlled—particularly English—factories are being fastened on India. "British capital," says an English writer, "and without conscience the single competitive advantage it possessed—cheap and unorganized labour."⁵

These countries supply, it is argued, Indian labour and use Indian raw materials, and so to that extent their contribution to the good of the country. The fallacy of this argument will be seen on comparing the wages of the foreigners and the meagre wages of the Indian labourers. The same English writer remarks:

"It is usually estimated that from £500 to £1,000 millions of English capital are invested in India. Part of this capital is such as materials which in favourable years yield fabulous profits. Coal mines have been known to pay 500 and 100 per cent on a daily wage of 5d. Out of 5d. per ton, 18 paise as much as 10d. per ton in run at some years between 1925 and 1927. It never paid less than 50 per cent, and it never has been 40 per cent. During the early post-war years the profits of these pits were ranged from one to eight times their total wages. In the early 1910s that they paid 5 paise to their Indian workers, they received £500 as profits in their shareholders as dividend. Such facts may explain the attachment which the British population shows for, and indeed towards India, but towards India."⁶

¹ H. N. Brundage, *Op. Cit.*, p. 217.

² "The operation of the white ruling-class is the inevitable violence of the capitalist class continually gaining strength, and the workers in turn winning increased wages, shorter hours, insurance, pensions, etc., the white capitalists found it profitable to attract their labour from most of so-called inferior races. Increased productivity and mobility and when made are extremely limited in India, for instance, a nation—we are not speaking of the British Government—'was free', according to an official statement made by the British Government at the Hague, 'as free than homogeneous French countries a day.' Capitalism can therefore make infinitely more

³ H. N. Brundage, *Property Or Power?*, p. 217-218.

⁴ See *Introduction*, *Victory Valley Club*, p. 264-4.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ G. D. H. Cole, *World Class*, p. 124-5.

And here is the opinion of yet another Englishman.

"If you take a colonial country like India as an example, there is a strong case for thinking that a high proportion of the total economic capital invested there has brought an influx of all its best talents, members of India's intelligentsia. What it unfortunately has done is to tighten two grips — the grip of the Anglo-Indian and Indian class upon the Indian press, and the grip of Indian upon India."

Is there the slightest doubt that it is in order to tighten and perpetuate this strait grip that the "commercial safeguards" so called are provided for in the new Constitution? It is a thing without a parallel anywhere in the world. The Congress Working Committee has recently clearly stated the Congress position and has warned the country against following these foreign schemes to be wrecked and thereby deserving support as such. "No scheme," declared the Working Committee, "can or shall be regarded as 'wreckable' unless the control, direction and management are in Indian hands. The Working Committee would prefer to delay the further development of Indian industries if it can only result in the dumping of foreign industrial concerns who would exploit the natural resources of India." The warning has come once too soon, for the strutting vanguard industries, if not protected in time against the deadly attack of foreign imports and foreign companies dumped into India, will soon suffer extinction, and it will be a most difficult, if not impossible, task to revive them again. The Government under the new Constitution may not be able to "discriminate" against non-national industrial concerns, but there is a thing like determined official will that nothing can suppress. No power in the world can "force its goods on unwilling buyers. The way for protection, therefore, from the indigenous industries as addressed to the people of India is the sure hope that it will not go unnoted. The Working Committee will have to supplement its resolution by further persistent effort in this direction. The office of the A. I. C. C. are perfectly aware a lot of these so-called "wreckable" but anti-national concerns and were people against import their products for long as we have the notorious "discrimination" clause the only thing open to us is to educate and educate people against the use of these anti-national goods, which is a serious task of itself.

C. S.

and there then at home, where the working class standard of living has steadily risen."

— *Man da Dey: The Congress of Poona*, p. 67

1. H. N. Desai: *The C. C.*, p. 224.

2. Leonard Barnes: *The Duty of Empire*, p. 229.

FOR WANT OF A NAIL

(By K. S. Mahabadi.)

A Hindi correspondent, who is also a Parliamentary Secretary of a Congress Ministry, writes.

"You must excuse me for writing in English. I have to reply to so many letters that I have got to give facilities to my correspondent, who can do his work in English only."

This is not a rare instance where English is preferred to Hindustani for one reason or another. And I must remark, without intending any offence, that it has pulled me to me that prominent Congress leaders are themselves offenders in this respect. I have been myself obliged more than once to allow this lapse in the Gandhi News, Bangs Herald. In one of his recent articles, Shri Mahabadi Desai, representative of the Congress, was the Executive Committee of the League, one being for the appointment of a Labour Committee of the League, and the other for emphasizing the need for developing a co-operative atmosphere in the country. I wonder if the readers noticed that the language of the two resolutions was very different. The first was that, in accordance with the usual practice of our Committee, the first resolution was drafted in Hindi, and Mahabadi was supplied with the English translation. The other resolution took some time in being shaped, and an attempt was made by two groups, one trying to draft it in English, and the other in Hindustani. Ultimately the latter had no chance to the more aggressive language. Thus the second resolution reads well in English, while the first reads well in Hindustani.

If we want to make Hindustani really the lingua franca of India, it is the duty of those who speak it in their mother tongue, whether in the form of Urdu or Hindi, to take greater pains than they do for writing and developing it. A day will soon come when the people will demand not only that speeches should be made in Indian languages, but that enactments also should be framed (and not merely translated) in the provincial languages or Hindustani. This cannot take place satisfactorily so long as the habit of making original drafts in English and then translating them continues.

Thus the difficulty mentioned by my correspondent about stenography is undoubtedly there. It has become a formidable difficulty for so many of us. I have myself experienced it. But to give up the mother tongue for want of suitable stenography would be like leaving a kingdom for want of a horse-shoe nail. With three legs Hindustani Province in the hands of the Congress, it should not be beyond our capacity to stimulate the development of a rapid stenography and the improvement of Nagari and Urdu typewriters and, if necessary, scripts also.

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H A R I J A N

Aug. 27

1938

MY SO-CALLED INCONSISTENCIES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

During my student days improperly so called (for they properly began after the period of examinations and are not yet over for me) I found a saying of Emerson's which I never forgot. "Foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds," said the sage I remember to be a little mind, for foolish consistency has never been my hobgoblin. My critics are shocked even by recent remarks on picketing. They think that in describing me as a sponsor of violence the formation of a living wall of pickets in order to prevent the entry of persons into picketed places, I have contradicted my sayings and doings during the civil disobedience campaign. If such is really the case, my recent writing must be held as contradicting my comparatively remote sayings and doings. Though my body is deteriorating through age, so much love of *ahimsa* or non-violence, I hope, operates against wisdom which I trust is not only not deteriorating but even growing. Whether it is or not, my mind is clear on the question I have given on picketing. If it does not appeal to Congressmen, they may reject it, and if they do, they will violate the laws of peaceful picketing. But there is no discrepancy between my past practice and the present statement. When civil disobedience was first introduced by me in South Africa, my companions discussed with me the question of picketing. The registration office had to be picketed in Johannesburg, and the suggestion made was that we should form there a living wall of pickets. I at once rejected the idea as violent. And pickets were posted in marked positions in a big public square so that no one could shake the eagle eye of the pickets and yet everyone could go to the registration office. If he liked, without touching anyone. Refusal was put upon the faces of public opinion which would be evoked by the publication of the name of "black legs". This method was copied by me here when liquor shops were to be picketed. The work was specially entrusted to the women as better representatives of non-violence than men. Thus there was no question of the formation of a living wall. Many unauthorised things were no doubt done during those days as they are now. But I cannot recall a single instance in which I countenanced the kind of picketing condemned by the article that has come to me sharp criticism. And is there really any difficulty about regarding a living wall of pickets as naked violence? What is the difference between force used against a man waiting to do a

particular thing, and force meted out by interposing yourself between him and the deed? When, during the non-cooperative days, the students in Denmore blocked the passage to the University gates I had to send a preliminary message and, if my resolution served me right, I strongly condemned their action in the columns of *Young India*. Of course I have no objection against those who hold different views from mine regarding violence and non-violence.

The other *Theosophist* inspired to me has reference to my advice to factory-owners to invoke the assistance of the police to defend themselves against what I have described as violent picketing. Having condemned the Ministry for asking in the aid of the police and even the military for suppressing riots, how could I advise employers of labour to ask for, and Ministry to supply, police assistance, and my critics.

This is what I wrote in *HARIJAN* about the ministerial action in U.P.

"It has been suggested that when we have our independence now and then this will not come. This seems to me to be an empty hope. It is in the course of the struggle for freedom we do not understand and on the technique of non-violent action in every conceivable circumstance. To the extent that the Congress Ministers have been obliged to make use of the police and the military, to that extent, in my opinion, we must submit our failure. That the Ministers could not have done otherwise is unfortunately only too true. I should like every Congressman, I should like the Working Committee, to ask themselves why we have failed, if they think with me that we have."

Scarcely does there is no condemnation of the Ministers' action. I have deplored the necessity for it as I would deplore such necessity in the matter of picketing. But all the Congress has developed a peaceful method of dealing with violent crimes, the Ministers must use the police and, I fear, even the military, if they are to undertake the administration of the affairs of the country in the present stage of the career. But it will hold ill for them and the country if they do not derive methods of dispensing with the use both of the police and the military or at least of violently reducing their use to such an extent that he who runs may follow the reduction. There certainly is a way I have ventured to give a faint indication of it. But it may be that the Congress organisation is not really fitted for the great task. Without a living faith in non-violence, neither the military nor the police can be supplanted.

There comes us from many quarters of growing incordination, indiscipline and even open violence among Congressmen. I hope that the change is active of the majority of Congressmen.

Notes

Prof. Tiao's Visit

Prof. Tiao, who had been out on the mission of the unity all Chinese at home and abroad, passed through India on his way back home. He was from Hankow of which the fall was being regarded as hopeless, but so full and so loose seemed to protect him — so determined he seemed to be with the rest of his nation to see the thing through. He had sent messages whilst in London for being allowed to have a few minutes with Gandhi, and though I told him that Gandhi would not speak to him, I had not the heart to turn him away. Gandhi's only way of relief from high mental tension is silence, and he has resorted to it for reasons I have explained on the press. But even that silence has had to be partially abandoned by way of answering questions by writing — for the sake of others like those he apologized to Prof. Tiao: "I am exceedingly sorry to trouble you when I am in distress. I may not break my silence even to speak to you. But of course you will say whatever you want to. You may speak, I may not."

Prof. Tiao explained that he was a member of the People's Council of Action of all China. This was a body of 100 or 150 drawn from all parties in China, under which the whole of China was united to meet Japanese aggression. There was all-round economic and agrarian and industrial activity and unity — political, territorial, military, social, he explained. All parties — even the Communists — were working hand in hand against the common foe, all parts of the country were united in fighting the common danger, under one supreme military command of Chiang Kai-Shek, who is both Generalissimo and Director-General of the Executive. And lastly there was racial unity. Not only were the Chinese Communists desirous of seeing China free from imperialist aggression, and work co-operation with the Executive in order to realize Dr. Sun Yat-sen's dream of an independent China even the bulk of the fifty million Moslems of China had spurned Japan's blackishments. They did not want to be reduced to the status of Manchurese and Koreans, and their Federation expressed the solidarity of the Moslems against Japanese aggression. Prof. Tiao was happy that a Muslim Mission from India was willing to China as a token of India's sympathy, and he asked Gandhi if he had any suggestions to offer in order to fight the war to a successful conclusion.

"I do not know," wrote Gandhi. "But I can throw any light on the problem at the present moment. My method is so indirect, that it is wholly inapplicable to your struggle. You cannot all of a sudden change the course of the struggle. A nation in arms cannot all at

once give up arms if it regards resistance as its weapon."

The Warlike Scheme & Education in China

Prof. Tiao saw the difficulty and explained that the Chinese had not even time to think, the aggression was so sudden and so unexpected, but he would like to discuss problems of national reconstruction. He had given up University work in order to take up private education and he was deeply interested in the Warlike Education Scheme. "What exactly is the aim of the scheme," he asked.

"The central fact is some village craft. Through which the whole of the man or the woman in the child can be drawn out."

But there was the difficulty of teachers, and Prof. Tiao, and Gandhi laughed. We had the same difficulty. "Would you have trained teachers to learn a craft or craftsmen to learn the art of teaching?" asked Prof. Tiao.

"The average educated man," wrote Gandhi, "can be expected easily to master a craft. Our craftsmen will require much longer time to acquire the necessary general education than an educated man, say like you, can require to learn, say, carpentry."

"But," said Prof. Tiao, "our educated man is after for jobs and money. How can he be interested in this?"

"If the scheme is sound and appeals to the educated mind, it must prove attractive in itself and there was the educated youth from the love of gold. It must tell, if it does not evoke sufficient prohibition from the educated youth. There is one advantage with us. Those who have received instruction through the Indian languages cannot enter colleges in a post possible that they will find the scheme attractive."

Prof. Tiao was deeply interested in our present political struggle. How were we going to acquire power at the centre?

"If we are true to our salt in the arms position, the acquisition of strength that will come to us will put us on the way to power at the centre."

"But the power is being felt everywhere, and the Congress position has risen. How is that?"

"The Congress position has risen. The people have become conscious of their power and strength. The Government also recognizes this. My fear is that this power may throw us off our balance."

Prof. Tiao reverted to the question of mass education. He made an attempt to describe the Chinese system of "relay" teachers whereby each man or woman who had learnt something had to pass it on to the next one he or she

same reason Even the child, the "little" teacher, had to start his or her learning with his illiterate parents, and the Chinese through this system were liquidating literacy and ignorance as a mass race.

"I have no doubt that I can," wrote Quesfeng. "I would like you to write for me a short note on how the 'relay' teachers and the 'little' teachers are taught, how they teach and with what result."

Prof. Tao said he would gladly comply. He had written a lot about it, but his papers had all preceded him to Hong Kong, and he would send a detailed article from there.

Messages to China

Prof. Tao would not go without a message from Quesfeng for the people of China. He explained that even a non-violent message would be welcome, for the Chinese were not prone to non-violence. They were engaged in a war of self-defence, but in other respects they were observing non-violence. Thus they would never touch non-combatants. They had no enemy against the Japanese people. On May 30 Chinese planes had flown over Japanese towns, and they might easily have spread death and destruction among the people of Japan. In retaliation for the bombing of so many Chinese ports by Japan, but instead of raining bombs they aimed hand-bills and leaflets showing the wrong of the war. It was a unique phenomenon, for as Dr. King had said, "we refrained from purely humanitarian grounds, our enemies are not the Japanese people but the Japanese militarists." In fact, said Prof. Tao, they were but following the principle of non-violence.

"But," wrote Quesfeng in reply, "the self-inflicted violence won't last when the real storm comes. The temptation will be irresistible. I shall not be surprised if it is inevitable. There is no love in war. We have got to come to the conclusion that either there is to be complete non-violence or unlimited violence. Is not this enough message?"

Prof. Tao wondered if some day the Chinese might expect to have Quesfeng in their midst.

"I almost came to your country," wrote Quesfeng, "when those who had invited me had to stop me from going owing to the disturbances that had taken place. I do want to see peace returned to your land during my lifetime. Medicine will please me better than to visit your great country some day."

As Is Strides a Maharashtra Harijan

A student from Maharashtra, who is a Harijan and who works for the removal of untouchability and who is at present in Gujarat, writes—

"In Gujarat the Harijan struggle with violence has brought its victims down to the mass category and there, though untouchability is observed

in a greater degree. In my own district, except Kalamshi Barva, President of the Maharashtra League, with his handful of colleagues, Gada Hadas Harijan workers have their own non-violence movement. Personally I should like to cooperate with them, but our co-operation can be only nominal. Even workers from my community may not enter the non-Harijan workers' houses. I have a feeling that the Gada Hadas Harijan workers, clad in spinning khadi and working for the Congress, fight city of the problem of untouchability, but they should have their hold on the masses. How then would you ask me to co-operate with such Harijan workers? Here is a concrete example. In a village called Lohang there was terrible scarcity of water. The Harijans, however, dared to avail themselves of the Government waterworks, and with the sympathy and support of Kalamshi Barva they began to use the well which was constructed and maintained by the Gada Hadas. Most of the members of the Congress Committee are orthodox and they have rejected the Harijans and the well. In this regard they are no better than the so-called Harijans. Are these Congress Committees legal? Even the people are not free from the same. My fellow-citizens sat and drank with me if we sat elsewhere there, but they are afraid of going out to the village in my company? In untouchability in villages, all untouchability was at the village!"

And how is one to fight the wicked weapon of boycott? It involves all forms of hostility and is accompanied often by abuse, threats and blows. How can we live without the co-operation of Gada Hadas, much as we should wish to do so, when they boycott us? Sayas has rightly observed that Harijans are economically slaves and usually poor. How is a slave and a poor to stand up for his rights? It is all right for the Congress Government to turn open the wells and schools and hotels to the Harijans. But how are the poor Harijans to face the boycott?"

We like this frank letter, and we sympathise in love for the sake of all Harijan workers. The Congressmen who harbour untouchability are no Congressmen, and the Harijan workers who would have to Harijans in their houses and even to be Harijan workers. But how can the Congress Committee composed of members who harbour untouchability be made illegal as the friend suggests? The Congress cannot go into the individual conduct of Congressmen. If all Congress members had been true to the creed of the Congress and to its programme, we should have had Swaraj long ago. The correspondent recognises that even in Maharashtra there are Harijans and his colleagues who do not harbour untouchability in any shape or form. Perhaps there are many more such than he knows. But even if they are few, it is the lesson that has to be taken home, and the workers have got to be more watchful and watch-

ful, and it is with these events that the correspondence is invited to co-operate. As for hotels, it is the duty of all Harlan events not only to share with the Harlan the hardships of the harvest, but to note down concrete instances and to bring them to the notice of the authorities. All hotels involving injury and deprivation of service, including food and drink, in a should be notified, and the Harlan should kindly seek the aid of suitable workers in making this report a thing of the past. They should bear with the prejudice and ignorance of the Chate Harlan who are their own kin and kin, and, rather than think of violent clashes with them, sympathize, whenever possible, with Harlan events, to have these removed.

Hotel Harlan

The Manager of a Bombay hotel, who has been in correspondence with me regarding the new rule making it obligatory on hotelkeepers to admit Harlan on the same terms as other Harlan, writes:

"I am not against the removal of national identity, but what I want to suggest to Harlan is that the present method of having a new rule in police houses will affect the very object in view, for the reason stated below:

(1) Many hotelkeepers will close their doors at 9 p. m. at night and will consider that business without the police houses which is important only if a hotelkeeper wants to conduct his business between 9 p. m. to 5 a. m.

(2) Some hotels, which are connected with the aid of national houses only up to 9 p. m. at the Bombay City, will naturally refuse to admit Harlan as the new rule is limited to the municipal houses.

(3) A hotelkeeper who wants to conduct his business after 9 p. m. must admit Harlan even to the houses of the new rule in the police houses. There must be a rule in the municipal houses of the new rule to be done to all—Harlan, Harlan, police and local Harlan. It is obtained throughout the whole of the world that the rule of law must apply to all and not to a few persons only. So my ultimate suggestion to Harlan is that he should advise Bombay Congress movement that the present new rule of law regarding entry of Harlan into hotels should be applied to all hotels which are open day and night throughout the Bombay Province. This new rule will be a dead letter in the distant houses if my above suggestion is not carried out.

Here, in Bombay, there are two houses:

(1) Municipal houses, to control health and sanitation, etc., in hotels.

(2) Police houses, to control gaming, prostitution, drinking and disorderly behavior, and also other matters relating to the preservation of law and order. Some people will take advantage of the above weak points, and the real purpose of removing national identity will not be achieved at all.

Something is going on in the movement as a part of Congress propaganda for the removal of national identity, was never mentioned by the new rule by Congress in the general Harlan public at large and, therefore, the new rule was like a bolt from the blue to them. In addition to this, they must be prepared to take up rule in the general Harlan public, which must be based on the human side of the problem as Harlan being in the Harlan fold."

We had thought that the new rule applied to all hotels running by day or by night. If it does not, it should be made so applicable and inclusive—police and municipal—should be heard under the same conditions.

The idea that the new rule came as a bolt from the blue to the Harlan public—and the Harlan public of Bombay especially—cannot hold water. On behalf of the Harlan it can be contended that justice is being done fairly. Complete abolition of national identity became part of the Congress programme in 1929 as in propaganda it is being done both by the Chate Harlan reformers and Harlan workers. In Ahmedabad both have been on the alert, they have issued a series of helpful leaflets, and the agitation is already on the way. One misapprehension or distortion that is seriously being propagated may be cleared here. Gandhi's own personal views on national identity are clear but may be repeated here. Gandhi was no objection to eating non-Harlan food and even with these Harlan in a clean place by any human being, but he would not impose that rule on anyone. The rule about hotels being applied to all Harlan without any distinction applies only to public houses of food and refreshment where all but Harlan are being admitted, and has obviously nothing to do with people's private kitchens and dining rooms (in respect of food, as in many other matters, everyone is master in his own house).

The Madras College

We published some weeks ago an article from the American HARLAN'S RIGHT regarding what is called a "nationalism" in America, via the Madras College run by Dr. Subramaniam. The NEW YORK TIMES publishes beautiful photographs of the various departments of the school or college which are a glimpse of the work that is being done there. They show boys and girls playing sports and in the 100-acre farm, they show a big house factory with the daily output of 500 brooms and a twigs and also a team required to grow the house corn, they show also a magnificent science hall designed and built entirely by the students under the skilled supervision of their teachers. More than 100 buildings on the college grounds were also built by the students, and a large part of the material was produced locally and even the roof tiles were manufactured by the students. There is also a good machine and tool department, and a school in chess building a quantity of sports items for

using them in a variety of good products derived by the chemical department of the College.

No wonder that with all these activities which have made the College an immense business, Madhav should have grown from a school of 11 boys to a college of 350 boys and girls having got 500,000 dollars from its earnings into lands and buildings.

Correspondents have asked for more particulars of this College. They may get into touch with Dr. Subramaniam, President of the College, Madhaville, Tamil, U. S. A.

The True Christian

Dundeeville C. F. Andrews writes:

"Ever since Madhav Dundeeville met at Yale in 1911, when Dundeeville used to sing to the song of the 'True Christian', I have often repeated it as a hymn which Madhav made for me. The other day, when reading the New Testament, it suddenly occurred to me that he put in his 'Dynes an Lave' given as his ideal of the 'True Christian'. I have tried to put it into an English form that could be easily remembered.

He is the True Christian who seldom long
and is kind.

He never gets, he does not teach, nor is he
puffed up.

He never believes in an earthly success,
and does not seek anything for himself,
he is never easily provoked.

He doubts no word of anyone; he never takes
pleasure in what is evil, but always
regains in the truth.

What love in his heart, he loves every body;
he believes the best and keeps the best of
everyone, he is ready to excuse all and
never takes heart.

In his inner character, there are those shifting
things,—Yield, Hope, Love.

But the greatest of these is Love."

M. D.

THE MADRAS REMOVAL OF CIVIL DISABILITIES ACT, 1938

[The following is the full text of the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act, 1938, passed by the Madras Legislative Assembly last week.]

WHEREAS it is increasingly felt by the Hindu community that the disabilities, which are imposed by custom and usage on certain classes of Hindus commonly known as Harijans, Untouchables, or Depressed Classes, and which have been in certain instances even legally recognised in the adjudication of rights and duties in civil and criminal proceedings, are repugnant to modern conditions and ideas of justice and social equality, and should no longer be recognised by law or otherwise enforced; it is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Removal of Civil Disabilities Act, 1938.

(2) It extends to the whole of the Province of Madras.

2. Notwithstanding any law, custom, usage or prescription to the contrary, no Hindu shall, by reason merely of his belonging to any particular community or class known as Harijans, Untouchables, Depressed Class or the like, be prevented or disabled from being appointed to any public office or enjoying or having access to any public station, river, well, tank, pathway, assembly ground, or means of transport or any similar institution which the general public belonging to all other classes and communities of Hindus have a right to enjoy or have access to or which is dedicated or maintained or reserved for the use of the general public or which is maintained or paid for out of the funds of the State or a local authority, and no Civil, Criminal or Revenue Court in adjudicating any matter or assuming any order and no public or local authority in carrying on the affairs entrusted to such authority shall recognise any custom, usage or prescription under which it is sought to impose any civil disability on any person by reason of his belonging to any of the classes or communities aforesaid, or by reason of any acts or omissions on the part of such person which would not furnish grounds for such disability if he did not belong to such class or community.

Two Corrections

In the last issue, on p. 114, col. 2, line 17, read "are" instead of "is."

In page 120, col. 2, line 4, read "then" instead of "her."

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HARITAN

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Editor: HARMONY DEBBI

Under the Banquet of The Redies, South Beach

Vol. VI, No. 30]

POONA — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1934

[ONE ANNA

THE MENACE OF "INDIA" LTD.

II

In my article on "The Menace of 'India Ltd.'" in the last week's **HARITAN** I had given the names of only a few of the companies belonging to that category. I have now received, through the courtesy of an esteemed friend, a bigger list which is published elsewhere in this issue. It is sending the list the friend writes:

"This list is not exhaustive, and there are many more of the type. I may add that the information was extracted from the annual list, published by the Department of Commerce in Intelligence and Statistics, of Joint Stock Companies in British India, for the year 1934-35. Naturally scores of such companies are now registered after that year will find no mention in the list. I mean, however, point out that the use of the term 'India, Ltd.', by itself, is not an index of the foreign origin of the company. The evidence is equally true that it is not necessary or the inevitable practice for all foreign companies to add to their name 'India, Ltd.', when they get registered in India. There are upon a number of foreign companies which are registered in this country without any indication in their name to suggest their being subsidiaries of foreign companies. I am mentioning of this to tell you that it would be almost impossible without an exhaustive enquiry undertaken by Government to collect full particulars of the extent and number of foreign companies and capital in India. There is another point which should also be borne in mind. For instance, companies which may, *prima facie*, be taken as foreign, sometimes, are owned by a majority of Indians, e. g., Bungalow Paper Mills, Calcutta, have more than 80 per cent Indian shareholding, although the general impression is possible that the company is foreign. In view of all these difficulties, it is not feasible to have a complete list of foreign companies in India without exhaustive examination of published reporting individual shareholding, etc. Therefore, the list that I am sending is to be taken, as stated above, as only indicative."

The formidable list—which would be still bigger when complete—must surely bring home to the reader the large extent of the menace to India's industries, large and small. These com-

panies control, as Gandhi said, "in the remotest corner he called Swadeshi." A concern, to be Swadeshi, must have its control, direction and management in Indian hands—in which the companies mentioned elsewhere have evidently not. And yet the tragedy of it is that they have been cheaply to be Swadeshi and some of them have even received substantial subsidies from the Government. The menace has therefore to be fought largely by the people's will and determined effort, irrespective of whether the Government may be willing or able to help or not.

C. S.

Notes

Separate in the News

One would have thought that A. case, with its dull, dark, banalities, with claims to sage with and innocent rate writing have with the sage, would hardly have any time to be in the news. But publicity is being forced on it by youths calling themselves representatives of the citizens of Nagpur, making a 'raid' on Nagpur with a volley of questions on the Khairi episode, and now to some Haritan friends who are doing chores there in order to have a Haritan in the C. P. Cabinet. These latter, calling themselves 'Satyagrahis', marched to Nagpur on Saturday last and demanded parties from Gandhiji. Gandhiji was of course silent, but he received them and asked them to wait. If they would be content with written replies. They said they would. He asked them to explain the purpose of their visit.

"We gave you notice," their spokesman said, "that unless you would have a Haritan appointed as a Cabinet Minister we should go to Nagpur and do Satyagraha there. You asked us to wait. We did so and wrote to you in our no. But after that having heard nothing from you we decided to fulfil our promise."

"But what do you want, and what do you mean by 'Satyagraha'?" wrote Gandhiji.

"We want a Haritan to be in the Cabinet and a seat reserved in the Cabinet for a Haritan as there is one reserved for a Mussalman."

"But that is not in my power."

"It is. You were prepared to try down your life for the Haijians of Yawada and your feet led to the Yawada Port. You can do everything for the Haijians."

"I am doing all that is in my power. But let that be. What do you mean by 'Satsugakushi'?"

"We will remain here without food until another party from Nagasaki comes to relieve us."

"You are welcome to do so. You want me to provide you with room. Well we are cramped for space, but you tell us where you will sit, and we will remake the place for you," wrote Gendōji.

"We will be fasting, and five or six people will have to stay with us to stand in our needs whilst we are fasting," they said.

"I am not concerned with that," wrote Gendōji. "You select the place and we remake it for you."

One of the Aikawa friends went out with them to show them over the place. He returned to say that they wanted a room absolutely a lot reserved for women and also the verandah in front of it.

"Explain to them," wrote Gendōji, instructing the friends, "that that room is reserved for women and they might select some other place." He did so, but came and reported that they would have no other place. "Yavada it then," wrote Gendōji. "Let not the be perturbed. She can come and occupy my room, and I will go there or to the house outside which is built for Aramatsukawa."

Let me add that this house with a big verandah and several rooms was also offered to the friends, but their choice had been made and they would have no other.

In came the Shōmei Mastered Gendōji now and explained that Gendōji need not worry about her and the other women. They wanted the room they were using for their bath. She would let them have it and the part of the verandah attached to it. "We will somehow shift for ourselves with one room, and we will have a bamboo partition to the verandah," she said with a smile. Gendōji was extremely happy. So he wrote, "Receive them with a smile. Tell them, 'you are as good as my sons and girls welcome'" she laughed and said, "Of course I will receive them with a smile. But you better tell them they are your sons. I haven't it in me."

"All right," wrote Gendōji with a laugh.

So they are there, half a dozen of them, with their situation. Let me add that they are making no fuss and are well-behaved.

The way of the reference and the arrival of the people is not driven with room. Least so is Gendōji. In South Africa he had the good sense to be assumed as a traitor by well-

meaning believers. Now he has been labelled an avowed of Hithelton and worse. The latest title he has earned is that of a member of three of his own newspapers! Whether it is given by well-meaning friends or malicious exploiters does not worry him. And if that does not worry him, why should this, "Satsugakushi" by those who in regards to his life and his work him? They are, at the worst, ignorant, and certainly better than those readers who try one's contributions to the eternal and make one wonder that human nature can stoop so low.

True Service

We published in our last issue a letter from a Makurakichi Haijian writer. He named Katsushichi Haru and a few others as genuine workers for the removal of untouchability, but the bulk of the rest, he said, disappointed him. He wonders if he knows anyone except those who are in the limelight and who are connected with the Haijian South Branch. We are sure he does not know Appanishi Fatsuwadon who has released himself liberally to the lord and claims of a blimp and a shower. He does not know Datsun to Shōkuroto Ticker or Shōkichi Meira. And we are sure he does not know Shōi Datsun of Datsun. Let us tell him what Datsun has recently done. His daughter was married the other day. The bride and the bridegroom have before marriage to perform a few symbolic acts of service, e.g. service of the cow. Service of the Haijian is perhaps not in named trade, but service of the poor is. Shōi Datsun got the bride and the bridegroom to go to the Haijian quarters and clean them, and asked them to receive the Haijian's blessings that he invited Haijians to the wedding and they not only sat side by side with other guests, but were invited to take part in all the ceremonies that the bridegroom performed, and they of course sat in the same row with the rest in the same meal. The wonder of it all is that there was no uproar, no talk of hypocritical acts of Shōi Datsun or the Haijians. So deep is his passion for service and so genuine is his regard for Haijians that the value of protest or self-ness was washed and even the critics shared in the joy and glory of the service.

Amends Must Be Made

We have referred more than once to those columns in the magazine created by the Madras Government by giving currency to what the Bishop of Dornakal had misrepresented as a "good fabrication". The fabrication was exposed as early as the 1st of August, but we have had letters from Christian friends who have evidently seen Dr McIlverren's statement but not the contradiction. These letters are from India. The latest letter is from Dornakal from Mr. Dittmer who also saw the thing first in the Madras Government, but he is said to be unable to induce to believe the statement. This is what he writes:

"I know that your time is very precious, so I shall try to be brief. I just received the number of the *Madame Christine* in which is printed an article from 'Battle for Brotherhood at Delhi.' One Dr. D. A. McIlverna writes about a conversation between you and Bishop Anand and Bishop Peking. It is said that you among other things said: 'We shall not offer ourselves to violence.' Further, at the conclusion of the conference, you are reported to have said to Bishop Anand: 'You Christians want they proceeding to and making temples amongst the depressed classes. If you do not, we shall make you. We shall appeal to the colonial Indian Christians; we shall appeal to your constituency, and if these fail we shall proceed by law and change of religion, and will back up the law by the force of the State.'"

I cannot understand this, for it seems to me that there were in a simple assertion. The words must have been taken out from their context in translation. Would it be too much to ask of someone from your place could let me know what really happened there? Is it too much to ask for? I cannot tell and will not believe that you will go any way towards freedom of conscience although that may go against your interests. I take it that what you are against is the suggested way of "making" Christians. And I believe you have had ground for complaint in that direction. People are apt to misunderstand your position, and there are those who really will not let us think on you and on Indian nationality in general. People have done their uttermost for England and it is not always the right one. I remember that in 1917 what you were in Madras my wife and I had the pleasure of accompanying you on your wedding walk, and that you told me that in your opinion everyone should have the right to its marriage to his conscience."

In view of this and other letters we must say that it is not enough that the Bishop of Dornald has misunderstood the story. It is the plain duty of Dr. McIlverna to own his mistake and apologize to the public and to those whom he has wronged. We have since learned that Dr. McIlverna is from Glasgow (G.P.). He should immediately publish his apology in all Christian papers, for he must know that several of them have printed his statement.

Future China

-Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the gifted wife of the Chinese Dictatorship, contributes to the *SPRINGBURN* a series of articles on the reconstruction of China after the devastation by the present war. They are written with such power and insight and pervade feeling that all the five issues to be read in succession. They are a challenge to the existing Democracies, whom "cowering studied neutrality", in her opinion, "enable Japan without any restraint to continue killing people, violating the women, and making a wilderness of all our territory that she has

been able to penetrate." But they are more by way of encouragement and self-encouragement and usually try to show what "We in working China".

"We, in China, need substantial and reinforced loyalty. We also need to see a change of heart in large numbers of the officially prominent, as well as in leaders in Chinese cities," says Madame Chiang Kai-shek. "Especially do we need it in those who have influence here, perhaps unconsciously, characteristic to national progress by virtue of their status in comparison to the existing different lines of public endeavor. The present projected national suffering, the ever-present poverty and sight of crushing, instantaneous death, the various and varied sufferings of destruction by falling airplanes, have all had a stimulus effect in stirring reasonable people, and bringing them, as it were, to earth. Thus we hope that out of the perception of human truth and fidelity, out of the sight of the overwhelming patterns of our nation, struggling at once in the threat of death and potential victory, will come a real transformation in the heart and minds of those who carry out who have in various ways contributed to the present degradation of this country! The lower ranks from the driven and the discarded in the execution and abjectively done."

In a world she looks forward to the adoption of a planned economy of which the terms she lays down in unmythical language:

"I should like to see village industry carefully developed wherever it is possible for raw materials to be produced and worked up to supply the daily needs of the people. There will have to be mechanical and other work, but I hope that machine power will be brought to China to save labor as at first principle and require most. Machinery should be used to make those things which hands cannot make, but there is a dark ray. No should without compulsion in machinery be provided. In fact the work was slow."

We have already had a taste of compulsion machinery, and we have had a few hours taught us by the machine, the pump, the whiplashed labor against his eternal misery. Surely we shall be wise enough to profit by all that, and also profit by what has happened in other parts of the world as a result of over-production by labor-saving devices operating upon a large and uncontrolled scale. We have an old proverb which applies to us "take warning by the cart wheel." We will be warned if we do not. If we escape safely from the calamities of this war there is just doubt that will be put upon us that should have extending plans for development of our every large industry. That is the basis of organized finance. It will not be easy to plunge into great schemes of factory development, and that, in my mind, is a good thing. There is so much to be done by hand, so many hands to do it, that modern labor's progress arrangement of organization and production for manual work put in quickly in circumstances will allow."

Surely our country where "there is so much to do by hand and so many hands to do" should not need the whipping up of war to leave this lesson.

HARRIAN

Sept. 3

1938

CHOICE BEFORE CONGRESSMEN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Since the publication of my article on violence said to be sweeping into the Congress ranks, criticism is coming in to corroborate the complaints made by my correspondents. Violence or Congress elections, they say, is on the horizon. It looks as if Congressmen are not able to shirk the power that has come to the Congress. Everyone wants to have a share in the spoils of office, and so there is an unhealthy competition to capture constituencies.

This is not the way to win Swraj, nor is it the way to work the office programme. The holding of any office in the Congress Government must be on the spirit of service without the slightest expectation of personal gain. If a man is involved in ordinary life with getting Rs. 24 per month, he has no right to expect Rs. 150 or becoming a minister or obtaining any other office under the Government. And there are many Congressmen who are taking only Rs. 15 per month in voluntary organisations and who are well able to shoulder substantial responsibility. Jangal and Mithankota are teeming with able men who have dedicated themselves to public service on a non-pledge and who are well able to give a good account of themselves on matters where they are put. But they are not to be tempted to leave the fields they have chosen, and it would be wrong to drag them out of their beautiful self-chosen abode. If it were all the world over, and peace time perhaps of this country, that as a rule the best and the wisest men will not become ministers or accept positions under Governments. But I have disagreed.

We may not always get the best and the wisest men and women to run Congress Governments, but Swraj will become a distant dream if the ministers and other Congressmen holding offices are not selfless, able and incorruptible. We are not likely to have much more if Congress committees become job-seeking agencies in which the most violent would win.

How to govern the party of the organisation is the question. Anyone who subscribes to the moral article of the Congress and pays a dues can demand registration as a candidate. Many signs the Congress pledge without believing in the necessity for observing truth and non-violence as conditions of attainment of Swraj. Let us use civil as my use of the expression "honest and non-violent" as synonymous with "legitimate and peaceful." From the very commencement of the Congress revolution I have

used these adjectives without challenge. The word non-violence was first introduced by me on the resolution on non-cooperation carried in Calcutta by the Congress. Can anything be so truthful and yet be legitimate, violent and yet be peaceful? No, that is it says, I claim that those who accept a breach of these two primary conditions, on matter by what adjective they are known, can have no place in the Congress organisation as long as it is governed by the present constitution.

Obviously those who do not use kind or helpful wear have no place in any Congress committee. This condition should apply also to those who do not carry out vital resolutions of the Congress, A. I. C. C. or the Working Committee. My proposition would be that those who commit a breach of any of these conditions should automatically cease to belong to the Congress. It may be urged that the remedy is too drastic. It is, if it is regarded as a punishment. If it is the automatic result of a particular act or omission of a person, it is no punishment. I know that throwing my finger into a furnace will surely burn it and will I thrust it, my suffering is no punishment. It is the natural consequence of my action. Punishment depends upon the will of the judge. Natural consequences are independent of any person's will.

It will be urged that under these conditions the Congress will cease to be a democratic organisation, it will become a class organisation.

I hold a wholly contrary view.

Democracy of the West is, in my opinion, only so called. It has gone to its very end, of the true type. But it was only some when all violence is outlawed and negotiations disallowed. The two go hand in hand. Intolerant malpractice is a species of violence. If truth is to revive the true type, there should be no compromise with violence or unfairness. The million men and women on the Congress register with violence and unfairness in their hearts would not revive real democracy or bring Swraj. But I can conceive the possibility of ten thousand Congressmen and women who are not job-seekers, and free from having to carry the burden of unmanageable doubtful complications, bringing Swraj.

Let us reflect upon the past a little. One day years ago a handful of men and women took it into their heads to meet together and represent and speak in the name of the dumb millions. Thus has proved the validity of their claim. Since then the prestige of the Congress has risen not in proportion to the number, but in proportion to the display of intellect on the platform or to committee work, but it has risen in proportion to the ability of Congressmen to suffer and sacrifice themselves for the nation. No one will deny that when in 1930 the Congress definitely became a democracy, duly elected body having a large number of women on its rolls, it found itself possessed of

new power only because it deliberately adopted truth and sincerity as its means of reaching its goal. And even at the present day, the Congress has quite an insignificant number of men and women on its register compared to the tremendous power it wields. The reason to my mind is that it shows a measure of cordiality, cohesion and discipline unexcelled by any other organisation in India. But as an experienced current and general I make bold to say that we shall have to show a much higher measure of these qualities, if we are to win independence before ten years are out. It is my deliberate conviction based on closest observation that we can secure all we want, within much less than three perhaps any one of us imagines, simply by showing high efficiency and equally high honesty in every one of the Congress activities.

It would ill become us as truly brave men and women to walk all to the finish in order to gain our end, in non-violent manner whilst all to the contrary is not practicable. A non-violent person relies upon his own strength and refuses to trade upon his opponents' weakness.

With all the certainties I can command I, therefore, plead with every Congressman who believes in his pledge to make his share of effort to apply the motto I've suggested, or if that is not feasible, because of the Congress being already overmaned by those who have lost faith in the creed and its constructive programme on which depends its real strength, to decide for it for its own sake and prove his lasting faith in the creed and programme by practising the fairness and moderation the latter say if he had never swayed from the Congress of his ideal. If one or the other thing is not done, I am grave danger of the Congress collapsing by the weight of its own weakness.

It has given me no pleasure to pen these lines. But having left the quill, I would have been untrue to the Congress if I had not uttered the warning. It is the voice of the silence. For the reader should know I look silence over a fortnight ago for an indefinite period. It has given me peace I cannot describe and it enables me to commune with Nature.

THE MALABAR TEMPLE ENTRY BILL.

The following is the text of the Bill which the Madras Government intend to introduce in the Madras Legislature in November next.

A Bill to remove the disabilities of certain classes of Hindus in regard to entry into temples in the District of Malabar.

Whereas the disabilities imposed by custom and usage on certain classes of Hindus in respect of their entry into and offering worship in Hindu temples should be removed,

And whereas, however, doubts have been entertained whether the trustees of such temples have

the power in law to make any such restriction in practice,

And whereas it is just and expedient that those doubts should be removed and the trustees should be empowered by law to extend to all classes of Hindus the right of entry into and worship in temples if the Hindus in the locality who are now entitled to such entry are generally in favour of such extension,

And whereas, further, such extension of rights and privileges in Hindu temples to classes hitherto excluded has been recently ordered and successfully brought into effect in one part of Kerala, and by reason of common traditions and identity of language, customs, forms of worship and the like, the removal of the disabilities aforesaid has been not only once implicitly demanded, but also made more easy of accomplishment, in the first instance, in another part of Kerala,

It is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Malabar Temple Entry Act 1936.

(2) It extends to the whole of the District of Malabar.

2. In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context,

(a) 'Board' means the Board of Commissioners constituted under section 13 of the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1920, or any other authority in which the powers and functions of the said Board in respect of a temple may for the time being be vested;

(b) 'excluded caste' means any caste or class of the Hindu community which by reason of any established usage or custom, is excluded from entering the temple concerned;

(c) 'prescribed' means prescribed by rules made under section 30;

(d) 'temple' means a place, by whatever designation known, which is used as a place of public worship by the Hindu community generally except excluded castes and tribes who at any time assumed to contribute under section 45 of the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1920, an annual income of not less than Rs. 5,000;

(e) 'trustee' means a person, by whatever designation known, in whom the administration of a temple is vested; and

(f) 'voter' means the Hindu voters, other than those belonging to excluded castes, on the electoral roll of the district board for the class being in force relating to the revenue class in which the temple is situated as well as those on the electoral roll for the time being in force of the municipality or municipalities, if any, situated in such revenue class.

3. (1) On receipt by the trustees of a temple of a resolution in writing signed by not less than fifty voters requesting them to throw open the

temple to persons belonging to excluded castes, the trustees shall refer the matter to the voters and ascertain their opinion, in the prescribed manner.

(2) When an order references the opinion of the majority of the voters is found to be in favour of throwing the temple open to persons belonging to excluded castes, the trustees shall publish, in the prescribed manner, an order to the effect that the temple shall thereafter be open to persons belonging to excluded castes.

4. (1) Notwithstanding any law, custom or usage to the contrary, it shall be open to the trustees of a temple to publish in the prescribed manner a notice to the effect that they propose to make an order throwing the temple open to persons belonging to excluded castes. Such notice shall also state that objections to the proposals may be preferred to the trustees at any time within one month from the date of the publication of the notice.

(2) If within one month from the date of the publication of the notice referred to in sub-section (1), written objections to the proposals are preferred by not less than fifty voters, the question whether the temple shall or shall not be thrown open to persons belonging to excluded castes shall be referred for the opinion of the voters as if a requisition had been received under sub-section (1) of section 3.

(3) If in any case where notice under sub-section (1) is taken by the trustees, and no objection as specified in sub-section (2) is preferred, or if on a reference made under sub-section (2), the opinion of the majority of voters is found to be in favour of throwing the temple open to persons belonging to excluded castes, the trustees shall publish in the prescribed manner an order to the effect that the temple shall thereafter be open to persons belonging to excluded castes.

5. (1) Notwithstanding anything contained in the Grouping sections, the Provincial Government or such officer as may be authorized by them in that behalf may promulgate a regulation made under sub-section (1) of section 3 to be withdrawn, if not less than twenty-five persons who signed the regulations apply for the withdrawal two clear days before the date appointed for announcement of the opinion of the voters, and thereupon all proceedings taken upon the regulations shall be deemed to have been cancelled and no further action shall be taken.

(2) The Provincial Government may at any time, before the results of any reference to the voters are announced, order that all further action in respect of such reference shall be suspended, and upon such order all previous proceedings relating thereto shall be deemed to have been cancelled.

6. Where on a reference made to the voters under sub-section (1) of section 3 or sub-section

(2) of section 4 the opinion of the majority of voters is found to be in favour of throwing a temple open to persons belonging to excluded castes, the trustees of any other temple situated in the same revenue taluk within two years from the date of such reference, may of their own motion, and shall on receipt of a requisition in writing signed by not less than fifty voters, publish in the prescribed manner an order to the effect that the temple shall be open to persons belonging to excluded castes.

7. Where an order has been published under sub-section (2) of section 3, or sub-section (2) of section 4, or section 6, it shall be lawful, notwithstanding any custom or usage to the contrary, for any person belonging to excluded castes to enter the temple concerned for purposes of worship, darshan and participation in such worship subject to the provisions of such regulations as may be made by the trustees for the maintenance of order and discipline and the due observance of the religious rites and ceremonies performed in the temple.

8. Where on a reference made to the voters under sub-section (1) of section 3 or sub-section (2) of section 4, the opinion of the majority of voters is found to be against throwing the temple open to persons belonging to excluded castes, no further proceedings shall be taken either under sub-section (1) of section 3 or under sub-section (1) of section 4 for a period of two years from the date of such reference in respect of such temple or any other temple in the same revenue taluk.

9. The trustees of a temple may with the previous approval of the Board make regulations—

(a) for the maintenance of order and discipline in the temple, and

(b) for the due observance of religious rites and ceremonies in the temple.

10. (1) The Provincial Government may make rules for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this Act.

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of the Grouping power, the Provincial Government may make rules—

(a) with reference to all matters referred to be prescribed by this act;

(b) as to the form of the regulations referred to in sub-section (1) of section 3 and section 6 and of the applications referred to in section 3 and the manner in which such regulations and applications shall be presented;

(c) as to the manner of publication of orders and notices by trustees;

(d) as to the manner in which the opinion of the voters shall be ascertained; and

(e) as to the keeping of all disputes which may arise in connection with a reference to the voters or the ascertaining of their opinion.

(5) All rules made under this section shall be published in the official gazette and on each publication shall have effect as if enacted in this Act.

11. If any difficulty arises in giving effect to the provisions of this Act the Provincial Government, as counsel requires, may order the doing of anything necessary for the purpose of removing the difficulty.

12. If any question arises as to whether a place is or is not a temple as defined in this Act, the question shall be referred for the decision of the Provincial Government and their decision shall be final.

13. In section 48 of the Madras Hindu Religious Endowments Act, 1919, the words and figures "Subject to the provisions of the Malabar Temple Entry Act, 1928" shall be inserted at the commencement.

Objects and Reasons

There has been a growing volume of opinion demanding the removal of the disabilities imposed by custom and usage on certain classes of Hindus in respect of their entry into and offering of worship in temples to which all other classes of Hindus enjoy the right of access. There is no justification for resisting this demand after the recent extension in one part of South India of the rights and privileges of entry and worship in all the important Hindu temples to classes which had hitherto been excluded. By reason of common traditions, identity of language, customs, forms of worship and the like prevailing among the Hindus in the Transcanton State and in the District of Malabar, it is considered that the removal of the disabilities aforesaid can be brought about in the first instance more easily in that district. The Bill is intended to give effect to this object.

The legislation is permissive in character, it enables the throwing open of any temple to excluded castes if the opinion of the majority of Hindu voters in the revenue taluk in which the temple is situated is in favour of allowing such entry. Such opinion may be presumed to be indicative of Hindu opinion throughout the country. It is provided, therefore, as the proposed measure that if it is once ascertained that opinion is in favour of the step in respect of any temple in the area of a revenue taluk, no further reference shall be necessary to introduce the change in any other Hindu temple in that area. Temples are defined as as to certain references under the Act to the more important temples. Trustees are empowered with the previous approval of the Hindu Religious Endowments Board, to make regulations for the maintenance of order and cleanliness in temples and for the due observance of religious rites and ceremonies therein. Power is taken to make rules as to the manner in which the opinion of the voters should be ascertained and other matters of detail necessary for giving effect to the provisions of the Bill.

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Hindu Machine Unity in Action

Readers of HARIJAN will be happy to be told that the Machine student who has been the subject of two articles with the above-mentioned heading has not only owned his error but has written to apologise to the professor and the Congress workers whom he had unintentionally wronged. We congratulate him and we would say that in the beginning of his active contribution to Hindu Machine unity, and we expect him to be an active worker in the cause.

A Hindu worker narrates an incident which is worth going into these columns:

"I came across last year a Machine recipient who was travelling without a ticket. He had on him a couple of pice only. The sub-conductor asked him where he wanted to go. He said he wanted to go to Jangpali and was coming from Bhopal. He wanted to be well-dressed, and had evidently lost touch or sense. He had lost all feel. I took him home and then to a Machine friend who fed him. But he had not the wherewithal to keep him. So he stayed with me. He had no change of clothes. I gave him a change. In a couple of days he appeared well and told me his story. His father was a high-placed official, but married a second wife who mis-treated her children who had children of their own. I sent a long telegram to his father. For two days the boy waited, asking me repeatedly if any telegram had been received from his father. On the third day his father wrote to me to send the boy back, but also the boy had lost, without my knowledge, on these happenings, before the telegram came. I wrote to his father to say that he might have gone to Jangpali where he had told me his uncle was staying. I wrote to Jangpali also, but could not get any trace of the boy. I was so sorry that after all I had done for him I could not see him back home, but there was no help."

M. D.

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE STRIKE OF "INDIA" (LIFE)-J.	10
CHANDER SHEKHAR CHANDASHEKHAR	M. D. 100
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	101
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	102
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	103
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	104
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	105
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	106
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	107
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	108
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	109
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	110
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	111
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	112
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	113
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	114
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	115
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	116
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	117
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	118
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	119
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	120
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	121
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	122
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	123
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	124
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	125
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	126
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	127
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	128
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	129
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	130
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	131
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	132
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	133
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	134
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	135
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	136
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	137
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	138
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	139
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	140
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	141
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	142
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	143
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	144
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	145
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	146
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	147
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	148
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	149
THE HINDU MACHINE STUDENT	150

Printed and Published by Anant Varma, Proprietor at the Aryabhata Press,

Door No. 21/1, Panchsena, College Road, Poona 4.



1140

HARIJAN

Editor: KAMADEV DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

Vol. VI, No. 21

POONA - SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1948

[COP. 4284]

Notes

A Trinidad Visitor

It is only natural that Indians coming to India from far-off British Colonies where they have settled for years, do not, as a rule, like to return without paying a visit to England. Shri Hossain from Trinidad and his wife were here there and had not been to India until now when they had the wherewithal to come out. Few of us know even the situation and extent of Trinidad. And yet on this island to the extreme south of the West Indies lives a population of 410,000 Indians, i.e. more than half of the total population of some 700,000. Shri Hossain suggested that though there was such a large Indian population there, there was little contact with India and wondered why the President of the Congress or a member of the Congress Cabinet should not visit these far-off colonies every year. "We are fast forgetting our own Indians," said Shri Hossain, "and the Mission schools teach no other language but English. The State Hindustani that we know we picked up from our parents. We want cultured machines very badly from India. I must say that the Aryans, the Sanskrit Pandit and the Muslim here of late years show a good deal to awaken national consciousness amongst us, and we have begun to take a certain amount of interest in India and are cultivating Hindustani. We have our mosques and temples and churches there and were living very comfortably, and a little while ago when the Sanatani and Reformist sections among Hindus and Muslims began to divide the community on social issues, e.g. marriage registration. Much as it will surprise you I may tell you that the Indian cinema film has played a considerable part in quickening our interest in India. With the film have come Indian songs and other Indian costumes and a good deal of Hindustani. But we would want very much more contact with India, we want teachers and volunteer workers in our midst. The State schools offer you no scope. They have none but Missionary teachers, and although I was qualified as a teacher I could get no teaching job and had to branch off to another vocation. I am now an accountant. Many of our people now go abroad for higher education, and quite

a good number have returned with British and other degrees, medical, etc. But these lawyers and doctors and highly educated folk, I am distressed to say, are lost to us. They return more Europeanised than Europeans, and instead of giving the community the benefit of their education and becoming its servants, they excrete themselves and become more than foreigners to us. That is why we want leaders from here to come out and educate both the 'educated' and 'uneducated'. Shri Hossain struck us as being a considerably cultured man; he is a member of the Congress there and is going back to Trinidad leaving his children to be educated here. Emigration is subject to a heavy property qualification. One has to deposit £ 50 on landing there, and it is not returned until after three years.

A Pandit who has returned from South Africa also visited the same place as the Trinidad island, viz. that the Congress must maintain a living cultural contact with our communities in the colonies and help them thereby to live up to the best traditions of our land. The suggestion is worthy of serious consideration by the Congress.

Whom to Believe?

According to the Japanese poet Yone Noguchi, who has written to Gandhi and Ghandev, Tokyo protesting that Japan is being very much misinterpreted that she is carrying on a devastating war in China in the interests of a civilising mission, and that the Chinese women are welcoming the Japanese military wherever they have a subdued territory behind. (No one has yet advanced the plea, though, that Japan's is a defensive war.) But Prof. T'ao, who was here the other day, maintained that China was not at war with the Japanese people but with the Japanese militarists, and that in America there were several Japanese speakers who were denouncing Japan for the aggressive war in China. Miss Muriel Lester, who has just returned home from a visit to China and Japan, makes "I hope your people in India are keeping sympathetic to the free Japanese. They are suffering awfully in mind and spirit. Many are imprisoned. Many befriending Chinese and rendering great risks thereby, some publicly denouncing the folly of Japan's present tendencies, many non-suffering secretly, some refusing to let a single

shot at their Chinese brethren; some daring to ask themselves whether challenges to the Emperor really show men joining the camp of dangerous quays that, but still the vast majority are willing to believe what they are told. Their Government teaches them that they are going to China to help the poor Chinese free of their cruel tyrants! It seems to me that almost as important as learning to read is the next job of learning not to believe what one reads." The latest number of the *WARR* contains reproduces a few letters getting through from Japan "Today I learn from the papers that a famous and respected professor of Colonial Politics in the Tokyo Imperial University, and a Christian, who particularly abhorred the present war, has had to resign because of his pacifist attitude." Also "Recently things have reached us that in spite of every effort at suppression, there is a growing anti-war feeling in Japan. A short time ago over 800 men were arrested on the ridiculous ground that they were communists, but the real offence of most of them was opposition to war. This was explained the case in the resignation of Professor — at the Tokyo Imperial University. Six university professors are under arrest for their anti-war attitude."

An Important Publication

Unique in its conception and beautifully successful in its execution, is the *Special New Survey Number of the ASTOR FAIR*. It owes its appearance mainly to the devoted labours of that gifted sister Edmund Sophia Wade who sent copies of *New Survey* (*Indian Mirror*) to numerous friends abroad and invited the most prominent of them to express their views on the book. She had herself devoted special articles to the book and was so full of hope for future India, but she wanted the European thinkers and writers to say that it had set it the way to help save Europe out of its chaos, and therefore she thought of this plan. The result is remarkable. The special number contains articles by Professors Scotty, G. D. H. Cole, C. Delisle Burns, John Middleton Murry, J. D. Macdonald, Hugh Foxwell, Claude Broughton, Gerald Heard and Irene Robinson. Some of these are of course well-known pacifists and abolitionists. One wonders what the number would have been like if it had included as its articles by non-pacifist and non-abolitionist writers! The articles are so arranged "that adverse criticisms and objections raised in earlier articles are neatly answered in subsequent ones." But there are also a few criticisms which have been made practically by all the writers, and it would be worth while noting, during these days. There are certain things which it would be well to remember at once. Thus Professor Scotty remarks that, having just returned from a "trip to India," he saw little opportunity to suggest "that the decision to abstain in the book had attracted any considerable measure of success. That is quite true.

Especially true is Mr. G. D. H. Cole's remark that though Gandhi is "as near as a man can be to devoted to a purely personal cause," "he has never arrived, to his own satisfaction, the other problem—that of finding terms of collaboration that could span the gulf between men and men, between seeing alone and helping others to act in accordance with their lights, which involves acting with them and as one of them—being at once one's self and someone else, someone one's self and must 'reason and negotiate and attempt to value.' Also as John Middleton Murry says "the efficacy of non-violence is quickly exhausted when used as a mere technique of political pressure"—where the question arises, "Is non-violence *facti* or *de* iure, really non-violence at all?"

But the whole process is one of endless evolution. In working for the end, men also work for perfecting the means. The principle of non-violence and love was considered by Buddha and Christ centuries ago. It has been applied through these centuries by individual people with success on small closed scales. As it has been recognised, and as Gerald Heard has pointed out, "the world-wide and aping interest of Mr. Gandhi's experiment lies in the fact that he has attempted to make the method work in what may be called the wholesale or national scale." The difficulties of that application are obvious, but Gandhi knows that they are not insurmountable. The experiment seemed impossible in India in 1919 and had to be abandoned, but what was then impossible became possible in 1930. Even now the question often arises "What is a non-violent means?" It will take long practice to standardise the meaning and content of this term. But the means thrust is self-purification and more self-purification. What Western thinkers often lose sight of is that the fundamental weakness of non-violence is love, and pure intellect here is impossible without purified purity of mind and body.

The Attack on Machinery and Civilization

What is a common feature of all the other appreciative reviews of the book is in the reviewer's opinion Gandhi's unswerving condemnation of machinery. "He argues, in the agency of his choice," says Middleton Murry, "that the very spinning wheel he loves is also a machine, and also wasteful. On his principles it should be abolished." "Thus," says Prof. Delisle Burns, "is a fundamental philosophical error. It implies that we are to regard as morally evil any instrument which may be misused. But even the spinning wheel is a machine, and operates on the same as most machines for 'hostile' purposes. The plough is a machine, and the very simplest machines for drawing water are themselves only the later survivals of perhaps ten thousand years of human effort to improve the lives of men... Any machine may be misused, but if it

in the moral evil is in the man who makes it, not in the machine." I must confess that in "the supremacy of his vision" Gaudí has used rather crude language about machinery, which if he were reading the book he would himself alter. For I am sure Gaudí would accept all the statements I have quoted here, and he has never attributed to machines moral qualities which belong to the men who use them. Thus in 1914 he used language which is reminiscent of the two writers I have just quoted. I shall reproduce a dialogue that took place in 1914. Replying to a question whether he was against all machinery, Gaudí said:

"How can I be when I know that even the body is a most delicate piece of machinery? The spinning wheel is a machine, a little workshop is a machine. What I object to is the case for machinery, not machinery as such. The case is for what they call labour-saving machinery. Men go on 'saving labour' all demands are without work and thrown on the open streets to die of starvation. I want to save time and labour, not for a fraction of mankind but for all. I want the concentration of wealth, not in the hands of a few, but in the hands of all. Today machinery merely helps a few to ride on the backs of millions. The Empire built it all is not the philanthropy to save labour, but greed. It is against this concentration of things that I am fighting with all my might. . . . The machine should not tend to strip the life of man. For instance, I would create intelligent machines. Take the case of the Singer Sewing Machine. It is one of the few useful things ever invented, and there is a romance about the device itself."

"But," asked the questioner, "There would have to be a factory for making these sewing machines, and it would have to create powerful machinery of ordinary type?"

"Yes," said Gaudí, in reply, "but I am reckless enough to say that these factories should be nationalized, State-controlled. . . . The saving of the labour of the individual should be the object, and not human greed the motive. Thus, for instance, I would welcome any day a machine to straighten crooked spindles. Yet that machine will never be made useful, if they will continue to provide spindles, but when the spindle goes wrong every spinster will have a machine to set it straight. Therefore spindles go to bed by love and everything will be all right."

"But," said the questioner, "If you make an exception of Singer's Sewing Machine and your spindles, where would these exceptions end?"

"Just where they come to help the individual and stammer upon his individuality. The machine should not be allowed to strip the life of man."

"But, finally, would you not rule out all machinery? When you smash the sewing

machine, you will have to make exceptions of the bicycle, the motor car, etc."

"No, I don't," he said, "because they do not satisfy any of the primary needs of man, for it is not the primary need of man to increase distances with the rapidity of a motor car. The needs of the machine begin to be an essential thing in life, a primary need."

But he added: "Ideally, I would rule out all machinery, even as I would reject this very body, which is not helpful to mankind, and seek the absolute liberation of the soul. From that point of view I would reject all machinery, but machines will remain because, like the body, they are inevitable. The body itself, as I told you, is the poorest piece of mechanism; but if it is a hindrance to the highest flights of the soul, it has to be rejected."

I do not think any of the critics would be in fundamental agreement with this position. The machine is, like the body, useful if and only to the extent that it advances the growth of the soul.

Similarly about Western civilization, Dr. O. D. H. Cole maintains the proposition that "Western civilization is of always necessity at odds with the human soul." "I say that the horrors of Spain and Abyssinia, the perpetual fear that hangs over us, the deficiencies in the midst of potential plenty, are defects, grave defects, of our Western civilization, but are not of its very nature. . . . I do not say that we shall reach this civilization of ours; but I do not believe it can be past anything. I don't believe that it runs upon a show denial of what is necessary to the human soul." Cole so, and the defects Gaudí pointed out were not inherent defects, but the defects of the technique, and Gaudí's object in the book was to contrast the technique of the Jewish civilization with those of the Western. Gaudí would wholly agree with O. D. H. Cole that Western civilization is not past anything, also that the West will need a "New Rule" after the fashion of the West, and also arranged by "leaders who are masters of themselves as Gaudí is, but masters after our Western fashion, which is not his, or India's."

Limitations of the Doctrine

O. D. H. Cole has put the following question: "Is it so when German and Italian armies are massacring the Spanish people, when Japanese armies are slaughtering thousands upon thousands in China often, when German armies have marched into Austria and are threatening to march into Czechoslovakia, when Abyssinia has been recently hurled into defeat? That two years or so ago, I believed myself opposed to war and death during violence under all circumstances. Yet today today was, I would risk war to stop these horrors." How would he the struggle within himself to suppress from

(Continued on p. 244.)

H A R I J A N

Sept. 10

1934

CONGRESSMEN BEWARE!

(By M. E. Gandhi)

I have been associated with leaders and wives contemplating what the masses have regarded as the Madras Premier's terrible misdeeds. I pick out two which have been the subject of adverse comment in every quarter in India. They are his policy about Hindustani and his employment of the Criminal Law Amendment Act for shutting the picketing movement.

My correspondents vividly think that I am the keeper of the Premier's conscience, and that I have but to send instructions and they will be obeyed. They know my relations with Rajagopalachari. But I am not the keeper of anybody's conscience, much less of Rajaji. Let the reader share the secret with me that nobody among those who regard the Congress acceptance of truth and non-violence as the rule of their lives fights me as strenuously as he does. But he has one essential virtue of a soldier. I became my own General of Satyagraha and my first recruit in 1918. When I announced my generalship in 1918 in India, Rajaji was among those who enlisted themselves at the very commencement. It was under his roof that the inspiration of the letter of 26th April came to me. From that day to this his loyalty to his General has been beyond reproach or suspicion. And if as General I asked him to give up his generalship he would do so without demur. He may not even agree with my judgment. But in battle he knows that a private has no judgment but his General's.

That is spite of the exemplary loyalty that Rajaji gives me in common with many others. I will not leave the instructions my correspondents demand. Let the complaisant know what we really correspond with each other. I know he has no time and he knows I have equally little for such correspondence. The law of Satyagraha forbids such action. If he has to insist, he will do so in the constitutional manner. And there will be no loss, no complaint. What is more to the point, I have boundless faith in his wisdom, his uprightness, and his unswerving ability as a Parliamentarian among Congressmen at least. He has to be credit as mass collaborators. And those who think that he is wallowing in the constitution gather and vastly mistaken. We have in our ranks no other fighter is Satyagraha. I am nothing wrong in a Satyagrahi winning victories without Maute, without wrangling but by conversion, by accepting conversion. The world will perhaps never know what Congress President

have been doing by finding conversion upon Governor Rajaji has been in the forefront among them. The greater the peaceful penetration, the greater the virtue of Satyagraha. There is little room for Maute in a fight for truth with truth and nothing but truth.

It hurts me, therefore, when Congressmen deny him and think that he is so concerned of office that he is afraid to do the right thing. All Congress Ministers naturally come in for trenchant criticism from those who dislike Congress politics. Whatever is sound in such criticism must be accepted with gratefulness. There is criticism that springs from party motives. Even that has to be borne. But when Congressmen take up the same cry, it becomes embarrassing. They have their remedy. They can complain to their Provincial Committees, and failing release they can go to the Working Committee and finally to the A.L.C.C. Surely there is no room for criticism if all these remedies fail. But my greatest complaint against these critics is that they are too busy or too lazy to acquaint themselves with facts. There is no tin greater than ignorance. I see daily verification of this great saying.

My first advice then is that my numerous correspondents and those who think like them should first study facts on Rajaji and his Cabinet as them. If then they are not satisfied, they should move for redress in the manner indicated by me.

I can give no direct help. There are hindrances to the use of my influence with Congressmen. My retirement does mean non-interference with individual Congressmen in the discharge of their daily duty and even with the Working Committee except when it asks my help or advice. Thus when Dr. Khare came to me for guidance, I twice refused, saying that he should approach the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and Shukla and Madan were in urgent need. But to them also, I had to say the same thing as I said to Dr. Khare. If I do not observe these broad limitations, my retirement becomes meaningless. Indeed I do not follow the day-to-day doings of Congressmen presently, whereas when I was in the Working Committee nothing escaped me and I used to send everything and give guidance in detail in so far as my health permitted. But now I do not even study all the resolutions of the Working Committee.

Let me now say a word about the two main grievances against Rajaji.

There is nothing wrong in making a knowledge of Hindustani compulsory, if we are drawn in our declaration that Hindustani is or is to be the *Sanskrit* or the common medium of expression. Latin was and probably still is compulsory in English schools. The study did not interfere with the study of English. On the contrary English was enriched

by a knowledge of the native language. The cry of "mother tongue in danger" is either ignored or hypocrisied. And when it is ignored it speaks little for the patriotism of those who will grade our children an hour per day for Hindustani. We must break through the provincial crust if we are to reach the core of all-India nationalism in India one country and one nation or many countries and many nations? Those who believe that it is one country must lend Rajaji their unstinted support. If he has not the people behind him, he will lose his job. But it is strange, if the people are not behind him, that he has the great majority with him. But what if he has not the majority behind him? He must give up office but not his deeper conviction. His majority is worth nothing if it does not represent the Congress will. The Congress is wedded not to a majority; it is wedded to all that which will make this nation great and independent in the least possible time.

And the planning? It is inadvisable that professionals or even grown-up people should waste hours and offices and lead unaccountable discussions, against those who are shouldering their burden amid the greatest difficulties. Until we have found the correct remedy in terms of Rajagopal, the Minister must be permitted to deal with such offices in the manner they consider best. If they are not, the freedom that is possible under Congress Raj will come dependent into question, pure and unadulterated. That is the way not to achieve but it is the easiest road to position. And the Minister who is worth his salt will resolutely refuse to be a cause of the country's position.

Lastly, the Oriental Law Amendment Act. We may not make a fetish of Congress resolutions. The Congress has objectives not to the name but to the contents of an Act going under that name, and then, too, not to every word or section of the Act. I have never studied it, but I see from Rajaji's public denunciations that it contains a few sections which will give the new situation that the Congress is facing. If such is the case, Rajaji will be foolish, if he does not make use of them. But he will be equally foolish, if not something worse, if he does not summarily repeal the objectionable sections of the Act without delay. It is a monster created by the devil's hands of the oppressor of the country's liberty. It was used as such against Rajagopal. The sooner, therefore, those clauses go the better for Rajaji and the country. But let Congressmen beware of heaping their trusted servants before they are tried and found wanting.

State National Education

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NOTES

(Continued from p. 349)

the sentences that follow: "I would risk war and yet, even now, that second act of mine divides last appeal of the thought of killing a man. Presumably I would much sooner die than kill. But may it not be my duty to try to kill rather than to die?" Gandhi might answer that no such dilemma could confront a man who had achieved his personal Swami. I do not claim to have achieved mine, but am unconvinced that the dilemma would confront me, here and now in Western Europe, less disturbingly if I had."

Considering this stage Mr. Cole has mentioned that one's faith that the answer has been given by Gandhi more than once, though he has not completely achieved his Swami, for the simple reason that for him Swami is incomplete so long as his fellow-beings are bereft of it. But he lives in faith, and the faith is non-violence does not begin to shake at the mention of India or Japanese barbarism. For violence breeds the results of violence, and once you start the game there is no back to be drawn. Philip Marchand in the War Room had replied as follows to a Chinese friend asking action on behalf of China:

"The enemy is the Japanese Government and not the Japanese people and soldiers—authorities and uneducated people who do not even know why they are being asked to fight. But if you are ordinary military methods of defending your country, it is these golden people who are not just and simple whom you must kill. If only China could try and preserve herself by the non-violent method used by Gandhi in India, issues which are asked for here in accordance with the teachings of her great religious leaders, the world, I venture to say, to be more successful than she will by copying the military methods of Europe. Surely it is a lesson to mankind in general. With that Chinese, the most pacific people on earth, have preserved themselves and their civilization for a longer period in history than any of the warlike races. There do not think we do not honour these golden Chinese who are fighting on defence of their country. We honour their methods and recognize that they hold different principles from ourselves. Since the last, we believe that killing is evil in all circumstances and evil if it goes against peace. Freedom will not spare you from all suffering, but in the long run, it is, I believe, a more effective weapon against the world's oppressors than all your fighting forces, and what is most important, it will keep alive the souls of your men."

Miss Irene Rathbone poses a similar question: "What human being on this earth, normal or abnormal, can ensure that world wars and strife should perish, if by bowing to the tyrant and denying his own conscience he can save them? That question Gandhi does not answer. He

does not even give it. Chait is clever...Here are his words: But whom shall offend one of these little ones, which believe in me, it were better that a millstone were hanged about his neck and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea. Chait is a greater help to us than Gandhi..." I do not think Chait's words express anything more than his wrath, and the action suggested is not by way of punishment to be imposed by another on the offender, but one to be imposed on himself by himself. And is Miss Radhika sure that she can, by using what she supposes to be Chait's method, save the child? She is wrong in thinking that Gandhi has not posed the question. He has posed it and answered it emphatically, as it was posed and answered in action by those thousands of Indian martyrs 1800 years ago who suffered wounds and deaths in the of hunger and thirst rather than bow to the tyrant and deny their own conscience. For, in bowing to the tyrant and denying your own conscience, you encourage the tyrant to perpetrate further crimes.

But even Miss Irene Radhika calls *My Dear Son*, "an enormously powerful book", and says that by virtue of it she has found "myself forced by its tremendous honesty to search my own honesty. I would implore people to read it."

The Editors of the *ATLANTIC MONTHLY* have done a brilliant service in the case of peace and non-violence by having their *My Dear Son* Special Number.

N. D.

GANDHI ON TRAVANCORE REPRESSION

I

Gandhi issued the following statement to the Press on the 1st inst.

"I have been in close touch with the prime movers affected by the tragedy which is now being enacted in Travancore, and I had hoped that I should be able to avoid having to make any public statement after a study of the available evidence and interviews with representatives men from Travancore. I have come to the conclusion that the Travancore Government are resorting to repressive methods, for the sake of the negroes, if there are any.

The Travancore Government contend that the Travancore State Congress activities are disloyal and subversive. I have studied the documents alleged to contain evidence in support of such a charge and have failed to find anything of that nature. On the contrary, I have seen explicit repudiation by the State Congress of the charge unless constitutional agitation for responsible government is to be called subversive.

I have, however, read the material of the Working Committee of the Travancore State Congress, making the most serious charges unsupported by any evidence against the able Dewan, Sir C. F. Ramaswami Aiyar. They

should never have been made, even if the memorialists had evidence in support. Such evidence is irrelevant to the case for responsible government. It would have its place in a memorial for the removal of the Dewan. There is no doubt that these charges have harmed the memorialists and therefore the State Congress, though they cannot weaken the case for responsible government.

I have no doubt whatsoever that the case for responsible government will be strengthened by the high-mindedness being exhibited by the Government of Travancore if only the people will not be demoralised and will continue to adhere to non-violence. If reports about violence by students are true, I appeal to the students to desist and allow the movement to develop non-violently.

Leaders who have been locked up should make outside by withdrawing the charges against the Dewan.

I had the honour of meeting the young Mahatma and the Mahaseni. I have had the privilege of knowing Sir C. F. Ramaswami Aiyar for many years. I appeal to them to retract their steps and allow the State Congress to function so long as its activities remain peaceful. Surely the common law of the State is enough to cope with individuals using violent language or resorting to actual violence. But at this hour of the day, to expect the people to submit to the suppression of free speech or of demands, however advanced these may be, is to invite trouble.

In my humble opinion, the prevention of Shri-ani Kaniadavel Chettappadaya from entering the State was a first class tactical blunder. It passes comprehension how Sir C. F. Ramaswami Aiyar, himself a foreigner, prohibited the entry of a distinguished Indian lady on the ground, something to him, of her being an outsider. She was amenable to the State law if she had committed any breach thereof. I thought it was only reserved for the English administrators to treat Indians going from one province to another as foreigners. It is because the Indian Princes and their advisers to follow the per-dious practices of the English administrators—a practice of which many Englishmen are heartily ashamed. The Government may, by the terrible repression they have resorted to, succeed in killing the movement for the time being, but it will never die and will leave a bitter memory behind. I hope that when conscience will yet prevail and the State Congress will be permitted to function properly."

II

Gandhi issued on the 4th inst. the following rejoinder in reply to the statement of the Dewan of Travancore:

"I have read the Travancore Dewan's statement with the attention it deserves. I fear I cannot take shelter under ignorance of the press messages published from time to time on the

tragedy that is being witnessed in Transvaar. Sir C. P. Ransmead Alger's defence reads like an edition of the reports that used to be issued on behalf of the British Government during the old Disraelian campaign. Not even the massacre of Johannesburg was justified exactly as the Transvaar atrocities are now being justified. Was not General Dyer's action unconditionally condemned? So is it likely to be in this case.

I ask Sir C. P. Ransmead to say to Mr. Jervis and appoint an officer of unimpeachable integrity to enquire into the whole affair. Let Mr. Jervis have a general amnesty and allow free expression of opinion. Instead of importing the military and a Special Officer to carry on repression, I invite the Transvaar Government to request someone like the Rt. Hon'ble T. S. Swinburne Macle, if Congressmen are available, to go to Transvaar and help them to maintain peace there without further military action."

GANDHI'S REPLY TO DR. KHARE

Gandhi has issued the following statement in reply to certain portions of Dr. Khare's statement referring to him:

"I have read Dr. Khare's own defence. The only part that directly concerns me, I owe it to the public to answer. It is painful for me to have to contradict Dr. Khare.

He came to Satara voluntarily. He came as a friend. There was no protest on his part when he came. It was not without full consent that he felt convinced of the charges I brought against him. When he realised the force of my argument, he said he placed himself unreservedly in my hands. I told him that as he had absolutely lost his balance, if he felt like consulting his friends whom I had named, he should do so. There was no desperate hurry. He said he was quite capable of deciding for himself and that there was no need to consult other friends. Then I said he should better write out himself what he had admitted. He suggested that I should draft a statement, as he was no draftsman. I said nevertheless that I wanted his language. If I felt it did not cover satisfactorily what he had admitted, I would revise it or add to it.

After some hesitation he took pen and paper and drew up the draft. I then took it up and made the corrections and additions. He read them twice or thrice, and said he could never attach himself to them, and that in any case he would not make any statement there and then, but would accept my suggestion that he should commit his ideas. Three o'clock the following day was the time fixed for the receipt of his answer. I have consulted the President, Mahatma Sahas and Sardar Patel, who are here, and they confirm my version."

AN ENGLISH PACIFIST ON NON-VIOLENCE

[The most solid contribution to pacifism is pacifism as non-violence as active practice. What and how much that contribution the English pacifists will be able to make it is difficult to say. Their task is particularly difficult living as they do in the midst of people who have not learnt to think and live except in terms of violence. True millions of them are engaged in manufacturing materials for war. They depend for their living on that occupation. Not unless there could be called back from their present occupations could the movement achieve any success, and to make them do so now are needed whose every breath of life is non-violence, who live, move and have their being in non-violence. Whether England has got that type of leaders or not we do not know. But whether there are. The root of right thinking is in right living, and the result of right thinking is right living. Thus both are indispensable, and right thinking on the subject, therefore, cannot but be of great value. Among the foremost thinkers that the English pacifist movement has thrown up are Misses Mary and Alice Hardy. The latter has edited a book of 180 pages called "An Encyclopedia of Pacifism" which contains articles on a varied and wide range of subjects relating to pacifism, and is thus a considerable contribution to the theory of pacifism. The article on Non-violence, occupying up to half past seven the contents of non-violence, is reproduced here for its intrinsic value. M. D.]

"Pacifism believes—and thus holds—is based upon individual experience and a study of history, past and contemporary—that the most effective, the most equitable, the most economical way of working violence is to be non-violence.

If violence is answered by violence, the result is a physical struggle. Now, a physical struggle inevitably creates hatred, fear, rage and resentment. In the heat of passion all scruples are thrown to the winds, all the habits of forbearance and humanitarianism acquired during years of civilized living are forgotten. Nothing matters any more except victory. And when at last victory comes to one or other of the parties, this final outcome of physical struggle leaves no room for the rights or wrongs of the case, nor, in most instances, does it provide any lasting settlement to the dispute at hand. [The case in which victory does provide some kind of lasting settlement may be classified as follows: (1) Victory is final where the vanquished are completely at very nearly at the mercy of the victor. In the case of war between two powerful countries circumstances are usually such that the victor is bound to an unquestioned settlement where the fighting forces involved are so small that the mass of the population is left unaffected by the struggle. Today the entire population is liable to be affected by war. The relative

handless were conducted to an elaborate code of rules by a small number of men who things of the past (2) Victory may lead to permanent peace when the victors write down among the vanquished as a ruling minority and are, in due course, absorbed by them. This does not apply to contemporary wars. (3) Finally, victory may be followed by an act of reparation on the part of the victors to the vanquished. This will ensure concordance and lead to a genuine settlement. It was the policy pursued by the English after the First War. Such a policy is essentially an application of the principles of non-violence. The longer and the more savage the conflict, the more difficult it is to make an act of reparation after victory. It was relatively easy to be just after the First War; it was psychologically all but impossible to be just in 1918. That is why the pacifist insists that the principles of non-violence should be applied whenever possible, before physical conflict has actually broken out.]

"Non-violence does not mean doing nothing. It means making the maximum effort required to overcome evil with good. Non-violence does not rely on strong muscles and devilish armaments. It relies on moral courage, self-control and the knowledge, unwaveringly acted upon, that there is in every human being, however brutal, however personally hostile, a fund of kindness, a love of justice, a respect for goodness and truth which can be reached by anyone who uses the right means. To use these means is often extraordinarily hard, but history shows that it can be done—and does not only by exceptional individuals, but by large groups of ordinary men and women and even by governments."

"With respect to the use of non-violence in achieving revolution, in another context" the author says:

"Those who call themselves revolutionaries believe that all militarism is wicked except their own militarism, that their ends are so good that they are justified in using the worst means in order to achieve them. But they are fighting on the side of an insupportable historical process, and that, whereas their opponents' violence is not only evil, but futile, their own brutality is historically justified and predicted by the very nature of things to have good results. Unfortunately, the fact is that (unless very speedily followed by compensatory acts of non-violence) violence always produces the results of violence. In the violence, the results of violence are other people's hostility, leading ultimately to counter-violence, or else (if the violence has been 'successful') utter, substance-algebra. In the perpetrators, the results of violence are the formation of a habit of brutality and a growing determination to retain power by even the foulest means. A violent revolution does just what it says

fundamental change in human relations; it results merely in a continuation of the old, bad relations of oppressor and oppressed, of insupportable tyranny and insupportable passive resistance. In de Laig's own phrase, 'the more violence, the less revolution'. Violence guarantees that *plus en change, plus en change*. If we want it not to be the same thing, we must make our change by the method of non-violence."

* Stanley's introduction to *Book de Laig's Concept of Violence*

* The more you pay in the same coin, the more you get it in the same coin.

Not 'Tah-Gud' but 'Tad-Gud'

Workers in the field of prohibition and spread of village industries, are taking a growing interest in palm puggery making as a counterpart of fermented toddy as also a village industry. Under a misapprehension the term 'tah-gud' is being freely used to designate the puggery made from the sweet juice of a palm. But it is a misnomer. The word 'tah' indicates fermented palm juice which intoxicates the drinker and ruins him. The sap that comes from certain palms when tapped, i.e. Coccoloba, Date, Palmyra and Sago, is quite sweet if it is collected in the manner described by me in these columns. It is then called *sara*, not *tah*. *Gud* can only be made of sweet juice, never after fermentation. The word '*sara*' (totally) has become a common word in the villages as well as towns for fermented palm juice. If one speaks of *tah-gud*, ignorant consumers will expect to be, therefore, it is best to use the proper expression '*sara-gud*' for palm puggery.

CHANDAN NAIK

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CONTENTS

	Page
CHRISTIANITY FURTHER — — — — — M. E. Gandhi	155
GLANDER'S TRUTHFULNESS REFORMATION	156
GLANDER'S LAST TO DE DEATH	157
AN ENGLISH FURTHER ON NON-VIOLENCE M. E.	158
NOTE	
A. TRUTHFUL TRUTH — — — — — M. E.	157
TRUTH TO TRUTH — — — — — M. E.	157
AN ENGLISH FURTHER — — — — — M. E.	158
THE TRUTH OF TRUTHFULNESS AND TRUTHFULNESS — — — — — M. E.	158
TRUTHFULNESS OF THE TRUTHFULNESS — — — — — M. E.	158
THE TRUTHFULNESS OF THE TRUTHFULNESS — — — — — M. E.	158



HARIJAN

Editor: MANABENDU GUHA

Under the Auspices of The Welfare Society, Bangalore

VOL. VI, No. 25

TONGA — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1939

[ONE ANNA

Notes

A Cureless

Proceeding on the information supplied to me by a correspondent I wrote the other day that in Shri, one of our Hindi centres, there had been 165 deaths from cholera and there were 4 to 5 deaths occurring every day, for want of proper medical aid. Shri Khar's says that the complaint of absence of medical aid is not correct. He relates that fifteen or twenty workers working in door to door giving pamphlets of proper washing clothes and other instructions for the prevention of cholera. There was a big number of water kept boiling to wash infected clothes and the Government doctor had vaccinated about 1,200 people. The Secretary of the Maharashtra Charities Board and the Manager went there once or twice and helped with cash, money and medicines. "But what we could not fight," says Shri Khar, "was the people's ignorance. There are several communities here which believe in no medicine other than country Rumes. They must have spent hundreds of rupees on it and on extraneous costs, fuel, etc., to the goddess of the epidemic. It is a tragic tale of ignorance. The total deaths up to the end of August were 165. There was no negligence or lack of medical aid, but there was utter lack of will to benefit by what aid was offered to them."

A Fabrication

I have had numerous inquiries from abroad regarding a second appeal by interested people to the effect that Gandhiji was going to take Kharolga or representative treatment. I was wondering who could have spread the falsehood. A cutting from the DAILY EXPRESS gives the cue. "Mirroopa" is the pen-name of the Delhi correspondent of that paper, and writing from Delhi he says "Mahatma Gandhi plans taking representative treatment which will turn him into a modern 'Peter Pan'. Next month he will leave for a district 35 miles from Delhi where he will undergo special treatment." He names the second also whom he has sought to obligate by giving him publicity and who perhaps obliged him by paying for it, or perhaps the news was good copy for him to get a decent payment from foreign newspapers. We are told — in charge of the treatment and has built a

specially designed hospital for the purpose. He will give him medicine consisting of juice of Indian goose, fruit, and honey from the woods of a secret Himalayan lake."

I must submit that all this is a blatant fabrication, for Gandhiji never agreed to take any such treatment for the simple reason that he is not older than his age and has no desire to look younger than he is. He has been a lifelong believer in nature cure methods which have served him thus far.

The New Life Movement

Delhiana was made two weeks ago to Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's address in the Introduction as "What was to trouble China." We saw her attitude towards individualism. Just as the whole of Gandhiji's reconstruction programme springs from the one principle of non-violence, Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's springs from her determination to cleanse and purify Chinese life. "Opening Chinese villages is neither a pleasant nor an elegant position," she says, "but we have to clean them." And with a view to that she has started what is now known as the New Life Movement which, in her words, "begins at the beginning, with things connected with the life of the people. It is connected with the houses in which they dwell, the food they eat, the clothes they wear, their customs and habits in society. Summed up in the words of expediency are four cardinal principles of life, as we Chinese understand life."

- "1. The way in which human beings behave one toward another
- "2. Justice for all classes within our social framework
- "3. Honesty in public administration and business.
- "4. Self-control, and a profound sense of the value of personality."

And with a view to make the new life permeate the masses, an appeal has been made to the modern trained men and women of the nation who have been mobilized to fight the evils at all points. Public administration began to be overhauled, officials were raised from their slumbers, those who were corrupt were sought out, hunted and disgraced, the officials in villages were compelled to give up their patronizing airs and became servants of the villagers, in the towns

and often the areas of pleasure and ill repute were coupled out. When the Generalissimo and his wife were on tour in the South-Western Provinces in 1934 they "found villages, towns and cities clean and sanitary all the way from the railroad to the borders of Tibet."

A Product of the New Life Movement

One of the distinguished products of this New Life Movement in China has who has applied the name of the "Edison of China". Coming from a poor family he graduated from Ling Nan University in Canton. He then studied research Chemistry in France and has now come out with an invention which has revolutionized lighting in China and, in the words of a writer in the American CURRENT HISTORY, has made the vision of Americans of companies from America sales in China fall to the extent of eight million dollars last year. Chung Lee, 48 years of age, has invented a lamp and one which have achieved this result. Chung, says the writer

"I had a dream-like life. Six years ago he had hardly finished writing up a laboratory in Shanghai when the Japanese invaded there 1933 occurred. The laboratory was blown up by an enemy explosion not long after Chung Lee had left the building. . . . Japanese invaders? That will only increase their effort, and besides, he declared, to realize the goal of national reconstruction by means of national defense. He was confident that his production would benefit China and the Chinese." "It was again by accident that he conceived the idea of the lamp. He overheard a group of young men praising simplicity of the various things in the demand for their product. If a new method for the lamp could be found, the industry might be made to right itself. Chung knew that the oil extracted from the bean and other vegetables was not a three-legged stool industry. These plants are cultivated first for the innocent oil lamps of the farmers, when the modern kerosene lamp was introduced, the old oil went into cheap oil lamps. But if a new lamp of could be produced, that would be cheaper and safer than the kerosene lamp. The vegetable oil industry would have even more. Chung set up a laboratory in the Chinese District of Shanghai in 1935 to perfect such a lamp. He made extensive experiments with a wide variety of natural oil extracted from such items as peanut oil, cotton seed and other plants. He did not get very far on his first lamp model. A Japanese physician completely demolished his self-designed laboratory. Today this perfected and oil lamp burns brightly as hundreds of thousands of Chinese homes with a flame superior in every way to that of the kerosene lamp and is fed by fuel made from a wide variety of Chinese grown plants."

The Success of Chung's Lamp

The writer in the CURRENT HISTORY proceeds to describe the success of Chung's lamp

- "That Chung Lee invented the most oil lamp

American oil companies had a monopoly in lighting the homes of western China whose economy is undeveloped. As was well described in the last volume. Oil for the lamps of China dependent on outside made millions of dollars by giving away kerosene lamps to replace the ancient and defective oil lamp, making China dependent on the kerosene oil sold to her people.

Chung shows that the undeveloped nation lamp of his facilities was inferior to the kerosene lamp. It gave a smoky, unilluminating flame caused by the inadequate flow of liquid vegetable oil in a crude wick. In his own words: "The flame was in a position of permanent flame, and the design lamp, slightly heated the entire product out of appearance." Now that they are making their own lamps, the Chinese are all extracted from years of vegetable and made grown by thousands of making products throughout the country.

Looking at the way of making lamps with modern transportation, it was found to be better than with a simple invention could have been made. The lamp is a highly sophisticated device, a world of vegetable oil. But in China it is a simple lamp. It is made from foreign lamp details, like the others of the country. It is a lamp in the use of rural economy, serving agricultural industry. The people are captured by the flame of their own product and are content with a spirit of national consciousness. The will to make the modern nation. By the light of this Chinese lamp, a new confidence is kindled towards rebuilding a modern China for the Chinese."

The most oil lamp is produced in a three-legged stool, there are well and light match for lighting houses, streets and public places. The lighting throughout, equal and safety lamps for soldiers, street lamps for making tea.

Noting that the Chinese oil lamp is not only a new kerosene model, Chung explains its operation. The tank, he said, is in the cylinder. By placing the oil lamp higher than the burner, when the cylinder-like vacuum, compressed air between the central burner of gas and atmospheric pressure were applied to help the flow of oil. A more refined and oil to an improved light.

To meet the small price of the average Chinese the lamp and from heavily made and spread. By burning and oil instead of kerosene for two or three months, sufficient saving is made to pay the initial cost of the ordinary kerosene lamp. What is important, too, is the Chinese nation is that the saving made by lowering the cheaper fuel for several years pays for an entire level of use."

Even before the present War Chung Kai-Shek had the lamp tested. It was found to have the following advantages:

1. It burns evenly per unit fuel per hour.

H A R I J A N

Sept. 17

1948

THE STATES AND RESPONSIBILITY

[By M. K. Gandhi]

The partial success of the people of Mysore, instead of liberating the other States, seems, so far as one can conclude from known facts, to have deflected them against the movement for national responsible government. I have called the Mysore success only partial for nothing has yet been gained as substance by the people. The Maharajah and his cultured Dewan have compromised the State Congress, they have instituted an impartial inquiry into the recent tragic happenings and appointed a Reference Committee with ample powers. With patience and reasonableness on the part of the Mysore State Congress and with real goodwill and understanding on the part of the Mysore Government, we may see a large measure of, if not full, responsibility in the government of Mysore.

But the psychological effect of the Mysore events has been exceedingly great. The people of the States have begun to see a new vision of liberty. What seemed to them to be a distant goal now appears to be an event to be realised almost in our time. I believe that if the confidence among the people in justice and widespread co-operation can possibly stay their inevitable march to their cherished goal.

I have said enough of the Travancore high-treason. I can tell it by no other name. Here is an extract from a letter from a Travancorean whose testimony I have never had occasion to doubt. He says:

"A careful study of the Dewan's statement shows that he is trying to cloud the issue and mislead members who are not aware of the sequence of events that he describes. Excepting the charges of 'Civil War' alleged by the Dewan all the other events or occurrences happened subsequent to the promulgation of the Proclamation and the declaration of the State Congress as an illegal body. How post-war conditions justify the war itself, it is difficult to understand."

As regards the violence which we all deplore the case-throwing and the burning of houses are attributed to members and up by the police according to one version, but without a thorough inquiry, which is impossible under the present circumstances, it is difficult to say what is the truth. Anyhow, do you not think that it is rather surprising that though all these numerous torch parties in that daylight and in meetings at which large numbers of police and military forces were present, it was not possible to prevent any of them or arrest a single one of the

offenders? The explanation of the suppression of the State Congress is that the police dare not arrest any on they and their landlords owned these estates. I cannot say how far the explanation can be accepted. A volunteer who was subjected to a severe lathi charge at the Quaker meeting says in an interview in the *Madras correspondent* (published in the *Harper* of 16th Sept.) that he saw with his own eyes some policemen guarding estates. Such allegations are generally made by the State Congress members. Meetings are being held and speeches made in all parts of the country but the arrests are very few. The present policy seems to be to disrupt meetings by force. This leads to firing and death of innocent persons. After the Quaker meeting there was firing again at Pothayappally, a village about five miles away from Kottayam. One or two dead and some were wounded. The exact number is not yet known. All the prisoners of the new Republics are being openly displayed by the people. But the Government are not able to bring the attention to bear on them. It only can put in the State and that is already well. If the Government desire to arrest and punish all the offenders then they will have to build more jails as the earlier willing to erect them and imprisonment is very large already and is increasing day after day."

And I am inundated with telegrams denouncing the fearful suppression going on in several parts of Travancore. I do not ask that this testimony should be believed as against the State case manifest. But I do request that there are, on usual, two sides to the question and that there is a strong case for an impartial inquiry.

But whether there is an inquiry or not, the duty of the Travancore State Congress is clear — on the one hand to see that there is no violence of any sort done by them or their sympathisers, and on the other to go on with their programme of direct action till the Travancore Government relents or the last member is assassinated too.

I should like here to state one limitation of action. If a wrong-doer heads upon the claims of his victims and goes on keeping wrong upon wrong till every one of the victims is crushed, a ray from the surrounding atmosphere arouses and the force of public opinion on the issue overtake the wrong-doer. But no wrong-doer should think that he has never to suffer unto death. His victory lies in the defiance by his unrepentable spirit of death and loss of property. The wrong-doer's certain defeat lies in his utter failure to lead or break the spirit of his victims.

If the States people in their obstinacy and long their ignorance of the awakening that has taken place throughout India, they are courting certain destruction. I claim to be a friend of the States. Their survival has been an obsession

in my family for the past three generations, if not longer I am no blind worshiper of anti-quity. But I am not ashamed of the Indians. All the States may not like. The biggest ones are live only if they will recognize their limitations, become servants of their people, trustees of their welfare and depend for their existence not on arms, whether their own or British, but solely on the goodwill of their people. Fascitism will feed the fire of violence that are both smoldering everywhere. If the States are truly minded and they only upon organized violence for meeting the just demands of their people, alone, as has prevailed in the country as a means of redressing social injustice, will not protect them. If it had grown into a Hindustani cult, it would have passed any test however severe. But, and is indeed, it has not gone deep enough into the Indian soul.

The Hyderabad communique has therefore come upon us as a painful surprise, the sinner is a great educationist. He is a philosopher. It was a pleasure to read his recent communique address to the Deesa University. It is painful strange that he should have lent himself to the reactionary propaganda which condemns an organization even before it has begun to function. What can be the meaning of communalism in a State which is overwhelmingly one population according to religion? What can communalism mean in, say, Kashmir or the Frontier where the population is predominantly one faith? The doctrine of minority is a good hobby to ride up to a point. But it must be at least essentially a fair minority. Even a minority of one can expect perfect justice. But it has no status in the political field. When a person belonging to an individual minority wants to prove he does so not as a representative of his group but by sheer merit. The State Congress in Hyderabad was never so communal in the sense in which the word is understood in India. An institution in the Frontier Province need not be judged communal merely because it has no Hindu member. Of course an organization may be frankly communal in outlook. But the Hyderabad communique makes a wide distinction and over that there is pretense in the State Congress of persons predominantly communal in outlook. What is more the State Congress has come out with a statement totally repudiating the suggestion of communalism.

And then comes over the outside progressive Rajput. Only the other day it had a representative Assembly elected under universal suffrage, and it had complete liberty of speech under its late launched rules. One may hope that after the recent display (as far as I can see, wholly unexcused for) of force, the political constitution of Rajput will be not only permitted to function untroubled but that its demands will be met in a spirit of justice.

Whatever happens in the three States named or in any other, let the people of the States

recognize that their salvation depends wholly on their own strength whose guarantee to last depends upon an abolition in action of complete non-violence and death. They must realize that it is utterly impossible simply to organize along violent lines large masses of mankind deprived of arms and almost from time immemorial brought up as a non-military nation.

ACCUMULATING EVIDENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A man came to me over Haring written on violence. I am getting evidence from all parts of India supporting my statement. The subject now to come under my observation is that of a Congress Committee having noted the cry of a Hinduist simply to take possession of the lands of that Hinduist. This act of agitation was provoked by speeches of Congressmen resting with violence. I sent the papers to Dr. Pathabhi Sankaraya for investigation. He confirms generally the complaint made by my correspondent. I am hoping that the District Committee or the Provincial Committee will be able to right the wrong. Failing that, of course, Raj's Government has to give redress. In writing this I do not wish to suggest that the land does not belong to the worker on it. I endorse the ancient theory of possession. But we must not that I know has defeated the campaign justified in Andhra. If all the land in India is over to being to or be possessed by the worker alone, it would be either by a bloody revolution or by equitable legislation. It must be clear to every man that the act of confiscation will never last. Had it not been for the Congress Government, the agitation could have taken place. The Congress Government will dig its grave if it fails to restore the land to the legal possessor. I may add in parenthesis that the disappointed Hinduist is reported to be a double man with pro-Congress tendencies.

The other piece of evidence is stolen writings from the U. P., O. P. and Bombay Press. The simplicity of the U. P. writings is that they contain no reference to violence in poems and prose. A lady writes verses eloquent over the misdeeds of the Hinduist and the wrongs of the Khasia. She draws a terrible contrast between the splendour of the harem and the poverty of the haremless. Having prepared the ground she writes the Khasia to a feast of blood and murder. "Take my weapons you get hold of, strike and strike hard. Don't be cowards. It is all yours and you must win. It is your powerful arm." This is a mild rendering, all too mild, of the real original. Had not the lady's name started me in the face as writer, I would not have thought a daughter of India to be capable of inclination to such merciless violence. I must confess that even if I received myself up properly I could not fill the three columns that she has done with

inventive. If an one has had his head turned by the willing, it is certainly not his fault. Fortunately the millions to whom it is address of cannot read.

The G P and Bombay cottages contain unfathomable falsehoods. There is no restraint on the pen. No language is too much to blaspheme the character of persons. Some of the things said are patent inventions. The villages really came under the law of that, but what was that proceedings did? They invite that proceedings. These villages the paper Defense would be an additional opportunity for invention. There are called inventors too. And even without invention, why should not people reading the proceedings of persons in Western colonies take it into their heads to go and tell the papers described in the columns? To many their newspapers are their Bible. They believe in them. And some of these papers are supposed to represent the Congress policy. The evil is on the increase during the Congress regime. It is well that what was made is now coming out. But this is not civil liberty, it is opposed. Human Dignity will not come by way of falsehoods and violence. And we shall do a double wrong if we do all these things in the name of truth and non-violence. I adhere to the advice I have tendered to the Congress and Congressmen.

HARIJAN UTSAV

The period of nine days beginning from the 14th of September to the end of October forms an important landmark in the history of the Harijan movement.

On the 14th of September, 1935, the Yashwantrao Chavan was signed, and on the 14th September 1935 it was notified by the British Government. On the 14th September, 1935, the Harijan Utsav League was formed at Bombay at a public meeting held under the Chairmanship of Pandit B. K. Chaudhary, and the last day in the period, viz. the 1st October, happens to be the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. It is but fitting that the period should be celebrated as a season worthy of the cause and the apostles.

Below is given an outline of programme for the entire period. All boards and committees are requested to follow it closely and add other items in the programme, if necessary, and send at the close of the period a report of their contribution to this office, to the Press and to their respective provincial offices.

(1) All Harijan schools should read Harjan Utsav and speak in Harjan on the importance of sanitation and perform some general service to them, however small.

(2) Harijan and Non-Harijan children may be taken to open places for games and recreation.

(3) Processions, known as Harijan parties may be organised. Public meetings may also be held wherever possible and the utmost help of the

State, community for the conduct of observance by both be solicited.

(4) Harjan should be taken to each temple as one open to them for Harijan and Harijan.

(5) Devotion and appreciation of the Harjan should be carried.

(6) Last but not least, collections for the general work and the Harjan Welfare Fund should be made with greater vigour and zeal.

A. V. THAKKAR
General Secretary, H. S. League

HAND-LOOM INDUSTRY

(By Ananda Choudhary, Agent, A. I. S. A.)

I

The Indian handloom industry has its origin as far back as the Vedic times, and is as old as the Indian civilisation. Ever since the dawn of civilisation, India has produced enough cloth, not only to clothe her weaving millions, but also to supply the same to the outer world. And all this cloth was the production of hand-spinning and hand-weaving. Though famed out by hand with the simplest implements, these cloths revealed such excellence of workmanship that some of them were thought of as "work of fairies or magic rather than that of men". But today, as the Government Census report, handloom weaving is stated to be a "dying industry". Even in the decaying state it occupies more than 25 per cent of India's population in weaving cloth as hand-looms, and is by far the most important and well-spread cottage industry, next in importance to agriculture. The production by hand-looms in the year ending March 1935 was estimated at 1,600 millions yards, as against 1,600 million yards produced in Indian mills. And out of the total output, 415 crore yards of cotton piecegoods in India in 1935-36, about 87 per cent was supplied by Indian mills and 12 per cent by hand-looms and 1 per cent by imported piecegoods.

It is rather difficult to explain how hand-weaving has not been wiped out of existence in spite of impediments placed in the way of its development by the British Government in every possible way, e.g. reduction or removal of import duties, suspension of inland duties on Indian manufacturers in India, levy of prohibitive duties in England on imports of Indian goods, etc.—(some of the methods adopted by the agents of the East India Company in India were rather infamous)—and the aggression of the organised power-loom industry. Of course, there are several factors on favour of the handloom. A handloom requires small capital (a handloom costs Rs. 50 whereas a power-loom costs Rs. 500), labour in the villages is cheap, the market is near at hand, the village weaver was actually the local demand due to his immediate acquaintance with the Indian and the requirements of the people, he has the facility of working in his own cottage where the members of his family can help, and he also

has the facility of being able to prepare small quantities of cloth with varied-sized designs and new patterns, unlike the powerlooms which cannot do so profitably unless there is a large demand. There are several other factors also which have kept the handloom alive till today, among which mention may be made of the surprising tenacity of the people in maintaining their primitive methods and hereditary occupations.

Of late the Government of India and the Provincial Governments have been taking increasing interest in the encouragement of the handloom industry in India. At the Fourth Industries Conference held at New Delhi in October 1935, the Hon'ble Sir Horne Kewenau stated that a sum of Rs. 250,000 was allotted to the Provincial Governments for expenditure on approved schemes during 17 months from November 1934 to March 1936. In addition to this the various Provincial Governments spent about 18 lacs of rupees during 1934-35 for developing the handloom industry. The grant from the Central Government in 1937-38 was declared to be Rs. 400,000 with the addition of five grants of Rs. 1,000 each to Bihar, U. P., Assam, West and Orissa, and a sum of Rs. 1,000 to the N. W. F. P. Among the schemes that are being pursued by the various Provincial Governments the following may be mentioned:

1. A stockal depot for the supply of yarn to the weaver.

2. Propaganda demonstrations among village women showing improved methods in dyeing, etc., and introducing new designs and improved appliances such as fly-shed looms, weaving drums, etc.

3. Marketing organizations for the sale of handloom products.

4. Provision of such depots, sale agents, exhibitions, publicly co-operative societies, etc.

It is known that the handloom weavers are not at all organized and they are not industrious. They are in a state of chronic indebtedness and are exploited by the merchants and yarn dealers. The Congress and the Government may help them to a large extent in controlling the above difficulties, but there are inherent handicaps in the shape of the duty on yarn and the political position of the mills. However much the authorities may say that the handloom is not their rival, the fact remains that it is. The handloom producer gets as much as the mills at the present time, and they would like to produce more and strive to attain the position which was once their own. But the mill industry and the handloom industry will not be antagonistic so long as the handlooms restrict their output to conventional types of cloth, continue to supplement the mill industry and utilize the surplus yarn which cannot be used by the powerlooms. But if the handlooms require more and more yarn the spinning mills cannot supply yarn to the handloom as an unorganized sector. It is quite

easy to understand that any system of production that depends for the supply of raw material on a rival system can only continue its existence on the latter's sufferance. As handloom weaving becomes more and more popular it is not unlikely that the mills will begin to feel that the handlooms are competing with them. The moment the mills get that feeling, it will be natural for them either to restrict the supply of yarn to the handloom or to increase the price of yarn in order to throw the weaver out of employment or to make it unremunerative for them to manufacture cloth. It is, therefore, highly desirable that the handlooms should not remain unorganically dependent upon, and at the mercy of the mills for the supply of yarn.

(To be continued.)

GANDHI JAYANTI

(By Mahatma Karamchand)

Soon we shall be celebrating the birthday of one who has devoted his life to the welfare of our villages. More holding of meetings, deliberating houses and joining the powerlooms to his looms are of little account if we do not dedicate ourselves afresh to the cause of village uplift which he holds so dear. Let us see to it that our celebrations do not end in mere lip service which ends as nothing. Those of us who are in villages can of course organize an intensive programme of regular day-to-day village work which we launch at this time. But there is a great and slight danger that they can do nothing tangible to help. They as well as village workers can do a great deal if they resolve on this occasion to buy only village-made goods. Congressmen and others who are in native sympathy with Gandhiji's ideal need it as their duty to wear khadi, but they fail to see that to khadi symbolize all village industries, they must, to be consistent with themselves, use only village products. The purchase of khadi is a symbol of our desire to fulfil our duty to our village neighbours by keeping them profitably employed. If this desire is genuine, surely it cannot stop with merely purchasing khadi; it must seek in every way possible to support also other village industries.

It is to be noted that the Congress, after having established the A. I. S. A., was (naturally) led to form the A. I. T. I. A. If we, Khadi-weavers, Congressmen, village workers, and those who are so interested in village uplift are really sincere in what we profess, we must resolve to use only village products, and what better than to do this than the present campaign? Besides khadi let us resolve to use only hand-pounded rice, hand-ground flour, stone-ground oil, village-made ghee, hand-made paper and such like. The names and addresses of our certified shops together with a list of articles on respect of which they have been certified are given elsewhere. Those who live in the proximity of such shops

(Continued on p. 182)



To the Readers

Reg. No. D 5898

HARIJAN

Editor: MARGARET DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harijan League

Vol. VI, No. 33

Poona — SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 1930

[ONE ANNA]

CORRUPTION IN THE CONGRESS

(By M. K. Desai)

It is difficult to cope with the correspondence that I am having from several places about violence, untouch and corruption in the Congress. While I must continue to publish typical correspondence about the weaknesses of Congressmen, I must issue a warning against being deluded by being aware that all is ill with the Congress. I know it is not. But it is true that violence, untouch and corruption have made friends enough to warrant drastic measures in order to prevent decay overtaking the great organisation.

Here are extracts from two typical letters:

(1) "Perhaps you are aware how the movement of large Congress members is going on unimpeded everywhere, and how rich and unscrupulous persons are controlling the affairs of the Congress organisations, keeping skillfully the poorer and devoted workers out of their way. There are paying the membership subscription of some of the richer members their control out of their own pockets, and some are giving a stamp forward and are not paying a single pice to the Congress Committee and instead making the Primary Committee make their checks proper. Some members of their apparent collection and thereby avoiding the supervising eye of the Sub-Divisional as well as District Committee."

Primary Committee having less than 25 members are not required, under the rules framed by it, to pay anything to Higher Committee out of the membership fee. The result is that a good many paper Committees are being set up with less than 25 members to deprive the Sub-Divisional and District Committee of their quota of the membership subscription so also to secure a larger proportion of representation in their Committee."

(2) "It is my duty to bring to your notice the open and unadmitted corruption in controlling Congress members. The Congress collection has, especially the Harijans, taken this state of things well, but it is difficult to know why the necessary steps are not being taken. If steps are not taken, things will go from bad to worse and the whole Congress leadership will be disgraced and the faith in people will be lost."

(a) Every party is trying to capture the Congress Office — whether Primary, Sub-Divisional, District or Provincial. And for this purpose large members are being offered by practically every group.

(b) There are a great many names of persons on the Congress rolls, but on scrutiny it can be easily found out that there are no such persons or, at least, at all. These names were the same group of persons is collected at districts of Primary Congress Committee at different times.

(c) The members are offered advances without their own signature. "Indian Home" and in most cases without any payment of the annual subscription of Rs. 2000.

(d) The question arises how the account of collection of subscription by the Primary, Sub-Divisional and District Congress Committee is maintained in those all cases where a group is so prominent in the office and consequently the office account, collection of the annual subscription for all the large members is shown in the credit side, and at the same time nearly the whole amount is shown in the debit side on the different heads of expenses such as travelling expenses, meeting expenses, advertising expenses, etc. Really they do not collect the subscription and maintain a false account.

I do not know how all these exceptions can be stopped. There will be, I hope, change of rules at the next A. I. C. C. meeting at Delhi. Some steps should be immediately taken to stop the corruption. Identification of Congress members, signature of the members on the application forms, actual collection of subscription from the members, and true accounts should be collected.

These statements have been made by responsible parties. The letters are meant for publication but I have purposely suppressed the names of my correspondents so also of the provinces in which the corruption is said to exist.

It is to be hoped that the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. will deal with this as well as the other serious questions that will come up for discussion and decision. It would be a tragedy if the members of the A. I. C. C. were to be fettered away in confusion or actual warring.

FOREIGN COMPANIES

“(INDIA) LTD.”

II

[The following is a further list of foreign companies bearing the name “(India) Ltd.” sent by another friend interested in the subject. True along with the previous list belongs the total number of foreign companies at work in India on list of March, 1935, to 335. It is to be noted that even now the list is not complete, and many more names would probably have to be added to bring it up to date. C. S.]

1. Aero Oil Co. (India) Calcutta.
2. Aeratic Steam Navigation Co. (India) Calcutta.
3. Associated Electric Companies (India) Bombay.
4. Assorted Instrument Manufacturers (India) Calcutta.
5. Augusta Capfville & Pile (India) Bombay.
6. Be Institute of Engineering Technicians (India) Bombay.
7. Building Corporation (India) Lucknow.
8. Centaur Engineering Co. (India) Calcutta.
9. Colonial Insurance (India) Calcutta.
10. Commercial Union Co. (India) Calcutta.
11. Curn. Products Co. (India) Bombay.
12. Cosmos Engineering Co. (India) Bombay.
13. Curatida (India) Bombay.
14. Curvan Iron (India) Bombay.
15. Origins & Co. (India) Bombay.
16. E. Agnew & Pile (India) Calcutta.
17. Filatures (India) Bombay.
18. Firestone Tyre & Rubber Co. of India, Calcutta.
19. Goodlass Wall (India) Bombay.
20. Goodrich Rubber Company of India, Bombay.
21. Goodyear Tyre & Rubber Co. (India) Bombay.
22. Graham Trading Co. (India) Bombay.
23. H. Sinker and Co. (India) Bombay.
24. Imperial Chemical Industries (India) Calcutta.
25. Imperial Tobacco Company of India, Calcutta.
26. Independence Bank of India, Calcutta.
27. Insurance House (India) Calcutta.
28. International Trading Office (India) Calcutta.
29. John Walsh & Co. (India) Calcutta.
30. Leyland and Birmingham Rubber Co. (India) Calcutta.
31. Leyton and Co. (India) Calcutta.
32. Maple Industries (India) Bombay.
33. National Engineering Co. (India) Bombay.
34. National Mercantile Insurance Co. (India) Calcutta.
35. Omas Company, Delhi (India) Bombay.
36. Omeroda (India) Bombay.
37. Orthopaedic House (India) Calcutta.
38. Phillips Electrical Co. (India) Calcutta.
39. Printers (India) Calcutta.
40. Publicity (India) Bombay.
41. Ransingh Products (India) Bombay.

42. River Steam Navigation Co. (India) Calcutta.
43. Robert Robson (India) Calcutta.
44. Roberts Park & Co. (India) Calcutta.
45. Samuel Colson (India) Calcutta.
46. Shrotona Lubricants (India) Calcutta.
47. Shona Motor Works of India, Calcutta.
48. Slough Syndicate (India) Lucknow, Gwalior.
49. Smith Campbell & Co. (India) Bombay.
50. Smead Smith (India) Bombay.
51. Tanna Co. (India) Bombay.
52. Thomas Dear & Sons (India) Calcutta.
53. Thomas Robinson & Sons (India) Calcutta.
54. Thorpe & Co. (India) Calcutta.
55. United House Building and Engineering Society (India) Mysore.
56. United Picture Corporation (India) Lucknow.
57. Wood Miles (India) Bombay.
58. Wain, (India) Calcutta.

AN IDEA FROM GERMANY

(By Frederick Tolson)

The Hun political philosophy and system are both dangerous and detestable. That does not mean that every institution that has sprung up under this system or the idea behind such an institution must necessarily be rejected because of its Nazi origin. The machine-gun is a horrible weapon, but the idea behind the construction of the machine-gun and practically the same machines are used for an excellent and productive purpose in the modern ship-building yards.

It is such an idea, in spite of its Nazi origin, that I propose to discuss. I also propose to discuss the possibility of its adaptation for constructive activity in our country.

In Germany every young man between the age of 18 and 24 must serve for six months as a labor service camp and thereafter spend two years in compulsory military training. For women the labor service is in fact voluntary, yet nearly 800,000 women for such service. The men are employed for six months in draining swamps, reclaiming arable land from oceans, building dykes or plantations a harvest of trees which are meant to act as shields against the land being denuded of its soil by the action of strong winds. Some of these men are employed in jobs which would not be ordinary workers. These men live in camps provided by the State and receive about six pence a day for use as pocket money.

The women are usually employed to take the place of women workers during the period of child-birth or while they are away for their annual holiday of a fortnight. These young women receive only pocket money and are maintained by the State. The wages continue to be paid to the worker on leave.

After the Congress accepted office in seven provinces the possibility of undertaking various constructive activities has been inspired into

At every step, however, our scholars tell us that they are handicapped by want of financial funds. To some extent they are right. Although various schemes of partial relief in some provinces have not been tapped, even if every available source were used, we cannot hope to raise enough money to provide a widespread educational and public health service. Though we may not have enough financial means to tap we have in this country an enormous man power to tap.

My humble scheme is that every young man and woman between the ages of 15 and 25 should be compulsorily mobilized for the period of at least six months, months. Every one of them should spend six months in manual labor like digging swamps which would ease the eradication of malaria from our country. Or their month is employed to build roads to connect up our local bodies wherever the financial resources of our local bodies do not permit the employment of paid labor. At the end of six months the educated youth should be used to spread primary education as well as adult education by visual or other suitable means. They can also be employed to impart them of sanitation and for the purpose of rendering elementary medical aid to our villages. Similarly suitable work can be found in the educational and public health field for our women.

Apart from doing very useful work for the community during this period our educated youth would be brought in five teams into our villages. They will by personal experience learn of the abject poverty and wretchedness of our peasants and will at the end of their service become willing advocates of the cause of the masses.

It might be said that taking the youth away from their studies will do a great deal of harm. The best school in my opinion is our life and work reality. I feel that these young men and women will return with a rich experience and a fund of knowledge which no university would be able to impart to them even if it tried.

There are some fairly people who will shy at the idea of compulsion. To them my reply is that our educated youth become so divorced from reality that the majority of them may not realize the importance of social service. A voluntary movement may bring forward a small percentage, but the majority will be absent by reason of other distractions or sheer ignorance. In almost every country of the world military training even fairly long periods has been made compulsory and the liability to be called to service reaches up to the age of about 45. This has happened because it is realized that the defense of the country is the concern of every citizen and that the students and professors may not reap the fruit of the blood of the more susceptible children. Similarly the representa-

tion of India should be the concern of every citizen.

I might add that no serious conditions when I have spoken to students individually or to their organizations they have needed the idea quite unenthusiastically. But for the disastrous disaster caused by a handful of the Students' Conference held in Bombay, the fact that the suggestion for compulsory mobilization has actually been incorporated in one of its resolutions would not have been missed by the press.

I was given to understand that steps have been taken in the U. P. by the Government to see this idea and that the U. P. and Bombay Governments are considering it. Without wanting to be disappointed in my humble scheme the manner in which the U. P. Government is going to see it will ultimately serve only to emphasize its failure. The U. P. Government will not permit the students of any student in the University unless each student is able to satisfy the authorities that he has done some work in the villages for the period of one year. This will only lead to stress and indignity in most cases. Even assuming that the majority of students honestly comply with it, the result will be highly unsatisfactory for two reasons. The student who has passed his Matriculation will on the average be 18 years old. I submit that you require slightly older boys and girls for this work. Since every student is left to find his own activity he may not possess the requisite knowledge to employ his time usefully. The many students might concentrate on one village while other villages might receive no attention. I feel that unless the whole thing is planned and directed by a central organization with a purpose behind it the result of such amateur activity will only be chaotic and too slow will stand condemned for ever. The Bombay and U. P. Governments seem to be thinking along the same lines as the U. P. Government.

I feel that if the idea is approved of, a small committee might be appointed by the Working Committee to work it out and the various Provincial Governments might be directed to give effect to it by necessary legislation. The mobilization of youth for this purpose is not the concern of one province alone, and an adjustment of this kind should not be allowed to fail by the lack of proper understanding or by faulty application.

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HARRIAN

Page 24

1938

TO THE READERS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The readers of HARRIAN will share my sorrow that Mohanandas has become very ill. Dr. Gidder and Jivraj Mehta, who with their usual kindness were specially to examine him, have come to the conclusion that he must take prolonged rest. He has had the same weakness that I had. The doctors think that prolonged overwork has brought about the illness which, if continued, may bring about paralysis of all activity. Let the numerous friends of Mohanandas not be alarmed over the news of his illness. There is nothing to be alarmed about. Only nature has issued a stern warning which he and I may not disregard except at our cost. I include myself as an object of warning, for if I do not listen to Mohanandas's taking rest, he is quite capable of cheerfully taking his last breath with the pen in his hand. If I am wise and true, he will take the needed rest. Therefore, for the time being, the readers must take the familiar and welcome writings over the initials M. D.

I am writing this note during the small hours of Sunday morning, having got up at 1-30 A. M. for finishing HARRIAN work. But I dare not expect much liberty without the danger of a sudden collapse. I have only limited physical energy left in me. It has therefore to be sparingly used.

The third person who was in HARRIAN work is Pyarelal. He has been here in constant form since then and just now he is withdrawing after the normal attack of extreme fever.

HARRIAN is not a newspaper, it is a "view"-paper representing those of one man. Even Mohanandas and Pyarelal may not write anything independently whilst I am alive. I am myself daily growing to the knowledge of Satyagraha. I have no textbook to consult in time of need, not even the Gita, which I have called my dictionary. Satyagraha as conceived by me is a science in the making. It may be that what I claim to be a science may prove to be an science at all and may well prove to be the mistakes and setbacks of a fool, if not a mad man. It may be that what is true in Satyagraha is as confused as the truth. But it has not yet been acknowledged to be of any value to the solution of world problems or either the one supreme problem of war. It may be that what is claimed to be new in it will prove to be really of no value in terms of that supreme problem. It may be that what is claimed to be victories of Satyagraha, I - Ahimsa, Will

be really victories and of truth and non-violence but of force of violence.

These possibilities have always been in front of me, I say helples. All I present to the readers for adoption is an answer to prayer as which is the same thing, constantly waiting on God. Such being the case, whilst I am alive HARRIAN can only be continued as long as I am able to write or Mohanandas or Pyarelal can interpret me from word to word.

The readers need not think that there are not others who can take the place of these two workers. There are but they are all engaged in the respective tasks allotted to them, and it would be wrong to remove them from their spheres of work. Satyagraha will not stop for want of HARRIAN, but it will for want of workers to carry on the mighty constructive programme.

Therefore, whilst Mohanandas's illness lasts, the readers will overlook the gaps they will notice in the editing of HARRIAN. This illness induces a reflection I have often expressed the opinion among friends that the qualities of capacity for detachment Englishmen are far in advance of us. No matter how important national affairs may be, they will keep their mind home and loose of themselves. They are not absorbed in the fear of dangers or impending calamity. This may be called making in the spirit of the Gita. Among the political workers in India there are very few who come up to the Englishman's standard.

This English detachment is worthy of emulation. That it is used for the exploitation of the so-called underlaid or underprivileged classes of the earth is another matter. It would be a distinct gain to the national cause if the leaders and workers sincerely keep their home. No man is expected to do more than he really can. If at the end of the day there is nothing more left or he cannot get through it without making a meal or succumbing upon the hours of sleep or recreation, there is no management conceivable. I have no doubt that if we cultivate the habit of peacefully and acting according to programme, the habit of national efficiency will go up, our advance towards our goal will be rapid, and the workers will be healthier and longer lived.

In conclusion, the readers and correspondents will extend their indulgence if they find, as they will more than halfheartedly, that they are not served in time or at all. The correspondence is increasing, the work to do is also on the increase. The capacity for coping with both is diminishing. God's will be done.

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AN APPEAL

The All India Spinners' Association has been carrying on the work of developing the production and sale of khadi for a number of years. Recently there has been an increase in the prices of khadi. Gandhiji has given an advice that the spinners should at least get a wage that would enable them to maintain themselves, and this advice has been accepted by the A. I. S. A. Gandhiji is of opinion that the minimum wage for one hour's efficient spinning should be one anna. If the spinning wage is brought to this level all at once, there would be a considerable rise in the prices of khadi. It has, therefore, been decided that for the present the spinners should have a minimum wage of 2 annas for 1 hour's efficient spinning. Efforts are, however, being made by some of the Bhairats to pay the spinners at a higher rate. The increase in spinning wages has naturally led to a rise in the prices of khadi. But it is qualifying the note that in spite of the increase in the prices of khadi the sales have not only been not affected but are increasing every day. The production of khadi during the first six months of the current year has more than doubled as compared with the production for the corresponding period in the last year. The sales have also increased, but not to the same extent. In view of the rapid development of activities at the production centres and the growing output of khadi, it is necessary to see that the stocks do not accumulate and the capital is not tied up.

Every year on the occasion of the Gandhi Jayanti special efforts are made to push the sales of khadi. Further, this occasion offers a suitable opportunity for disposing of the large quantities of khadi that are produced during the rainy season. According to the Khadi Calendar Gandhiji's Birthday falls on the 11th September this year, whilst according to the English Calendar it falls on the 2nd October. The period between these two dates is celebrated as Gandhi Jayanti. We hope the Gandhi Jayanti this year will also be celebrated with the same enthusiasm as in the previous years. As time passes, the world is coming to realize the great use of the personality and services of Mahatma Gandhi. We must remember ourselves fortunate in having these chances of rendering service to the poor, and it is our duty to do the utmost we can in this direction. Through khadi we can render the very best of service to the poor, and that is why Gandhiji lays so much stress upon it. We trust all will celebrate this occasion by contributing to the production of khadi, by purchasing it for their own use and by inducing others to do the same.

RAMESH CHAND

CHANDRASEKHAR

CHANDRASEKHAR

J. B. KAPUR

VALLABHJI PATEL

JAGDEEPJI RAO

CHANDRASEKHAR

CHANDRASEKHAR

Notes

The Silence

When Chin Gopal Chandra Bose was here the other day I asked him if he had been to Europe. He said he had been and had a long talk with Gandhiji, but all that Gandhiji had said to him was contained on a slip of newspaper wrapper: "Give my love to all the members of the family." Then he proceeded to say "I asked Mahatma if he was going to continue his silence in Delhi. The reply was a nod of assent. I then asked him if he would continue it in the Frontier Province also. Again he nodded assent. Amusing, is it not?"

I do not know how all this is going to be, but I am sure his biggest desire is to continue the silence indefinitely. Several times during this period of silence he has written: "What a sorry I am silent!" There is no doubt it has given him immeasurable joy and freedom from what may have been many an unhappy moment of angry outburst.

When one comes to think of it, one cannot help feeling that nearly half of the misery of the world would disappear if we fasting mortals knew the value of silence. Before modern civilization came upon us, at least six to eight hours of silence out of twenty-four were considered to be a modern civilization has taught us to convert night into day and golden silence into brown dirt and noise. What a great thing it would be if we in our busy lives could retire into ourselves each day for at least a couple of hours and prepare our minds to listen to the voice of the Great Silence. The divine Radio is always singing if we could only make ourselves ready to listen to it, but it is impossible to listen in without silence. St. Teresa has need a charming image to sum up the great result of silence.

"You will at once feel your heart gather themselves together. They come like two, which return to the love and there stay themselves. By so work at the making of love, and then will take place without effort as soon as you put. God then attracts the creature which you will has been doing to itself, and goes to it with a dismission over the same. God is up to strength when it seems to be itself, for then is they and so gather themselves together. At the end of all the will, they come back more and more quickly. At last after many and many centuries of this kind, God disposes them to a state of shadow upon and of perfect contemplation."

Oh for a Little More Truth!

A missionary journal is angry with me for having said that the "only purpose of the Partition movement was justice and self-determination," and seeks to answer a "brother missionary" for base-lined assertion which it calls

But I am afraid I will have to say "No". For while I welcome any attempt to make the truth that there is no Christianity intelligible, to free it from its associations with Imperialism, Feudalism and Capitalism, and to make it possible for Indian Christians to support values not discarded by their own cultural leaders and to sit home in their own land, it is yet obvious that your book is part of the missionary enterprise, from which I have long since dissociated myself.

For I am not merely a reformer or liberal missionary, I am not a missionary at all. It is four years since I wrote to the Metropolitan to tell him that I was no longer either a member or a priest of the Church of England, two years since I substituted this position with the formula of legal proxy.

I was led to take this step by the standard outlook given by the Church to a whole type of Western Imperialism, by the tacit slogan of the Church with a gospel capitalist system, by its wilful ignorance before the masses of war and famine, and its refusal to support any real movement towards new values, by its adherence to doctrines and ceremonies which no one could support without a burden on his intellectual conscience, and by the general character of missionary propaganda. During the last Nagpurana movement I heard for years repeated "Christianity" among the followers of Mahatma Gandhi. Then as the Indians who deserted them I saw in the life of my beloved friends of the Ekismat Adharm a quality of spiritual life and energy denied them by the Nagpurana which made it impossible to believe that salvation was confined to members of the Church.

You ask me to write on the nature of Hinduism. I am afraid that I should have to say something about "the nature of Christianity".

Looking at the matter from a purely scientific anthropological standpoint, I think there can be little doubt that Christian civilization is more destructive to genuine tribal life and much less any other form of culture.

I could tell evidence from every part of the world, but I will be content with two reliable witnesses. The first is Mr. J. P. Mills, the Ethnographer to the Government of Assam. He describes how among the Nagas the suppression of all movements of dancing, of singing (except hymns), of village feasts and of all events which for the moment are something as uncalculatingly distinct over village life. The destruction of the traditional leaders is in the way with the way for centuries in which the tribal community of village life is broken. He also tells of the "parasitic artistic pretensions" of the English chapels which have led to the destruction of the crafts of wood-carving, the substitution of artificiality for tribal beauty. "An Englishman goes the village before himself. A Hindu goes himself before the village."

A similar situation was faced by Professor Firth among the Tongan Islanders. "Although he has been divided, policy has arisen between the chiefs and the village leaders, and development and modernity have resulted among the people. The old customs which gave zest to village life and meaning to village morality have been discarded, hardly life has been threatened. I cannot but regret says the Professor (who is by no means prejudiced against natives), that the urge to proselytism made it necessary to detach a people whose adjustment to life in their traditional institutions has been on the whole a satisfactory one. To make an uncomplimentary isolated detachment people lost a part of the texture of our own society, without which seems a pity. And again, what justification can be found for the steady pressure to break down the culture of a people against whom the such change is that their gods are different from ours?"

Since Hinduism has itself developed out of the ancient religion of the Ind, the natural development of the Hindus is towards a liberal Hinduism, not unlike that of Gandhi and Tagore. Unhappily, most of the movements at present exploiting the religious of India are missionary and fundamental, the Hindu missionary at eye to be as destructive of tribal life as the Christian. The Raj, Gand Movement, for example, is run by a number of religiously conservative who are trying to introduce to their poorer kinsmen Indians from very aspects of Hinduism which the reformers are attempting to destroy — belief in immortality, purdah for women, child marriage, the sacred thread — and to destroy the old culture of song and dance.

But there is no reason why this should be so. We have no more right to regard immortality as characteristic of Hinduism than Hindus would have the right to regard belief in Hell, the Devil and everlasting torment as characteristic of Christianity.

A liberal rationalistic Hinduism, that makes no approach to absolute anthropological progress, would probably do less than any other form of culture to disturb and destroy tribal life.

Presently, I have always held that it is for no religion is concerned, the strongest should be left alone. He has little interest in the gods, and no wonder — for they have done little for him. In their dealings with the deities, and only in India has throughout the world, adherents of all religions would be well to adopt an attitude of patience and respect. The higher religions, in their good and their stupidity, have done it by these people. All that we may do now is to serve them, protect them and give them food. Let them follow the law of their own development.

The future of throughout all over the world should be in the control of science, not of religion. They should certainly be protected from every kind of missionary.

Telling this story, how could I represent in your missionary version?

I will not spoil the effect of this magazine document by making any comment on it. He has referred to some of our writers in ever generous terms. We have to the truly professional and God-fearing Jew in order to share them some day. As the Earl Varner Davis, we might say that if his fellow-christians will dare to follow his example, their conduct will not make "Christian converts" but will certainly make many true believers of Christ whether they call themselves Christians or believe in any other faith.

M. D.

HAND-LOOM INDUSTRY

(By Annaa Channing, Agent, A. I. S. A.)

II

The Modern Government enacted various suggestions for improvement in 1928 and concluded that unless some restrictions were placed on the power of the mills to raise yarn prices against the hand-loom weavers, or unless some arrangement could be entered into with regard to the respective spheres of the hand-loom and the mill, it was exceedingly doubtful whether any material reform of the hand-loom industry would materialize in meeting the gradual decay. If we take into consideration the machine tariff on cotton yarn, we shall find that it is 5% on cotton or 1% on any other, whether it is higher, in case of foreign-made fabrics, and 1% or 1½ on any other, whether it is higher, on yarn not of British manufacture. This protective tariff, to a certain extent, goes to prevent the importation of foreign yarn into the country, but the advantage is only derived by the well-organized mill industry to the detriment of the hand-loom. A large textile interest benefits at the expense of a large but hapless community. The sum of 15 tons of yarn spun by the United and the Provincial Governments for serving the hand-loom industry, after having put it under the heavy load of the machine duty, is like doing penance after having committed a sin deliberately. The disadvantages of the hand-loom industry can only be counterbalanced by the levy of an extra duty or tax on yarn spun by the mills. The present Government of Hawaii have made a beginning in this line by the enactment of the Cotton Cloth Sales Regulation Act, 1935. Any dealer who deals in hand-loom cloth is exempted from a small license fee of seven cents per hundred yards of cloth, while dealers of other varieties of cloth have to pay. In reply to an interpellation in the House Assembly it was stated that up to 2000 yards 1935, 21,325 pieces applied, the House, of whom 11,442 dealt in hand-loom cloth exclusively, and thereby were entitled to be exempted from the license fee. But unless the House fee is increased to par or more

as the hand which the mills derive from the protective duty, the hand-loom will continue to be in disadvantageous position. But this will, after all, be an artificial arrangement.

The natural and the best arrangement will be for the hand-loom weaver to depend upon hand-spun pure hand-spinning and hand-weaving are mutually complementary. Hand-loom weaving presupposes the existence hand-spinning. They stand or fall together. If hand-spinning does not come to the aid of hand-loom, the weaver may be starved. A spinning wheel is every house and a group of handlooms in every village except in the vicinity of the new depots for India.

There are at present, according to the latest report of the All India Spinning Association, 1,68,776 spindles registered in the different centers of the A. I. S. A. and there are 11,581 weavers weaving the pure. The value of production of hand cloth 1935 is Rs. 17,21,600 weighing 1,68,776 lbs. and measuring 44,76,424 sq. yards. In addition to the above there are several parties whose reports of production and value, etc., have not yet been received. From the above it will be found that on an average one spindle spins 12 lbs. of pure annually although the figures for Bengal and Oude show that the production per spindle on a shiraz is about 10 lbs. a year. The import of cotton yarn and cloth into India was 1,21,75,000 lbs. by the year 1934-35. If this import is to be stopped, it can be successfully done by 50 tons of spinning wheels. This will not only add to the productivity of the agriculturists by helping them to turn to account their hours of unemployment by spinning, but it will employ nearly two tons of weavers, and a kind of other villages, as carpenters, dyers, blacksmiths, etc. In this way a large state will be kept flourishing in the villages which will raise their purchasing power. This will be the most effective way of meeting rural unemployment on a mass scale. It is very necessary that the Provincial Governments, specially where the Congress is in power, should take a bold step in this direction.

(To be continued)

CONTENTS	PAGES
CHARACTER OF THE CONGRESS	M. D. Channing 152
PROGRESS OF THE CONGRESS (1935-1936)	154
AN IDEA FROM THE CONGRESS	PROGRESS OF THE CONGRESS 154
ON THE CONGRESS	M. D. Channing 154
AN APPRAISAL	REPORTS FROM THE CONGRESS 154
HAND-LOOM INDUSTRY—II	M. D. Channing 154
THE CONGRESS	M. D. Channing 154
ON THE A. I. S. A. AND THE CONGRESS	M. D. Channing 154
A PROGRESS REPORT	M. D. Channing 154
A SUMMARY OF THE CONGRESS	M. D. Channing 154
THE HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS	M. D. Channing 154



HARIJAN

Editor: MARGREY DEBIL

Under the patronage of The Marjorie Sarah Singh

Vol. VI, No. 34

PUNNA — SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1926

[ONE ANNA]

Notes

About Myself

It had been my pride that God had enabled me to design and plot away without the need of a holiday for several years. But God has humbled my pride, and it is well that He has mercifully done so before my utter destruction. It is no joy to be condemned to lying on one's back without any activity, but I am doing as much of the time without fretting. And why should I fret? If He who has chosen to enable me to serve Gandhiji and through him the country for 22 years, should also choose to bring that service to an end, why should I fret? I am grateful for what He has given, and I am happy for the knowledge that He does not permit anyone to continue his usefulness in the meantime. I bespeak Gandhiji's indulgence to write these notes as I can do so without much strain.

The Day

The day which brings rejoices to thousands of us, and a sense of his own imperfections to Gandhiji himself, came on the 1st September, and reports have already begun to come of the manner in which it was celebrated in various places. Almost with the regularity of the seasons come some gifts for Gandhiji on this day every year. Shrikrishna Aravindhul Gokhale and Shrikrishna Gopal Khandekar, and Shrikrishna Dhanooji (Shri Dikhrish Dhanooji's mother) have been sending gifts every one of their years to Gandhiji with their loving blessings. Shrikrishna Aravindhul is middle-aged and the other two are old men, but their enthusiasm seems to wax with the years and their blessings warm Gandhiji in spite of his ever-increasing burden.

But of the old ladies and Miss, the young ones cheer and warm one's hope. We are not yet in receipt of Shri Narasimha Gandhiji's report, but I have before me the report of work done by the children of a school in Lala, District which shows a record better than the ones of previous years. This is what the Head Master of the Nataran Ganga Vidyalaya, Gumbhira, writes (I summarize his long Gujarati letter):

'Last year we celebrated Bapu's birthday by a regular two hours' spinning for a month. That lasted as well this year till the children

of the school did regular spinning for two hours all the year round. As a result of our 4 months' spinning we produced nearly 124 yards of cloth. Of this 124 yards women at Bapu's do to do with and used the tension. The rest in medium 20 children will have their all their clothing made for the year intended. This year Bapu's birthday was celebrated by a resolution to spin a least daily for one month with 2 hours and 30 minutes for clothes. It was joy to see children of 10 to 25 doing their 2 hours' spinning every day cheerfully and without being told. For 20 hours after the close of the day school was kept working by the teachers and pupils, and on the 25th there were eight wheels kept spinning for 24 hours. All the clothes were sent by the spinning industrial. There is not one which was specially necessary. A Sunday boy of about 12 spun for seven to eight hours for all the 30 days, his yarn being 40,000 yards of 20 to 40 counts. He spun around his clothes and the day's work, and he produced in spite of his finger being badly crushed once as he was making his clothes. Please remember that he belongs to what is called a 'backward' community, but he has been an example to us all. The total work of the month's spinning was 5 lakhs yards of yarn (as recorded last year.)'

Harijan boys at the Harijan Colony, Delhi, kept several wheels and charkas going for 24 hours. The only thing that can make Gandhiji rejoice over all this is that the celebration of his birthday is symbolic of the celebration of the dignity of honest labour for the poor.

Dr. McGovern Makes Answer

I am thankful to Dr. McGovern for the following letter:

'Early in August I wrote to Bhaiji Anand and Mr. Datta giving them a copy of the explanation and apology which I was sending to Wm. Lawrence in regard to the statement report which under my name appeared in that magazine, and asking them whether I should send a similar statement direct to Mr. Gandhi.

They replied that they had sent the explanation and apology to you. In connection with your writer a notice of the explanation was changed. Mr. Datta then wrote to you asking if the matter should appear in Wm. Lawrence and Indian papers.

I, I, I, shall have you called on me through the eyes of Hindustani to come out of hiding and unapologetically present an apology in all Christian papers.

Now Mr. Datta, I repeat accordingly addressing to Mr. Gandhi what he did not on that occasion say. It pains me to have been the cause, in all good faith, of the perpetration of an enormous error. I would have written you direct over a month ago but for the fact that my readers had already read your say statement. I want to assure you of my sorrow at the publication of this error, and to express regret that wrong to be held that my apology had reached you. I want to have given you the impression that I was in hiding and was withdrawing my apology long overdue. That is not the case, and I enclose a copy for publication of my apology and explanation to you. (and therefore to Mr. Gandhi).

I am also sending a copy of this to the Guardian.

The copy of the "apology" has not come, but that obviously is an inadvertent omission. I have sent a copy of it, though, and am glad that Dr. McGovern kindly carried out my suggestions with regard to the inadequate nature of the original draft which was more like a justification than a request. I have for a moment suggested that Dr. McGovern "was in hiding" I deeply resented on the "apology" being published in Indian papers also, and not in the WORLD DOMINION alone.

On reading Dr. McGovern's letter Gandhi remarked that not only did he not make on the particular occasion the remark attributed to him but that he never on any other occasion made any such remark.

*A copy of the following letter of "apology" by Dr. McGovern has been since received from Mrs. Dodge.

"On July 20, 1938, Balraj Anand wrote to me stating that the alleged statement of Mr. Gandhi had never been made to him, that what did transpire was that someone was wrongly understood and that it was not anything like the statement which appeared above. The author consequently is happy promptly to make: explain, apologize to Mr. Gandhi and to Balraj Anand.

The explanation is that the writer based the story from a false different source did not know that it was accidental and thus misinterpreted the content in his article as all good faith. He is glad to have this opportunity of rectifying the error.

I should be glad to have an acknowledgment from you at the receipt of these two letters so that my mind may be at ease knowing that the members of World Dominion may put this matter to rights.

Regarding the confusion which prevented this step."

A Correction

Dr. Dandabhatla Anandam writes:

"Now I want to write something about your Trinidad review. I have no doubt that he is an honest man but he has no idea of accuracy, and he has given you very wrong figures. I wonder, therefore if the rest of his information is equally inaccurate.

The actual figures for Trinidad are as follows:

Total population	about 300,000
Indians	about 140,000

He also says that the Hindus schools teach no other language but English. This is a mere statement for Trinidad, because all the schools which I visited taught Hindi, and the Canadian Presbyterian Missionaries, who were the possessors of Indian education taught Hindi. They had made the percentage of literacy in the Indian population very high indeed, compared with other colonies. They were obliged to take Hindu examinations and also to teach to speak Hindi up to a certain point. You see, Mr. Dandabhatla, we are continually being let down in this way by our own dear people, who mean well but deeply intend to mislead. A man, who qualified as a teacher in Trinidad (which is itself a very small island) cannot even give the simple facts either about the population or the teaching in the schools without exaggeration. I wish to add, you had said the story in the Indian Times published. However, it won't do much harm as it stands, and I don't think it is worth printing a correction. My own memory is of course that of six or seven years ago, but on the two points I have mentioned I don't think I could make a bad mistake.

Though the good Dr. Dandabhatla would let me innocently pass unnoticed, I would not, and I would say any day trust his information more than that of a casual visitor. I therefore publish his letter with gratitude. As regards the population figures, however, let me say that even the Dr. Dandabhatla's figures may be inaccurate. Let me add that I looked up my reference books after the Trinidad visitor gave me his figures. The Encyclopaedia Britannica (1934 edition) gave me the same figure as the Dr. Dandabhatla, the Hindustani Year Book (1937) gave the figure 420,000, and all I failed to do was to put a query after the Trinidad visitor's figures and a footnote giving the figures from the reference books.

Was?

In one of the Bengali journals some of the prisoners asked Gandhi whether he expected a Bengali war in the near future, and whether if it came he would not be to the benefit of India. Gandhi said he did not know, but warned them against feeling that ANY war would be to the benefit of India. It was an unwholy wish for no one should wish anything essentially evil to happen.

I am tempted to pose this thought as to the readers in view of the longish war-stories in

Europe. It may be avoided and the alternative may be the virtualities of Czechoslovakia and the undoing of the glorious life-work of President Masaryk. But we need not resolve whether it is avoided or whether it comes.

In this connection I am tempted to share with the reader a morning passage from a tract by Madame Ching Kai-Shek in which she refers to a warning given by her mother similar to the one given by Gandhi to the Columbia prisoners:

"One day I was talking with her about the beautiful Japanese nation and I suddenly cried out in irrepressible intensity of feeling:

"Mother, you are so powerful in prayer why don't you pray that God will annihilate Japan by an earthquake or something?"

She turned her face away for a time. Then looking gently at me she said: "When you pray, or expect me to pray, don't wish God's will upon me by asking Him to do something which would be contrary even to *you*, a mortal." That made a deep impression on me. And today I can pray for the Japanese people knowing that there must be many who like Emperor, refuse because of what their country is doing to China."

M. D.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

"The Working Committee has been following with great interest the events as they have been developing in Europe. It views with grave concern the unhesitant attempt that is being made by Germany to deprive Czechoslovakia of its independence or reduce it to impotence.

"The Working Committee sends its profound sympathy to the brave people of Czechoslovakia in their struggle to preserve their freedom. Being themselves engaged in a war-impoverished but resolute grim and unending—against the greatest Imperialist Power on earth, India cannot be but deeply interested in the protection of Czechoslovak freedom. The Committee hopes that the better part of humanity will still assert itself and save humanity from the impending catastrophe."

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

(Continued from p. 375)

5. Burma Riots

The A. I. C. C. expresses its deep sympathy with the Indian sufferers during the recent deplorable riots that broke out in Burma resulting in heavy loss of life and endless injuries and destruction and burning of property. The A. I. C. C. trusts that there will be a thorough and impartial inquiry into the causes of the riots and the amount of damage done to life and property. In the opinion of the A. I. C. C. the desolated places of worship should be restored and adequate compensation awarded to the suffer-

ers unless they are found guilty of having participated in the riots. The A. I. C. C. is also of opinion that safety of life and property should be secured to the large Indian colony many of whom have settled in Burma for generations without let or hindrance.

The A. I. C. C. reminds the great people of Burma that there is a long tradition of friendship between the two countries and that the relations between the Burmese and Indian nations have hitherto been cordial and happy. The A. I. C. C. appeals to the Government and the people of Burma to see to it that, nothing is done to disturb the happy relations subsisting between the two countries.

The A. I. C. C. appeals the Indian settlers to rely more upon their ability, by strictly not desisting, to cultivate friendship with the Burmese than upon any aid that might be rendered by the Indian country or the Government of India.

7. Nagp Administration

The A. I. C. C. condemns the aggressive and tyrannical administration under which the people of the Nagp territory in Peshawar have been long been suffering at the hands of their cruel head Miran Khan.

The Committee is of the view that the British authorities who have assumed responsibility for the welfare of the people of the area have failed to discharge that responsibility.

The Committee calls upon the authorities to take immediate measures to stop the present autocratic and irresponsible system of administration under which the Nagp influence had to live and suffer all these years.

8. Civil Liberty

Inasmuch as people including a few Congressmen have been found on the name of civil liberty to advocate murder, arson, looting, and class war by violent means, and several newspapers are carrying on a campaign of falsehood and violence calculated to incite the readers to violence and to lead to communal conflicts, the Congress warns the public that civil liberty does not cover acts of or endorsement to violence or promulgation of palpable falsehood. In spite, therefore, of the Congress policy on civil liberty remaining unchanged the Congress will, consistently with its tradition, support measures that may be undertaken by the Congress Government for the defence of life and property.

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H A R I J A N

Oct. 1 1938

1938

FEDERATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A well-known correspondent told me that in London the common talk is that Gandhi craves for everything and it does not matter what the Congress or Congressmen may say or do. The critics underline the statement by saying that there is a wide difference of opinion between Pandit Jashwanth Mehta and myself, and that while he with our youth Federation is a pale of tongue, I am prepared to submit to it. If some trifles are conceded I have paraphrased in my own words a lengthy letter giving details which I may not share with the readers at least at the present juncture.

Evidently my critics know more of me than I seem to know myself. For instance I know how little I count among Congressmen, the critics know how much I count among them. Whatever influence I still possess among Congressmen is solely due to my consistent appeal to reason and nerve to authority. But if I had the influence the critics attribute to me, I would hold it as a duty that India would have gained her independence long ago and there would be no repression that is going on unchecked in some of the States. I know the art of winning independence and stopping the frightfulness of which one reads in the papers. If I had my way with the Congressmen, there would be no corruption, no untouch and no violence amongst them. If I had my way with them, they would all be enthusiastic Khadiwars and there would be no complex kinds in the A. I. S. A. Kingdom.

But I am going astray. I had intended to write about Federation. In the first place in all my talks, which have been very few, I have made it clear that I represent nobody and that I have not even asked my views to any Congressman. I have also made it clear that what the Congress says and does is of no consequence, whatever I may say is of no value unless it represents the Congress view. As a matter of fact, too, I have said that the Congress will never have Federation framed apart from it, and that there was no hope of peace in India till there was independence in virtue of a constitution framed by a duly convened Constituent Assembly. I have also made it clear that so far as Pandit Jashwanth Mehta and I are concerned, though we may talk in different languages, we are one in everything that matters to India. On the question of Federation there never has been any difference of opinion between me. And I have made a rule for myself that so far as the Congress is concerned, I share in no unbridgeable gulf between him and

me. We were should prevail. And this for the very good reason that I am not in the Congress and he is in the centre of it, and very much in touch with everything relating to the Congress.

NON-INTERVENTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Congress non-intervention in the affairs of the States was conceived in 1920 and has been more or less the policy since that time in spite of many modifications made on it. But I see that it has become the fashion in the States to quote against the Congress and Congressmen the self-imposed restraint even when there is any attempt to criticize or offer advice to help. It is therefore necessary to examine the implications of non-intervention. It was never regarded as a principle. It was a limitation imposed on itself by the Congress for its own sake and that of the people of the States. The Congress had no mission behind its resolutions regarding the States. Its advice might be accepted; its intervention resisted and the people of the States might be harassed without gaining anything. There was certainly a splendid motive behind that policy. It was a wise recognition of the limited capacity of the Congress for doing good. The resistance exercised by the Congress in this and many other ways has given it a prestige and power which it would be useless for it not to use. Any hesitation in this respect would be like that of the foolish dewan who would not use the talism which was placed at his disposal. Up to a point the States are beginning to recognize the power of the Congress. It is ever so reluctantly. It is becoming sufficiently clear that the people of the States are looking to the Congress for guidance and help. I think that it is the duty of the Congress to give them the guidance and help wherever it can. I wish I could convince every Congressman that the prestige and power of the Congress are its most precious to its lower party, its sense of moral justice and its all-round goodwill. If the people of the States feel safe in approaching their masters to the Congress, the Princes should feel equally safe in trusting the Congress. All the prestige built up by patient effort of years will certainly be undermined, if the warnings uttered by me to the Congressmen go unheeded.

Even at the risk of thousands of repetitions let me say to the people of the States that they must not let much slide by the Congress help. It is not enough that they are troubled and uncontent. It is necessary also for them to know their own capacity for suffering. Liberty is a dance smoking a heavy price from her women. And unless there are many who are prepared to pay the price, the few enthusiasts that are to be found everywhere would do well to conserve their energy. They will do well to undertake continuous service of the people without having an unbroken political pro-

giveness. The ability to gain political ends will surely come from constructive service. Wisdom and patience will give them a power which in time will become irresistible.

ECONOMIC CONQUEST OF INDIA

(By C. L. Harris)

I

It has long been recognized in our country that the root cause of our political subservience is economic bondage. In India the Flag has followed the Trade quite contrary to the common saying of Trade following the Flag; for British political rule began with a trading company. Rudolph Kusner, R. C. Darr, William Digby and others emphasized the economic basis of political domination and pointed out the economic consequences of foreign rule such as the drain, devaluation, Home charges, cotton crises, salt, etc. The economic origin of British power in India was, however, sometimes forgotten and it is, therefore, necessary to stress the historic background.

The East India Company is the real founder of British rule in India. It was the first imperialist plant-stock company and no company ever revealed anything like its domination. The first Englishman who reached the Indies by the Cape route was Sir James Lancaster in 1595 A. D. In 1600 A. D. the Dutch took advantage of their monopoly to set up a kind of paper gold raising the price of one ounce from 3s. 6d. to 4s. and so. It was to counter this move that the East India Company was established at the end of the year. Although it was not till the 18th Century that the Company became an important political force in India, it had, long before this, established large and lucrative profitable trading connections. It is interesting to quote what a British historian has recently stated in this connection:

"The East India Company had grown steadily throughout the century and by 1700 had a capital of £ 1,800,000 on which it declared off 1 per cent was paid to the shareholders. But this represented only a small part of the profits taken from India. It was the product of the Company to pay the servants only a nominal wage; their real, and in the higher grades vast, incomes were derived from bribes, salaries and private trade. The Company kept a monopoly of the trade between India and Britain but left the universal Indian trade entirely to its servants. Others have stated that the companies laid out its adventures in that part of the globe were such as that and blood could not withstand. Even the Directors of the Company were bound to maintain a system which they themselves had created and which finally furnished the profits of the shareholders. They recognized of the 'deplorable state to which our affairs are in the year of being reduced, from the corruption and rapacity of our servants and the universal dependency of masters throughout the institution.'"

We must add that we think the vast fortunes acquired in the Indian trade, had been obtained by a series of the most tyrannical and oppressive conduct that we can know in any country."

"From this time there was no limit to the possibilities of exploitation. From 1600 alone the Company and its associates collected over £ 400,000 in duties between 1607 and 1705. The Madras and the Bombay Kingdoms were made the same. Trading monopolies in important commodities like salt, opium and tobacco yielded enormous fortunes. In 1700 and 1770 the English owned a domain over which were by covering tax and refusing to sell it except at exorbitant price. Clive himself secured one of the largest fortunes known up to that time by taking bribes and 'present' from native rulers."

In 1780 the British Government entered on taking a third stage of the plunder, and the Company was forced to pay £ 400,000 a year into the Exchequer. The Regulating Act of 1773 took the further step of turning to the Government a partial control over the administration of the company's provinces. Subsequently aimed at dividing the oppression of the Company's rule the real effect of the Act was to concentrate the exploitation of India, which was now too profitable to be allowed to continue in private hands. It marks the beginning of the transition from the first stage of British penetration, in which India was a source of certain valuable commodities which could not be produced at home, to the second stage in which it became an important market for British manufactured goods, especially cotton textiles."

In fact, economic historians attribute the industrial revolution in England to the accumulation of capital due to rapid increases of trade based primarily on the monopoly control of a colonial empire and on direct exploitation of India. Along with such accumulation of capital went increased possibilities for the profitable utilization in outside markets, and it was this demand for ever-increasing quantities of standardized goods rather than the accident of time or that invention which was the fundamental cause of the development of a new industrial technique.

The abolition of the trading monopoly of the East India Company in 1813 marked a new stage in the economic exploitation of India. It has been stated that the opening of the Indian market to English factory-made goods was above all to Lancashire-made cloth can be dated from this time. In a little over a decade the value of exports to India practically doubled and the export of cotton goods, totaling in 1823, reached nearly £ 1,000,000 a year in the twenties. The history of the destruction of the Indian handloom industry by imports of Lancashire goods is well-known but a striking quotation from a speech made by Dr Dowding, a prominent Free Trade advocate, in 1925 is worth reproduction:

1. *A People's History of England* by A. L. Morton, p. 284.
2. *A People's History of England* by A. Lawrence, p. 190.

"Trade is the essence of the development of the poor Indian nation, without it death starvation and what was the only crime." The presence of the cheap English manufactures from that of Europe, the consumer was, for the most part, transferred to other occupations, principally agriculture. The Dacca market collapsed over the whole world for their luxury and because, we almost annihilated from the same cause."

The population of Dacca, the main centre of the fine Indian textile industry, decreased between 1815 and 1837 from 200,000 to 20,000.

It was due to this destruction of the village handicraft that the peasants were thrown back to exclusive dependence on agriculture and India became entirely an agricultural country supplying Britain with food and raw materials. This process means not only that Lancashire goods secured a dominant position in the Indian market but that Indian cotton and jute had to be exported to England instead of being made up at home.

(To be continued)

THE PROBLEM OF VILLAGE INDUSTRIES

(By Muzum Pradhan)

Superintendent, Government Electric Factory,

Mysore

[Akhilgarh]

If the term "Village Industry" were understood in a true way the problem would not appear as difficult as it does today.

The writer happens to be in charge of a fairly large factory where one department manufactures khadi articles and another from brass, copper, door bolts, terrazzo plates and similar hardware materials. The machinery used is on a small scale, very simple and can be easily understood and worked by villagers so that at first sight it may appear that these industries are suited for villages. But if we ponder over the question we shall see that such schemes, if imposed, his villages, will become factories and, therefore, detrimental to the interests of the village. The raw material used is foreign. It can be procured from the coast by a large concern at fairly cheap rates but the village who will have to deal with the merchant for his purchase will find that the cost of his finished product will be prohibitive. He will become an all factory worker - i. e., he will sell his labour to the management. He will have no vested interest in the supply of raw materials, equipment or tools, he will be at the mercy of the merchant and he will be dependent again on wholesale merchants for marketing facilities, for the disposal of the finished product. There attempts to transfer the hardware industry to the village failed because of the above mentioned factors and also because without the constant supply from the headquarters factory of tools, wires and stock of the same size, without bringing a skilled workman for doing the

necessary repairs it was impossible for the villager to carry on the work even for a day. It follows, therefore, that that only can be called a village industry which will fulfil the following conditions:

(a) The raw material must be available in the locality or purchasable nearby at competitive rates. A monopoly of supply should not be possible. All local-grown products, wood, grains, vegetables, etc., local mineral products and material easily available from nature such as iron, brass, copper, limestone, soil, soda and common chemicals can all be utilized for village industries. All uncommon materials requiring special import are beyond their scope. Besides it may be difficult to distinguish between the materials which are easily or not easily available and such will depend mainly on demand but with the development of the indigenous water usage of raw materials will become available in the future. It is also, however, that a true village industry should be based mainly on natural raw materials.

(b) The industry must depend both for its production and for its manufacturing and maintenance of tools on local skill and craftsmanship. If it depends for these on outside help it must be handicapped.

(c) The most natural market for a village industry must be the producer himself. Spinning and weaving cloth for one's family, potting rice and preparing gas for one's own needs, satisfying one's own requirements with one's own skill and application are the ideal forms of village industry. Next comes production for the requirements of the neighbouring village wherein contact between the consumer and producer is intimate and immediate and the exchange of services can be easily arranged on a barter basis, including all additional profit. Thirdly there can also be production for personal sale on local fairs and jetties. This will enable the village crafts to keep in touch with a wider range of customers and give him the chance of comparing his product with other craftsmen in the same line.

(d) Further the villager himself cannot go for marketing his products. The trading merchant will merely exploit the village artisan. State marketing organizations are generally bad schemes and depend ultimately on merchants too. Co-operative marketing organizations or associations of producers would be the ideal solution but these are still on their feet. Social welfare organizations like the A. I. S. A., are not ultimately owing to the participation of their hand. Each seem to be the only efficient way of teaching the marketing of village produce on a wider scale without having the artisan at the mercy of the middleman. But as such organizations cannot come into being to order the conduct industrial policy for the village will be to manufacture for one's needs of one's own using to market by the producer personally.

It does not follow from the above that we must turn our backs upon undoubted improvement in equipment, processes and product so that we would deliver the village craftsman from all the trials of human ingenuity and skill. But we must not permit business to penetrate into the village for they will ultimately take away from the villager full control over his life, work and livelihood.

Take spinning for example. We want improved varieties of cotton grown by the spinners themselves, we want better implements for ginning and carding in order to get finer fibres, we want wheels that will economically increase the present speed in order to enable the hand spinner to compete successfully with the mill power, we want looms that will give double or triple the number of picks per minute, we want improved bleaching, dyeing and printing methods and tools and, above all, we want the spinners' wages to go up to Rs 1 per day and the price of thread to go down to 40/- per yard. We must on no account give foreign cotton to our spinners, nor must we have complicated and expensive machinery for washing and ginning, the repairs of which would be beyond the scope of the village craftsman, nor must we tolerate the introduction of a spinning wheel, however efficient, which would be very costly and delicate and might create the temptation for the rich men of the village to establish a small factory in his village and employ the poor for his own gain. We must stand out against reducing or stabilizing the price of thread until the spinner's daily wage has reached a level where all Indians have enough to eat, clothing, shelter, education and health of himself and his family can be satisfied through his honest and skillful labour. And what applies to spinning applies to all village industries. Imported or transported raw materials, costly and delicate foreign or exotic implements must be avoided. But poor poor consumable improvement and Indian exploitation of local raw materials must be made an aim of village work. Tools better should be used for increasing their confidence in their own village and not for depicting the artisans of other villages of their work. We must see that production is limited to what one village can consume without affecting the work of other villages. Labour here must be used for social service to the village community.

However has industrialization on a mass scale proved a solution for the problem of humanity. It certainly will not be so for India. The only country where wholesale industrialization seems to have absorbed all available labour is Russia, but the danger of mass scale starvation inherent in all mass-scale schemes is always there. No human exploitation can allow the danger of mass-scale starvation to remain. Whoever is within human power should be done to make such an unceasing catastrophe.

A. I. C. C. RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were passed by the All India Congress Committee at its recent sitting at Delhi.

1. The C. P. Ministerial Crisis

The A. I. C. C. approves of the prompt and decisive action taken by the Working Committee in the handling of the Central Provincial Ministerial crisis and fully endorses the views expressed by the Working Committee regarding the conduct of Dr. Khare and that of H. E. the Governor of the C. P. in this unfortunate episode.

The A. I. C. C. is further clearly of opinion that the conduct of Dr. N. E. Khare since his resignation from the C. P. ministry deserves the severest condemnation and requests the Working Committee to take the necessary disciplinary action against Dr. Khare.

2. Federation

As Delhi has been expressed in certain quarters as to the attitude of the Congress to the question of Federation, the A. I. C. C. considers it necessary to reiterate the following resolution passed at the Haridwar session of the Congress.

The Congress has rejected the new Constitution and declared that a Constitution for India which can be accepted by the people must be based on independence and can only be framed by the people themselves by means of Constituent Assembly, without interference by any foreign authority. Adhering to this policy of rejection, the Congress has, however, permitted the formation in provinces of Congress Ministries with a view to strengthening the nation in its struggle for independence. In regard to the proposed Federation, no such considerations apply even provisionally or for a period, and the imposition of this Federation will do grave injury to India and threaten the bonds which hold her in subjection to Imperial domination.

The scheme of Federation excludes from the sphere of responsibility vital functions of Government.

The Congress is not opposed to the idea of Federation, but a real Federation must, even apart from the question of sovereignty, consist of free units enjoying more or less the same measure of freedom and civil liberty and representation by the democratic process of election. The Indian States participating in the Federation should approximate to the provinces in the establishment of representative institutions and responsible government, civil liberties and method of election to the Federal House. Otherwise, the Federation, as it is now contemplated, will, instead of building up Indian unity, encourage separatist tendencies and involve the States in internal and external conflicts.

The Congress, therefore, reiterates its condemnation of the proposed Federal scheme and calls

HARIJAN

Editor: M. K. MURPHY, DELHI.

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

Vol. VI, No. 34

POONA — SATURDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1938

[One Anna]

THE TRAVANCORE SITUATION

Gandhi issued the following statement to the press on the 3rd inst.

Correspondents have been writing and wiring to me about the events in Travancore. Shri Chakrapanji E. Parameswaran Pillai has been especially so, and has asked me to write the situation. He has asked to publish his version of my talk with him. While the situation remains obscure, every word has to be weighed before it is uttered. In this, was clear that such violence in the shape of non-cooperation had occurred. He, however, made it perfectly clear that the State Congress people had no part in it and that it was contrary to their wish. I have been dropping such violence and definitely saying that violence was instigated by open provocateurs. I am unable to decide between the two opposite versions. But I was very clear that Gandhiji demands extraordinary action, even to the extent of suspension of civil disobedience, if the rulers have not taken sufficient care to prevent violence.

What exactly should be done I cannot advise from this distance. The responsibility for right decision must be shouldered by local leaders in striving to their decision. They will remember that any the slightest deviation from truth and non-violence, whether in themselves or by contrivance in others, is bound to affect the movement adversely.

As to the charges against the Dewan, I telegraphed the Imperialist leaders who were responsible for making them. This is their reply.

Your kind telegram advising withdrawal of the State Congress memorandum. We received it. M. Varghese and others. The Working Committee have advised that the Dewan's memorandum is either detrimental to the people's interests. The withdrawal of the memorandum may completely discredit the State Congress and serve as inevitable setback to the movement. Pray for support and violence.

I appreciate the spirit behind the reply. The leaders would be worried in my opinion if, for the sake of purchasing their liberty, they withdrew the charges. But if the correction has gone home that a demand for responsible government such charges could have only a subordinate place, if any at all, and if they

are with me that persistence is their, especially without the ability to prove them, can but seriously harm the movement, it is their clear duty to withdraw the charges and thus free the movement of the taint of bluster and bludgeoning. There is no doubt greater than the refusal to acknowledge error.

I have been advising leaders by the subscription. It is hard to believe them. I hope they are honest, and if isolated cases have happened, I should hope that the Travancore Government will prevent any future occurrence.

I observe that the movement promises to be postponed, if only because of violence whether spontaneous though accompanied with the Congress, or engineered as alleged. I can only subscribe the hope that the Congress will resist and magnanimously allow the movement to run its course without the loss which I consider to be wholly unnecessary. A movement to feed widely mobs, which define coloured men and women as willing and enthusiastic sufferers, should be fostered. It can never be created.

Notes

A Word of Gratitude

I must express my heartfelt thanks for all the kind goodness made about me by friends. It is in essence like this that we realize that there is altogether much more kindness in the world than we deserve. That alone, if not also the fact that all humans are the sons of some form of physical or moral law, should make them a call for self-purification.

I am improving steadily, but I shall have to wait before I can resume anything like the physical endurance and capacity for sustained work for over 12 hours that I had before this breakdown. I am therefore lying low for the bulk of the time, though I agree with a psychologist that no mental or nervous breakdown can be traced to intellectual overwork. What is wrong with us is that there is no proper adjustment or, as Gandhi has put it, no detachment. If we could work without attachment, we could find all the men we need out of our work. There would be then no need for haste or hurry, irregularity, excited minds and no possibility of mistakes. One would go through

table tasks, great or small, in a spirit of duty, and at the end of the day's work would be able to say cheerfully, as someone else said "When I go to my room, darkness says 'sleep'. When I take off my clothes, the rays say 'sleep'. When I put my head on the pillow, the pillow says 'sleep.' Or, better still, he will fall off to sleep without having to change his clothes or washing his bed-room or pillow. But the supreme end is detachment. 'The world is too much with us,' sang Wordsworth, and Matthew Arnold, his disciple, taught the same lesson of detachment in a different language.

One lesson, Nakas, let us learn of this
Of that shrouded from temptation

But is not all this wisdom after the event? Perhaps not. It is never late to mend. At any rate one can afford to be wise until he dying day, for if he cannot mend himself, he will leave a lesson for others to mend before.

However that may be, doctors insist that I must be content to take pills or capsules for quite a few weeks. Hence there will be my last move for some time. Needless to say that to me this will mean a great wrench. I am likely to be out of Wardha, and correspondents will please address all letters meant for me as Editor or as an associate of Ghandi to Shri Pyarelal, Secy., via Wardha.

Telling Figures

I said last week that Shri Narandas Ghandi, representative of the Rajya National School celebrations had not yet been received. It has since been received. Shri Narandas Ghandi is a man of measured words and will not use a superfluous adjective or write a superfluous sentence. Shri Narandas Ghandi's words proved over the celebrations. This is what Shri Narandas writes:

"The Vaswanchi did 100,000 yards of work of an average of 15 minutes in 45 days, one and above the normal school work. This means an average of Rs 15, i. e., an average of one rupee per day by 15 boys (some quite healthy) and a teacher.

Shri Anandilal spent 100,000 yards of 75 cents equal to an average of Rs 15.00. This is a remarkable record. It means one hour' daily work. (Gandhi, Kumbha, Margda, Vaswanchi, besides doing their schoolwork and other work for 15 days spent 15,000 yards of from 15 to 75 cents.

Shri Jagdishlal, one of the teachers, did 150,000 yards.

In the Kumbhachari boys 84,000,000 yards on total, spending about one hour every day.

Generally of the hotel did the bulk of working and shoring-out.

The total rate spent on the occasion was 10 lakhs of yards, equal to 1,100 square yards of land, equal to a total wage of Rs 100 (Rs 500 spending and Rs 50 working).

During the same period there was spent for a wage produced yarn equal to 1,100 square yards of land."

How They Celebrated the Day

I met fifteen years ago a solitary man, almost unlettered and innocent of politics. He was nearing his last days and had not the strength to speak. He wrote his replies in broken language. He said "Gandhiji is in jail, but he will soon come out. Even when everything that he has done is forgotten, truth and prohibition will live and will never be forgotten." 1923 was not a particularly bright year in our annals, and truth and prohibition appeared to be little more than political events. But the words of that saint big fair to be truly prophetic. For this is what a worker among the Ahmedabad mill-labourers told me: "You ought to have seen the joy and rejoicing of the workers in Ahmedabad this year. Several came and told us that they reached this year as they never did before what said Ram or Krishna must have been Krishna Janmashtami must be no nothing more than an old and superstitious holiday when we stayed drunk and quarrelled at home. Thanks to Gandhiji, prohibition has come. He has made us celebrate this year Krishna Janmashtami in the proper fashion. There was real joy and peace and pride as there was no drinking. It is Gandhi who made it possible, and his birthday is then as dear to us and as great a day of rejoicing as Janmashtami or Krishna Janmashtami.

An Ideal Union

The Bombay Trade Disputes Bill was opposed by some labour leaders on many grounds, the principal one of which was that it was modelled on the constitution of the Ahmedabad Major Mahajan which in the opinion of the critics was no labour union but just a welfare association. Shri Khandishlal Desai did not find it difficult to dispose of this criticism, and he cited a few facts and figures in reply to the critics' misrepresentations which must have gone home. As against the opinion of Messrs Holmworth and Parry that the Mahajan was "a respectable association but a welfare association," he cited those of Messrs Harold Butler, Bradford, Tait, and, and Delgort, the Director of the Bombay Labour Office. Mr. Harold Butler particularly noted it out as distinct from other unions of workmen growth—"Such unions representing rapidly when a dispute arises but dwindling equally rapidly when it is over. An outstanding exception of a well-organized union is the Labour Trade Association of Ahmedabad which has about 30,000 members." The other observers have specially emphasized the religious character of the union, the spirit of just conciliation and arbitration, fostered by the influence of Gandhi. Here are the main objects of the Association beyond which it is not possible to go, except by those for whose way and every strike is prohibited and all peaceful methods are so conditions:

7. To secure the safety of government of the workers, to regulate the relations and work, so far as possible, settlement of disputes between the employers and the employees by mutual consultation and, on failure, by reference to arbitration so as to avoid stoppage of work.

8. To make all necessary arrangements for the efficient conduct and satisfactory and speedy conclusion of industrial action and to provide against lockouts by the employers.

9. To secure the enforcement of all legislative enactments for the protection of labour.

10. To promote the civil and political interests of the work-people.

11. And lastly, in due season, to secure enhancement of the textile industry."

This is how these objects were implemented during the 15 years of the Major Mahseer's existence.

"During the last 15 years our Association has dealt with 35,000 grievances of major and minor importance most of which were successfully referred to the satisfaction of the workers. In the nature of these grievances concern had of course to be taken to negotiations, consultation, and also to arbitration and sometimes to strikes. Whenever we wanted to have a strike, the two months' period in these months' period did not come in our way. I may just state for the satisfaction of my Don'tile friends that we have conducted during the last 15 years 118 strikes out of which 124 strikes ended successfully in favour of the employees and 15 strikes were compromised. There has not been a single instance of failure. These strikes were successful because they were resorted to for the hardly felt grievances of workers for which they were prepared to fight and sacrifice. If by negotiation, consultation or arbitration they could not be solved and when arbitration was refused, they were prepared to strike work. This is a remarkable record of which any union may be proud."

Much was made by the critics of the fact that the Mahseer owed everything to Gandhiji's personal influence, and that the moment it was removed it was sure to come to grief. But Chaudhulal Desai emphatically repudiated the charge and said that Gandhiji's principles were greater than Gandhiji, and it was because truth and non-violence were well large on the banner of the union that it had succeeded, and the moment it gave them up it would go to pieces. The union of Mahseer is now a power in the city, it has contributed to the moral and even the political uplift of Gujarat, it has caused an Indian Strike, and it is due to its moral influence that recommendations cannot only for British India have been accepted by mills in the Indian States also. The wages in Ahmedabad in 1932 when the Mahseer was organized were 25 per cent lower than those in Bombay.

Let the critics hear in mind these facts, study the work built up by the willing labours of a few devoted workers, and rather than engage

in destructive criticism help in organizing labour on the very model of Ahmedabad.

The Hindustani Revolution

Readers will be found the Working Committee's resolution on Hindustani as the language of our national proceedings. A wing has collected specimens of Hindustani that is 'saur-jani' in Association in Congress Programme to prove that the present movement can serve neither Nationalism nor Hindism nor Islam. Here are some of the specimens.

1. (a) बल्लभ शर्मा [बल्लभ शर्मा]

(b) बल्लभ शर्मा [बल्लभ शर्मा] बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा

बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा

बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा (बल्लभ शर्मा) बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा

बल्लभ शर्मा (बल्लभ शर्मा) बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा

III (a) "बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा"

बल्लभ शर्मा, बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा

(b) An Don'tile member :

बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा (बल्लभ शर्मा) बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा बल्लभ शर्मा

The critic forgets that there are specimens that he has given after a few months' experience in the Association. He must be patient and wait for a couple of years before he proceeds to make fun of the language as it is evolving. He must also collect specimens from non-English speaking speakers in our legislatures, especially the Assembly in Bombay and he must also attend and study speeches of, say, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Shri Shastriji Desai and others who do not hail from South India. But who have made a point of speaking in Hindustani I have not been to any of the meetings of the A. I. C. C. in Delhi, but impartial Hindians — non-Hindustani-speaking and Hindustani-speaking both — have told me that they were the finest specimens of the language of the people.

HARRIAN

Vol. 8

1938

LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE

(By M. E. Smith)

One must feel happy that the danger of war has been averted for the time being. Is the price paid liberty to be too great? Is it likely that horror has been averted? Is it a triumph of organized violence? Has Herr Hitler discovered a new technique of organizing violence which enables him to gain his end without shedding blood? I do not profess to know European politics. But it does appear to me that small nation-states cannot exist in Europe with their heads erect. They must be absorbed by their larger neighbors. They must become vassals.

Europe has sold her soul, for the sake of a seven days' earthly existence. The peace Europe enjoyed at Munich is a triumph of violence, it is also its defeat. If England and France were sure of victory, they would certainly have fulfilled their duty of saving Czechoslovakia or of dying with it. But they quailed before the combined violence of Germany and Italy. But what have Germany and Italy gained? Have they added anything to the moral wealth of mankind?

In pointing these things my concern is not with the great powers. Their height does not. Czechoslovakia has a lesson for us and us for India. The Czechs could not have done anything else when they found themselves assailed by their two powerful allies. And yet I have the hubbub to say that if they had known the use of non-violence as a weapon for the defense of national honor, they would have faced the whole might of Germany with that of Italy thrown in. They would have spared England and France the humiliation of suing for a peace which was no peace, and to save their honor they would have died to a man without shedding the blood of the enemy. I want others to think that such heroism, or still it may be, is beyond human nature. Human nature will only find itself when it fully realizes that to be human it has to cease to be cowardly or brutal. Though we have the human form, without the attainment of the virtue of non-violence we still share the qualities of our remote remote ancestor the orang-outang.

There are not life words I am writing. Let the Czechs know that the Working Committee wrong itself with pain while their doom was being decided. The pain was pain which is a way that up that moment it was the more real. For though momentarily we are a big nation, in terms of Europe, I am, in terms of organized scientific violence, we are

smaller than Czechoslovakia. Our liberty is not merely threatened, we are fighting to regain it. The Czechs are fully armed, we are wholly unarmed. And so the Committee set to deliberate what its duty was by the Czechs, what part the Congress was to play if the war should break on us. Were we to bargain with England for our liberty and appear to betray Czechoslovakia, or were we to line up to the credit of non-violence and say in the hour of trial for afflicted humanity that consistently with our creed, we could not associate ourselves with war even though it might ultimately be for the defense of Czechoslovakia whose very existence was threatened for no fault of hers, or for the only fault that she was too small to defend herself single-handed? The Working Committee had almost come to the conclusion that it would deny itself the opportunity of striking a bargain with England but would make its contribution to the world peace, to the defense of Czechoslovakia and to India's freedom by declaring to the world by its action that the way to peace with honor did not lie through the mutual slaughter of the innocents, but that it lay only and truly through the practice of repeated non-violence even unto death.

And this was but the logical and natural step the Working Committee could have taken, if it was to prove true to its creed. If India could gain her freedom through non-violence, so Congressmen are to believe they can, she could also defend her freedom by the same means, and hence a future could a smaller nation like Czechoslovakia.

I do not know what actually the Working Committee would have done if the war had come. But the war is only postponed. During the breaching that I present the way of non-violence for acceptance by the Czechs. They do not yet know what it is able for them. They can see nothing by trying the way of non-violence. The fate of Republican Spain is hanging in the balance. So is that of China. If it is the end they all lose, they will do so not because their cause is not just, but because they are less skilled in the science of destruction or because they are under-manned. What would Republican Spain gain if it had Russia's resources, or China. If she had Japan's skill in war, or the Czechs if they had the skill of Herr Hitler? I suggest that if it is better, as it is, to do so to a man fighting against odds. It is never still to refuse to fight and yet to refuse to yield to the stronger. If death is a certainty in either case or it not better to die with the least harm to the enemy without making oneself him within?

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WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

The Working Committee passed the following three more resolutions last week at Delhi:

1. With reference to the non-official resolution regarding Hindiastani, moved by Dr. Ashraf at the recent meeting of the All India Congress Committee, the Working Committee regrets that it fell through owing to the confusion of issues raised by a variety of amendments. But the substance of the resolution does not in any way affect the position of the Congress as defined in the following Article of the constitution:

"Article XIX (A): The proceedings of the Congress, the All India Congress Committee and the Working Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in Hindiastani. The English language or any provincial language may be used if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindiastani or whenever permitted by the president. (B) The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committee shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the province concerned. Hindiastani may also be used."

Hindiastani, according to the practice of the Congress, is the language of the people of the north and is written either in Devanagari or Urdu script.

Indeed, it has been the policy of the Congress more and more to insist on the use of Hindiastani at all the meetings and in the proceedings of congress committees. The Working Committee hopes that by the end of the year Congressmen will prepare themselves to speak and write in the national language, so that it may become unnecessary themselves to make use of English at Congress meetings or in the affairs of the congress committees so far as interprovincial communications are concerned, provided that the chairman may, whenever necessary, permit the use of English.

2. In view of the fact that doubt has been raised regarding the functions of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, the Working Committee desires to make it clear that, in accordance with the resolution appointing it, the Parliamentary Sub-Committee is required to be in close and constant touch with the working of the Congress parties in all the legislatures in the provinces, to advise them in all their activities and to take necessary action in any case of emergency. The Parliamentary Sub-Committee is entitled to do so on its own and not only on reference being made to it by parliamentary parties or Provincial Congress Committees. This Committee regrets that the Agarwal Sub-Committee of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee should have questioned the authority of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and passed a resolution to that effect. The United Provinces resolution is particularly objectionable as there is absolutely no justification for the criticisms on which it is based.

3. In pursuance of the resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. to take disciplinary action against Dr. Khare, the Working Committee, before taking any action, gave him an opportunity to explain his conduct, but he declined to avail himself of it. The Working Committee disqualifies Dr. Khare from being a Congress member for the next two years from today, that is, till October 1, 1950. This necessarily involves his immediate suspension from all Congress organizations and also from the United Provinces Legislative Assembly. Accordingly, the Working Committee calls upon Dr. Khare to resign from the United Provinces Legislative Assembly.

ECONOMIC CONQUEST OF INDIA

(By G. Z. Kalia)

II

It is not widely known how political power was utilized in order to stifle Indian shipping and ship-building industries. Winston Taylor in his *History of India* says:

"The arrival in the port of London of Indian-owned and Indian-built ships, created a sensation among the newspapers which could not be accounted for a battle that had appeared in the *Times*. Ship-builders of the Port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm. They declared that their business was in danger and that the builders of all the ship-weights in England were anxious to be retained in service."

Briefly the following is an extract from the Report of the Directors of the East India Company dated 17th January 1881, in which they opposed the employment of Indian-built ships in the trade between England and India, and thus is one of the many arguments used:

"No British heart would wish that any of the brave men who have worked so much of this country should be without trade whilst vessels of the East brought the ships belonging to our own subjects into our own ports and anchored, therefore, in a local word, commercial and political ruin, the approach consequences of smothering these Indian sailors largely into our subjects from a strong additional system to the maintenance of the proposed privilege to say ships manned by them."

It is not necessary to add further examples of the measures in which, in the words of a British historian, "the arm of political, legislative" was used to keep down and strangle the nascent handicrafts and industries of the country.

But however determined the British people might have been to keep India as an agricultural colony and a market for their industrial products, the building of railways defused this aim. Railway construction developed not only coal and iron industries but also cotton and jute industries. It is interesting to recall that already in 1823 Karl Marx had predicted this outcome.

"The railway system will," he said, "become in India truly the backbone of modern industry." But this led to another phase of the economic invasion of India which made its retention all the more necessary for British imperialism. For, besides being a huge market for articles of consumption, India also became a field for the export of capital. Hundreds of millions of pounds were poured into railways, mines, plantations, factories, plants and other works, apart from their being used for operations in banking, insurance, shipping, etc., while huge amounts were drawn out every year as interest upon loans. "No wonder that, as a British historian remarks, 'India became the center and impetus of the whole economic and financial fabric of the Empire.'"

One of the bones of this economic invasion is the flow of foreign capital into India. It is not contended that British capital should be ruled out *per se*, but the uncontrolled flow of foreign capital under our existing political circumstances is bound to have undesirable repercussions and consequences. It has affected and will affect incalculable Indian enterprises and will tend to create untoldable vested interests even our most underdeveloped economy. It is not easy to calculate precisely the amount of foreign capital employed in India and analyze its working in all its ramifications. Investments of British capital in India, it can be demonstrably proved, have resulted in a demand for British goods and have benefited British manufacturers and British export trade. It is not difficult to establish a close parallelism between the growth of British investments abroad and the growth of British industry, trade and prosperity. Moreover the use of foreign capital to exploit the natural resources of the country, which were exhausted almost to depletion, is detrimental to national economic interests. As the Congress Working Committee observed in their resolution in April last, it is preferable "to defer the further development of Indian industries if it can only result in the dumping of foreign industrial concerns who would exploit the natural resources of India." For the conservation of natural resources is far more important than a rapid development of mines and industries, if they are controlled and managed by non-Indians. Mr. Thomas Haldane, President of the Indian Industries Committee, once deplored the use of foreign capital in the petroleum industry of Burma, and stated that the flow of profits was "an unnecessary and undesirable tax" which India must continue to pay until she could shed her own capital. The *FRONTIER*, the well-known British daily of Calcutta, observed as far back as 1904 that

later have been exploited with Indian capital may consequently be apt to deprive the people of the country for all time, of a corresponding opportunity of profit."

The observation deserves the nearest consideration, even after thirty-five years, not only of the Government, Central and Provincial, but also of industrialists and businessmen of this country. No impartial person can deny that British capital has been unscrupulously and deliberately encouraged in this country in the past for reasons of policy. The early history of British capital which came for the construction of railways in India is evidence of this fact. For, it was imported under a guarantee of interest from Government and consequently involved no risk while the Indian taxpayer has had to pay for the loans. On the other hand, India does possess a vast amount of dormant capital which has been and can be increasingly utilized to meet her industrial requirements. In any event, the penetration of foreign capital without restriction and conditions cannot but tend to impair the economic independence and hamper the economic freedom of the country, as Mr. Parthasarathy Thakurachari observed during his speech at the Second Round Table Conference on the subject of commercial discrimination. "If India requires capital for any part of the country she can get it, but India wants capital on such terms as would mean no political changes. In other words, India does not want any capital which will need the safeguards which come as soon heading as large before this Committee." The reason for this view is not far to seek. Foreign capital in a country which is politically dependent and is in an early stage of industrialization is a very different proposition from that in a country which is politically sovereign and industrially developed. Even in countries like China, Turkey, Iran and Egypt, foreign capital has been a potent instrument of political power which has created exploitation and extra-territorial rights for foreigners. In India, foreign capital has been a sort of economic parasite which has enabled the Britishers to enjoy an amount of political influence and importance out of all proportion to their numbers or their real status. In a famous speech President Wilson observed that "a country is dominated by the capital invested in it. It is a fundamental idea that in proportion as foreign capital comes in and takes hold, foreign influence comes in and takes hold. Therefore, promises of capital are in a sense promises of conquest." It is against this subtle and oblique conquest over the economic life and destiny of India that the Congress has rightly registered a moral protest.

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"The significance of the mineral resources of the country by the foreign companies stands on a different footing. For, in this case, the wealth extracted is not expended and, on the one hand, the considerable assumption that it would come as

"I WILL KEEP MY FAITH"

Grandly issued the following statement to the press on the 4th inst.:

I should have given my opinion on the Bengal Government's message on the question of the release of the political convicts earlier. But pressure of work made it physically impossible for me to do so. Though the Bengal Government have not won their way to accede to my proposal contained in my letter of 15th April last, I gratefully recognize that from their own standpoint they have endeavored to make an approach in the letter of 15th April.

But having paid this tribute to the Bengal Government I must say that their rejection of my proposal is a severe disappointment to me. For I claim that my proposal was made after considering and weighing the Bengal Government's difficulties. The decision seems to me to be due to their failure to consider these factors.

However reprehensible the wrong committed by the prisoners were, there can be no doubt that the release was not a matter of personal or selfish motive, the motive behind them was purely political.

Whatever the limitations of the Government of India Act, it has transferred power to a parliament responsible to the people and elected under a fairly wide franchise. Against therefore, from the declaration of non-violence made by the prisoners, the transfer of power to a popularly elected legislature takes the ground from under the feet of the advocates of terrorism.

Inasmuch as the Congress has chosen to enter the legislature and even to accept constitutional responsibility, Congressmen are bound to exercise the possibilities of the machinery to respond to the popular will in the particular instance, as we have seen, in what may be described as Congress provinces, the Provincial Governments have been able to control political process. What has been possible in these provinces is possible in Bengal, if the popular will is sufficiently expressed.

The third factor is the Bengal Government's reliance on the existence of the law with known parties concerned with terrorist methods. The objective seems to suggest that these parties function for their original purpose. I know, and I had given the Karmag Chakri the required assurance, that the organizations no longer functioned in the old way. Groups belonging to groups do not change names of their groups or bypaths because the methods which the latter originally stood for have become obsolete. I would, however, advise amalgamation and the use of another name for the combination, if they must preserve their separate status.

Not only have the Bengal Government failed to take any adequate notice of these three factors, they have failed to give due weight to the positive assurance of non-violence given by

the prisoners, which those who have been discharged seem to have regarded not indifferently.

I therefore renew my appeal to the Bengal Government to respond to my proposal of 15th April, and release all the prisoners by 15th April, 1934. I do not mind what procedure they wish to adopt. They can have the committee represented by them and through it regulate the dates of discharge of the prisoners. One thing, so far as I am concerned, is absolutely common sense if there is to be a complete clearance, viz. that the atmosphere of non-violence is retained and that those who are discharged carry out the self-imposed obligation about non-violence.

I would appeal to the press and the public to justify themselves in the criticism of the action of the Bengal Government in the matter and not volunteer them by later criticism.

It must be said to the credit of the Bengal Government that they have certainly not treated it as a party question. Though the release is an integral part of the Congress programme only, it has more or less become an impartial question, and I have no doubt that the quickest method of securing early release is never to allow this question to become a party question.

I would appeal to the prisoners not to be disturbed by the Bengal Government's commissioner. Having been myself a prisoner even half a dozen times under varying circumstances, I know how apart from the hardships of jail life, the uncertainty of how fate governs into a prisoner's whole being especially when he is striving to go out and serve. But I would not then to treat 15th April or thereabouts as still the last date of their discharge. It is contrary to my nature to expect "thereabouts" in being something, but the prisoners friends should stand as me the necessary due to old age and the physical limitations. I can give this assurance that "thereabouts" does not mean years. I can only refer to months. They will please remember that they will hamper the effort of those who are trying to secure their release by resort to language which I have given them myself as a lesson. So long as there is life in me, I hope by God's grace to stand by my promise not to relax the effort to secure their discharge. There is no rest for me till every one of the prisoners is discharged. They nobly responded to my call for an assurance of non-violence. I will keep my faith.

None of my correspondents seem to think that I can work wonders. Let me say as a devotee of truth that I have no such gift. All the power I may have comes from God. But He does not work directly. He works through his medium agents. In this case it is the Congress. All the prestige that I have is derived from that of the Congress. The latter derives it from its word. If Congressmen keep the word of truth and non-violence, the Congress gains prestige. I assure them that my virtue, real or as

called, will not count for anything. If I did not represent the Congress stand.

Friends of prisoners outside Bengal and elsewhere the prisoners themselves write to me complaining that I confine my attention only to the Bengal prisoners. In a way this is true. I am bound to them by a written contract. But in another way it is not true. I do interest myself in their discharge also. But the full success depends largely upon what happens in Bengal. Let them, however, know that my efforts for their release continue, even apart from the Bengal prisoners.

PIERRE CURESOLE

(By C. P. Andrews)

I have just received a printed communication from Pierre Curesole with regard to the work which he is carrying on in Europe. Those who met him while he was working in India for the anti-fascist-struggle area will need no assurance that everything that he is now doing is of the same personal character. What he aims always to accomplish is not merely to refuse to take part in war, but make war impossible for active and conscious effort to disarm hostility. The following words from this communication make no doubt we him present also most in our midst.

"It is a terrible very good," he says, "to have exactly what we do it our's here. It is intended by us, always, keeping that everything works in place but have us to wait until the money is there for us to look before we make a move. It's a puzzle for us when and when we are not ready, to do something before things reach that stage."

The International Service offers a method of defending one's country. It is not a means of buying one's land at the end of a hand-picked soldier; but rather the will to go out and fight and stand in line, to prevent the enemy from approaching the country, even to attack the enemy. For you cannot buy your land, as you can with him for even a "right house" a day and live with him, day in and day out, for a month, two months or three months—and at the end of that time when you have shared your land with him, and copied those private moments of relaxation on his company, a landowner either will return that. That is a real defense for your country, but it takes time and depends not on movements but on individual action and personal effort.

The more than two years ago, the war has been raging in Spain, and day by day the number of refugees has been increasing, the need for food, clothing and soap has become ever more urgent, and now thousands of refugees are living in the most terrible conditions of want and starvation. We do believe that the representatives of the International Committee for the Disarmament of Child Soldiers in Spain recognize that efficient children are equally at need. The International Committee, of which the representatives are Norman Ryan in our International Secretary, Beulah Ogden, is working about 10,000 children.

The International Service is now helping with the money of the deposit in return a small number

of these starving children. But everybody can go to Spain and see everything can contribute large sums of money, but we have tried to give all those who wanted to help, an opportunity in the Milk Tea Scheme.

Spain has been placed in greatest danger in England by our soldiers, with a planned striking intention to buy a lot of milk and put it in the box. In this way nearly 10,000 tons of milk have been collected. These milk cans—worth their weight in gold in Spain—were gathered together in a motor, such as London's Manchester, collected by a man given by an anonymous donor, packed in boxes loaded with our eggs, and were then taken to the British Youth Foundation Committee's depot in London, and from there to Barcelona.

Once in Barcelona, they are withdrawn from the direction by Eleanor Latham, one representative, who has moved many times already in Barcelona, and they are taken by train and distributed to the big centers, under the direction of the British Committee as they are sent for distribution in Valencia by Beulah Ogden and her friends. It doesn't require much imagination to realize what these means mean to children who are starving, and it doesn't require a great deal of courage to realize, if you like to go to a great and ask him to place a box at the foot of his ship with our poster on it. But we are not going to make milk to us night. There are 1,000 members. If everyone was active in this way we should be making a considerable quantity of milk to Barcelona every month. We've got the opportunity. Can we rise to it? Surely we can. It is a job that makes, the other, complex that there are not enough places for them to serve, and is especially well. We are not asking for money, but for your active contribution in saving children from death by starvation, or malnutrition."

I am afraid that it will be hardly possible for Pierre Curesole, whom many of us know as well, to come back to India in order to take up any further work in this country, but I know how much we should wish to send him our affectionate wishes and prayers for the splendid and successful work that he is now carrying on in Europe, where the work is so big and the workers are so few.

Madame Goodie's Memo

(By C. P. Andrews)

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A WORD OF DISARMAMENT	— M. E. Goodie	200
THE DISARMAMENT	— M. E. Goodie	200
THE DISARMAMENT OF CHILD SOLDIERS	— M. E. Goodie	200
THE DISARMAMENT OF CHILD SOLDIERS	— M. E. Goodie	200
THE DISARMAMENT OF CHILD SOLDIERS	— M. E. Goodie	200

HARIJAN

Editor: MARGARET BOWEN

Dated the Day after the Indian Week Long

VOL. VI, No. 36

POONA — SATURDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1935

[ONE ANNA]

THAT UNFORTUNATE WALK OUT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The walk out at the last A. I. C. C. meeting of the opponents of the Civil Disobedience Resolution was an unfortunate and hasty act. What was their protest against? I understood the President went out of his way to let them make as many and as long speeches as they liked. Therefore the protest was against the majority refusing to accept amendments which cut at the root of the resolution which was regarded as vital to the existence of the Congress in its present form.

The walk out has served one good purpose. It has brought out in clear light the fact that the Congress is not under the homogeneous body it used to be. It has members and parties who have no faith in the need or the constructive programme, especially khadi and prohibition.

In those circumstances the Congress must cease to be a compact fighting organisation engaged in a life and death struggle against the most experienced and organised opposition in the world. It has been since 1918 like an army in action having one will, one policy, one aim and one discipline. All this must go if the protesters can have their own way. In the first place there can be no understanding or protest against accepted policies. But even if such is permissible, there should be perfect and willing obedience after the rejection of amendments and protests. Opposition to the Congress is not to be compared to the opposition, say, in the Central Assembly. There the opposition has faith in common with the Government. In the Congress there are only two those who willingly and wholeheartedly subscribe to its creed. Those who do not want independence cannot become its members nor can those who do not believe in truth and non-violence, khadi or economic unity or total prohibition of immorality among Hindus or total prohibition of drink and intoxicating drugs.

It is up to those who do not believe in the fundamental policy of the Congress seriously to consider whether they would not serve the Congress and the country better by remaining outside the Congress and converting the people to their view of conducting the campaign rather than by remaining within and obstructing those who do not see eye to eye with them and yet are

in the unfortunate position of having the majority on their side. It is equally the duty of the majority to consider how best to deal with those who will resort to obstructive tactics. My opinion based on experience is that if, after a lengthy discussion with the objectors (if the use of that word is permissible to describe them) it is found that they believe it to be their duty to continue obstruction, it would conduce to the good of the country to hand over the reins to the minority and themselves follow the existing Congress programme without using the Congress name. All this can proceed beyond expectations, if it is done without bluff, without malice, without bitterness, and merely to meet a situation that is becoming impossible.

If choice is to be prevented, proper measures must be taken in time.

Poona

5-12-35

FILTH IN LITERATURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Travancore headmaster of a high school writes

"You know the political atmosphere of Travancore is very unhappy just at present. Even high school pupils are going on strikes and picketing schools. There is a feeling among people that you are in favour of 'students' strikes' and even 'pupil' strikes'. I would like to get a communication addressed to people to guard about your opinion on the matter. It will clarify the doubts."

I think I have written often enough against strikes by students and pupils except on the rarest of occasions. I hold it to be quite wrong on the part of students and pupils to take part in political demonstrations and party politics. Such forward learners with serious study and noble students for solid work as future citizens. There is one thing, however, for which it is the duty of students and pupils to strike. I have received a letter from the Hon. Secretary, Teachers' Welfare Association, Lohara, giving explicit specimens of obscene and filthy passages from the text-books prescribed by various universities. They make disgusting reading. Though they are from prescribed text-books, I would not sell these volumes with a reputation-

tion of the attitude. I have never come across such EBS in all the libraries that I have read. The attitude are impartially given both from Gandhi, Fordan and Hindi poets. My attention was first drawn to such writings by the girls of Mahila Ashram, Wardha, and recently by my daughter-in-law who is studying in the Kanya Gurukul at Dehradun. Though she is not EBS, she had never come across such decency as she found in some of her textbooks. She appealed to me for assistance. I have been reading the Hindi Sahitya Samaj's collection. But my satisfaction was short. Manipal's grew up. Self-interest of authors and publishers prevents reform. The abuse of literature claims special license. My daughter-in-law suggested, and I at once fell in with her suggestion, that she would risk failure at her examination and work to learn the essence of such passages. This is a valid strike on her part, but a quite good and wholly sufficient one for herself. But this is an occasion which not only justifies a strike on the part of students and people, it is in my opinion their duty to rise in revolt against such literature being forced on them.

It is one thing to defend the liberty to read what one likes. But it is a wholly different thing to force on young minds acquaintance with literature that causes but excites their natural passions and an unhealthy curiosity about things which, in due course and to the extent necessary, they are bound to learn. The evil becomes accentuated when it comes in the guise of innocent literature bearing the super-imposed of great universities.

An orderly strike on the part of students is the quickest way of bringing about the much-needed reform. Such a strike would not be ludicrous. It would simply consist in the students withdrawing hitherof examinations which require a study of objectionable literature. It is the duty of every parent/teacher to rebel against decency.

The Association asks me to appeal to the Congress Members to take such steps as may be possible to remove textbooks or passages which are objectionable. I gladly make the appeal hereby not only to them but the Education Members in all the provinces. Surely all are equally interested in the healthy growth of the student mind.

Peshawar
7-10-38

To All Well-wishers

Gandhiji sends the following message in reply to birthday greetings:

"Birthdays greetings and blessings have been received from numerous friends in many parts of the world. I beg to thank all the students for their good wishes."

A REMARKABLE TESTIMONY

(By Gandhi)

An American friend has sent Gandhiji a cutting of a remarkable paper by Arthur H. Morgan, head of the Tennessee Valley Authority that was set up by President Roosevelt under the New Recovery Act to plan and work out an all-around programme of recovery for the Tennessee Valley region where depression had become chronic. In this paper Mr Morgan gives the most penetrating and convincing exposition that I have ever come across, of the case for 1940 industries as against uncontrolled production on a mass scale. That is all the more remarkable, coming as it does from a representative of a country that has gone further in the direction of mass production by the use of mechanical power than any other part of the world. The attitude of high-brow intellectuals and economists in this country with regard to small-scale and cottage industries is one of great suspicion or patronising tolerance. According to them, they are, at best, a primitive survival that is bound to disappear before the onset of industrialism. For different, however, is Mr Morgan's testimony. Not only is Mr Morgan a brilliant thinker and a bold innovator in the field of education but is also a vivid exponent of "countrywide experience".

"I do not think," he observes in his paper, "that the day of little industries is necessarily past. It is possible that industries may get overgrown, and it may be possible that there is room for a large variety of small industries. When one wants character and individuality, mass production fails, for individuality and character in product demand workers who can do work with character and individuality." Called upon as Chairman of the T. V. A. to decide whether the unemployment question in the Tennessee Valley region should be tackled by duplicating there the industrial set-up that had already broken down in Detroit and Pittsburgh and the other American cities, or whether it should be met by expanding production, self-supporting activity among the two million unemployed in that region, he unhesitatingly decided that it would be much better to make Tennessee Valley "the France of production" than "the Ruhr of America", and that while there would be and ought to be some large industry, the Tennessee River region should not be forced into it "because it is the future".

"When a competent engineer designs a bridge," he observes in another place, "he plans it in accordance with the strength of the material actually available. A properly proportioned industrial regime will take a great variety of conditions into account, deciding each case by the reality of the situation without reliance on the rule or degree. The rough rule is that wherever agriculture is not a mass process, it

should be primarily a source of subsistence. Industry should furnish a market for local agricultural products, should largely supply local needs and should add such luxuries."

Let us now think that small-size cottage enterprises are by their very nature ephemeral and stop-gap in their character. Mr. Morgan supports his argument by an apt illustration from nature: "In a primeval forest of the Tennessee mountains there are countless old mansards towering overhead—hickories, oaks, walnuts, poplars, spruces and hemlocks—underneath them, reaching and living on the light which filters down above, or filling in dense—mosses or rocky ledges are smaller trees, huckleberries, penstemons, orchids, and red cedars. These are not necessarily short-lived. We recently saw across a red cedar four hundred years old." "Underneath the second growth are still smaller trees—dogwood, red lead, wild plum and hawthorn. Still closer to the ground are whitebark, alder and rhododendrons. Occupying a still less conspicuous place or clinging to the rocks are the small bushes—blackberry, gooseberry, wild rose and many others. Growing into the woods, in the spring before the trees are in leaf, we find still another store on a still lower level, the early spring flowers—trillium, hepatica, violet, spring beauty, and a host of others, hurrying through their annual existence of flower and seed before the shrubs and trees overhead come into leaf and steal the sunlight." Even with these, small size does not necessarily mean short life. "The Trillium and yucca in the pulpit regenerate themselves, and may actually be older than the monarch of the forest towering overhead." Still lower are the mosses and lichens close to the ground or on the rocks. Even here there is no measure of the length of life. "The lichen on the rock still may be more ancient than the great trees above, and it is said that they often are more than a century old."

"This varied economy of nature," concludes Mr. Morgan, "is an excellent example for industry." In a perfectly balanced industrial economy, there will be place for industries of many types and sizes. "Small scale should be made to great plants. Railroads should be in great systems. A single telephone system and a single mail system for the nation seem good. Other industries may well be regional. Creameries and canneries are usually local by necessity and huckleberries and ice plants still more so."

Some critics may, however, object that the adoption of small scale and cottage industries would involve economic waste, that it would be "wasteful of great possibilities." To these critics one can only say that it is a dangerous fallacy to confuse the means with the ends and to set the means above the latter. Production is essentially for use, and its end should be to sustain life in all its fullness and health. Economic surplus does not necessarily result in a prosperous and happy people. "During the

time of Pharaoh," to quote Mr. Morgan again, "there was great surplus of food and men. It was used to build the greatest piles of stone on earth, the Pyramids, to create heartless oppression. Throughout the centuries that story has been repeated again and again. In America today we do not build Pyramids. We go on for competitive social expenditures. Our big houses are too large, and our little houses are too small."

There are indeed men of wanting and true from a Western witness who has gone through the full gamut and therefore has a thorough and first-hand knowledge of the 'other side of the picture.' Let us hope that significance will not be lost upon this country.

Pedestal

7-13-38

UNCERTIFIED KHADE

(By M. E. Gault)

Reports have come to me showing that even responsible Congressmen use khadi that is sold in uncertified branches. No khadi is guaranteed pure that is sold in uncertified stores of which unfortunately there is quite a number which has increased since the phenomenal rise given by the A. I. S. A. to the wages of spinners.

It is not often that workers get better wages without asking. And when that happens unscrupulous prices enough will be found who will exploit the poverty or ignorance of the workers, pay them the old low wages, and sell their manufactures at prices lower than those charged under the raised rate of wages. Thus more cloth is sold under the name of khadi which has its very make of mill-spun yarn. Pure khadi is that khadi which is handwoven out of handspun yarn and for which wages have been paid according to the A. I. S. A. scale. Such khadi can be had only at certified stores.

Unfortunately Congressmen, out of ignorance, or because they do not believe in khadi, buy cheap cloth for underclothes at the uncertified stores and thus thwart the Congress policy about khadi and, to the regret of their purchases, denied the spinners of the rise in the wages. Let the public realize that every rise in the price of khadi means at least that much more paid to the spinners. I use 'at least' advisedly. For the whole of the rise in wages is not charged to the buyers.

Those Congress leaders who upon khadi stores without reference to the A. I. S. A. or without being asked by it, evidently learn their own limitations, encourage fraud and violate the Congress policy, whereas it should be the duty and pride of every Congressman to help in every way the effort of the A. I. S. A. to better the lot of the most helpless of humanity.

Pedestal

7-20-38

H A R I J A N

Vol. 15

1936

IF I WERE A CZECH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If I have called the arrangement with Herr Hitler 'peace without honour', it was not to cast any reflection on British or French statesmen. I have no doubt that Mr Chamberlain could not think of anything better. He knew his nation's limitations. He wanted to avoid war, if it could be avoided at all. Short of going to war, he pulled his full weight in favour of the Czechs. That it could not save him was no fault of his. It would be as sorry that there is a struggle with Herr Hitler or Signor Mussolini.

It seemed to otherwise Democracy decide to split itself. The philosophy for which the two dictators stand calls it according to which there are no winners. They exhaust the resources of people not in order to glorify expanded empire. There is no hunting about their word or deed. They are ever ready for war. There is nobody in Germany or Italy to cross their path. Their word is law.

It is different with Mr. Chamberlain or M. Daladier. They have their Parliaments and Chambers to please. They have parties to confer with. They cannot make themselves on a perpetual war footing if their language is to have a democratic content about it.

Adverses of war leads one to dictatorship pure and simple. Success of non-violence can alone lead one to pure democracy. England, France and America have to make their choice. That is the challenge of the two dictators.

Russia is out of the picture just now. She has a dictator who dreams of peace and thinks he will make it through a war of blood. He can say what Russia's dictatorship will mean to the world.

It was necessary to give this introduction to what I want to say to the Czechs and through them to all those nationalities which are called 'small' or 'weak'. I want to speak to the Czechs because their plight moved me to the point of physical and mental distress and I felt that it would be cowardice on my part not to share with them the thoughts that were swelling up within me. It is clear that the small nations must either come to be ready to come under the protection of the dictators or to a conflict between the peace of Europe. In spite of all the goodwill to the world England and France cannot save them. Their intervention can only mean bloodshed and destruction such as has never been seen before. If I were a Czech, therefore, I would face them two nations—from

the dictators to defend my country. And yet I must live. I would not be a vessel to any nation or body. I must have absolute independence or perish. To seek to win in a clash of arms would be pure insanity. Not so. If in delaying the night of war who would deprive me of my independence I refuse to obey his will and perish earned is the attempt. In so doing, though I lose the body, I save my soul, I save my honour.

This inglorious peace should be my opportunity. I must live down the humiliation and gain my independence.

But, says a comforter, "Hitler knows no pity. Your splendid effort will avail nothing before him."

My answer is, "You may be right. History has no record of a nation having adopted non-violent resistance. If Hitler is confronted by my suffering, it does not matter. For I shall have lost nothing worth. My honour is the only thing worth preserving. That is independent of Hitler's pity. But as a believer in non-violence, I may not think so possible. Perhaps he and his like have built upon their miserable experience that men yield to force. Unarmed men, women and children offering non-violent resistance without any hindrance is then will be a novel experience for them. Who can dare say that it is not in their nature to respond to the higher and finer forces? They have the same soul that I have."

But says another comforter, "What you say is all right for you. But how do you expect your people to respond to the novel call? They are trained to fight. In personal bravery they are noted to none in the world. For you now to ask them to throw away their arms and be tested for non-violent resistance, seems to me to be a vain attempt."

"You may be right. But I have a call. I must answer. I must deliver my message to my people. This humiliation has sunk too deep in me to recede without an outlet. I, at least, must set up to the fight that has descended on me."

This is how I should, I believe, act if I was a Czech. When I first launched out on Satyagraha, I had no companion. We were thirteen thousand men, women and children against a whole nation capable of crushing the weakest out of us. I did not know who would follow me. It all came on in a flash. All the 12,000 did not fight. Many fell back. But the honour of the nation was saved. Now history was written by the South African Satyagraha.

A more apter instance, perhaps, is that of Khushab Aliji Durrani Khan, the servant of God as he calls himself, the pious of Afghan as the Pathans delight to call him. He is writing in English of me as I put these lines. He has made several thousand of his people throw down their arms. He thinks he has defied the laws

of non-violence. He is not sure of his people. Elsewhere I reproduce the pledge that his colleagues of peace make. I have come to the Frontier Province, or rather he has brought me, to see with my own eyes what his men have are doing. I can say in advance and at once that those men have very little of non-violence. All the treasure they have on earth is their faith in their leader. I do not see those soldiers of peace as at all a failed Christendom I see them as an honest attempt being made by a soldier to convert fellow soldiers to the ways of peace. I can testify that it is an honest attempt, and whether in the end it succeeds or fails, it will have its lessons for Christendom of the future. My purpose will be fulfilled if I succeed in reaching those men's hearts and making them see that if their non-violence does not make them feel much better than the possession of arms and the ability to use them they must give up their non-violence, which is another name for cowardice, and resume their arms which there is nothing but their own will to prevent them from taking back.

I present Dr. Bawa with a weapon not of the weak but of the brave. There is no heavier graver than a peasant refused to bend the knee to an earthly power, no matter how great, and that without bitterness of spirit and in the fullness of faith that the spirit alone Bawa, nothing else does.

Pinkerton
4-14-48

THE KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS PLEDGE

The following is a free translation of the pledge which every Khudai Khidmatgar signs before enrollment:

In presence of God I solemnly affirm that:

1. I hereby humbly and sincerely offer myself for enrollment as a Khudai Khidmatgar
2. I shall be ever ready to sacrifice personal comfort, property and even life itself to serve the nation and for the attainment of my country's freedom
3. I shall not participate in feuds, nor pick up a quarrel with or bear animosity towards anybody. I shall always protect the oppressed against the tyranny of the oppressor
4. I shall not become member of any other organizations and shall not furnish money or tender sympathy in the course of the non-violent fight.
5. I shall always obey every legitimate order of my superior officers.
6. I shall always live up to the principle of non-violence.
7. I shall serve all humanity equally. The chief objects of my life shall be attainment of complete independence and religious freedom.

8. I shall always observe truth and purity in all my actions.

9. I shall expect no remuneration for my services.

10. All my services shall be dedicated to God; they shall not be for obtaining rank or for show.

A LETTER FROM DELHI

The Travel

It was with an small impatience and anxiety on the part of friends that Gandhi went to Delhi to face the storm of the Working Committee's and a couple of other meetings—the A. I. S. A. 's meeting and the Jallianawala Bagh Memorial Committee's meeting, that had been arranged to be held there in anticipation of his visit. The Working Committee met under the shadow of the war cloud that threatened to burst over Europe. Its members met and discussed and talked over this question of questions "lead and lag". But before they could arrive at any final definite conclusion the cloud had lifted and the entire picture had changed with a kaleidoscopic quickness. There were Congressmen who felt that India ought to make England's withdrawal the opportunity to shake the most formidable legions with that country. It was the hour booked for change. But in Gandhi the comrade furnished the express crisis of his soul. It was his hour of trial and of India's trial. What would a great her area of the gained complete control of power but lost her soul into the bargain? For nearly a quarter of a century he had endeavored to maintain the way of non-violence upon the country. His life's work was on the test. What account would the Congress give of itself on this hour? Would it have the strength and the courage to live up to the creed of unqualified non-violence in the face of the European mechanism? "If the Congress could put the whole of its creed of non-violence into practice on this occasion," he converted to a friend, "India's name would become honored like would make history. But I know, today, it is only a dream of mine." "Should India take to the sword, she would soon be the India of my dreams and I should like to invite you to the Khudayatgar to seek rest for my unquelled soul," he had written on a memorable occasion. "You may rest assured," he told some friends who interviewed him at Delhi, "that whatever happens there will be no surrender to the Government. For me, even if I stand alone, there is no participation in the warren if the Government should surrender the whole control to the Congress." To another friend who doubted whether enough people would be found who would respond to his call of unqualified *Ahimsa* in the face of danger, he said in reply, "Who would have thought unresponsive to be a

practical reality fifty years ago? Who would have imagined in this country, fifty years ago, that thousands of innocent men, women and children would be ready unthinkingly to march to the prison? The weapons of Ahimsa does not need experience or experience to wield its own befalls of success; they can use it and have used it before this with success. At any rate, Ahimsa members of the Working Committee did express their readiness to put their Ahimsa to the test. That was more than I was prepared for."

Though the article for the time being seems to be created, it has not been inflexibly in thinking. He has begun sharing his thoughts with Europe. "It needed great courage," he writes a friend, "but God gave it."

Pudumuttu
9-10-33.

PTABHILL

HAND-LOOM INDUSTRY

(For *Arundel Chronicle*, April, A. I. S. A.)

III

It is argued that khadi is expensive, and if attempts are made to increase khadi production it will be difficult to sell the produce. If we go into the details of the A. I. S. A. production and sales of khadi in 1924, and in 1932 we shall find that the production has increased in weight and length by 12% and sales in value by 44%. The following actual figures will be interesting:

	1924	1932
Weight of khadi produced	14,6715 Rs.	18,50161 Rs.
Rs. yards of khadi	44,04,832	45,39,000
Value	Rs. 11,15,438	16,31,561
Total sale	Rs. 24,31,423	35,71,048

Anybody who has got any practical idea about a village khadi centre will say that hand-spinning has steps for Indian expansion, and if the A. I. S. A. has been able to give permanent employment to 1,00,000 villagers and 11,200 weavers with a capital of 25 lakhs of rupees with little or no loss, how may it would be for the Central and Provincial Governments to multiply this number, if the sum of Rs. 15 lakhs, which they have been spending annually for the encouragement of hand-weaving from 1924, could be made available in this direction. If we examine the sales which the marketing departments of Bihar and the U. P. have been able to effect of handloom cloth with mill yarn, we shall at once find how little they are in comparison with the sales effected of khadi by the A. I. S. A. branches of those provinces. The figures are given below.

Sales effected by the handloom marketing organisation of Bihar in 1928-29 amounted to Rs. 1,28,045, of which Rs. 51,245 was in India, and the rest in Europe and New Zealand.

Sales effected by the Bihar Branch of the A. I. S. A. in 1932 amounted to Rs. 1,21,000 exclusive of wholesale sales.

Sales effected by the U. P. Government handloom marketing organisation during 1928-29 amounted to Rs. 1,81,935. This included silk fabrics also.

Sales effected by the U. P. Branch of the A. I. S. A. were about Rs. 8 lakhs—the retail sales in the province in 1932 being Rs. 1,77,000.

From the above it will be clear that, if we try, we can change the tastes of the people, and if the Government make purchases of khadi, the more price that they will pay may be treated as an employment bill.

If the Government propose to give the maximum benefit to the largest number of unemployed agriculturists, they should at once direct their attention on handlooms.

This does not mean that the handloom weaver of mill yarn will immediately take to handloom yarn or that he can be supplied with it. But it does mean that if the Provincial Governments wholeheartedly adopt the policy advocated here, the occupation of the handloom weaver is assured, and that he need not be under the hand of the mill yarn dealer. He will resume the dignified place he used to occupy before Under any scheme, therefore, while during the transitional stage the handloom weaver will get the Protection such as the Madras Sales Regulation Act gives, the Government will purchase only khadi, and all cloth woven in their mills will be from handloom yarn, otherwise in the price he bought through the A. I. S. A.

There may be another line of approach as well. The Dept. of Industries of the various Provincial Governments may find it difficult to use handloom yarn. Therefore, it may perhaps be helpful if the textile work of the various Provincial Governments is entrusted to the All India Textiles' Association. The services of the officers now employed for such work by the various Provincial Governments may be lent to the A. I. S. A. There may be some objection or rather change in the present working and administration of the marketing organisations of the Provinces where these already exist, but in new Provinces such as Orissa and Madhya Pradesh this policy may be pursued from the very beginning.

Last but not the least difficulty that may be created by not using handlooms in these departments where the Government carry on work of direct manufacture, will be in the disposal of the finished product. The Congress Governments are already committed to a policy of using only khadi for their requirements, and if they mean, to secure non-khadi textile at the same time, to whom will they sell and with what price?

We answered these questions in the consideration of all Provincial Governments who are anxious to remove rural unemployment.

Ends and Means
By Shree Mahesh

Price Rs. 4-2-6—Postage & Airmail
Available at Khadiwan Chhat, Poona 5

HENRY FORD AND HANDICRAFTS

(By C. F. Andrews)

It is not generally known in India that Henry Ford, who has perhaps done more than any other living man to increase man-made production, has now in his old age acknowledged some at least of the greatest evils that have resulted from it, and has begun, in certain important directions, to decentralize his famed manufacturing plant by arranging that the spare parts of the Ford Motors should be made in country districts.

It is true that he has, in no real sense, undone the material violence of the extreme method of capitalist exploitation. For has he gone even half-way towards more humane processes in the motor industry itself? Cut-throat competition, in its most ruthless form, still lies at the basis of the whole system, keeping the huge motor manufacturing firms, there is still a state of 'War'. While a Henry Ford, or a Lord Nuffield, hoards up incalculable piles of wealth, at the expense of other competitors, it is absurd to talk about 'peace' in industry. That ends exploitation, where the profits go to private individuals, inevitably produces wilderness and population of the worst kind. All this is obvious to anyone who thinks the matter out.

Nevertheless, it is deeply interesting to watch a glimpse of Henry Ford's mind, in his old age, as he comes from the struggle. For he is now trying to work out a plan of education for the young. His own life has passed through every valiant state of Britain from a yobbing under right on to a multi-millionaire. At last, at the age of 73, he has become an amateur schoolmaster, and the experiments of this astonishing old man are strangely like some of those which Gandhiji has been leading on in India. Here is an account of one of his 'handicrafts' experiments in his school at Greenfield.

In the village handicraft shops, children of all ages are working under systematic, but of whom have had a 'higher education'. Most of them were 'discarded' in the Ford factories. One such is a school-leaver, twelve to a year. In the waste mills, youngsters are working rags, tapestries, beds of reeds, using threads they have previously sorted and spun. Guided by the village masters, they convert nothing into nothing for their own use. 'Many of the girls are filling bags there' with the things they have made."

Here is one of Ford's educational maxims that is well worth quoting.

"Education is not something to prepare you for life, but rather a part of life itself. Learning should go hand in hand with learning. These little children in school, working money with their vegetable gardens, teaching each other their own experiences, helping each other to plant and cultivate, — THAT is getting a REAL education. For true education means in learning

to do by doing, learning to help, by helping, learning to save, by saving."

"It helps and gives," Ford adds, "but only learnt in school what real life is like, they would have done better in other life. But they were put into schools that were apart from life and different from it. Now, we are trying to merge learning and living into one uninterupted whole, so that there will be no disconnecting break between 'learning years' and 'working years'."

"I believe in helping, as close to the ground as possible, and as near to home as possible. In higher education, explore the whole field of your life. But why pursue primary education to its last higher education when only a handful of boys and girls go on into the highest? Let everything they get at any age be as complete and useful as possible, so that even if they do not go on to higher schools they will have unimpaired lifetime values."

I have ventured to quote briefly, in what I have written above, some of the humely things that Henry Ford recently said to a public writer named Chauncy Bessie, who had interviewed him for the FORUM. The article is reproduced in the *SPAIN'S DINNER* for September 1938. All over the world today decentralization is being felt with what, in the twentieth century, was regarded as the aim and end of education. We find now, in America itself, "where industrial exploitation was assumed to an extreme owing to the belief in the Capitalist system, that a state-taking has already begun.

In conclusion I would quote one paragraph from an article in HARRIS'S *MODERN* written by Mr. Ray Haines, which shows the same reaction against the old capitalist ideas from another angle.

"Industrialism," he says, "has come of age. It can no longer live on itself alone. There are too many people who are not needed in factories and less so in thought competition that live on the way they live, and are competitors that does live more and more necessary and important. The great harm of over-What we have been waiting for is here, — a naturally growing civilization, that has material culture and can save out about using that money for his own happiness. But if we stand that mechanical expansion is still our only means for living here, on this lonely spot, every good we value our gray may be destroyed by our children's folly."

While such a paragraph as this would not at all satisfy those who are preaching the democratic ideals of Non-violence and Truth in the economic sphere, they show how the old basis of Capitalism is being shaken.

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SEVEN COMPLAINTS

[By M. E. Gault.]

A Muslim friend writes:

"You will be pleased to hear that in my previous the nation have gone from bad to worse. The Muslims are extremely agitated and desire your immediate attention. A Council of Ulema is formed and we desire to take a leaf from your own book of truth and non-violence."

1. The Government is professing to the Ulema Muslim advice.

2. Muslim-organ is defined as non-violence of the name—which is divided into Hindu and Muslim—thus excluding Urdu.

3. Urdu schools used to be inspected by Ulema Department since, the system is discontinued.

4. My statement to exclude Urdu or Hindustani in the recognized language of the Assembly is heard here.

5. My University Bill demanding representation for Muslims and Depressed Classes in the University is heard there.

6. Hazrat Iqbal held a conference in Chandigarh to hear where his presence was taken with money paid a message during June prayer and the flag was worshipped.

7. True this is Mahabharata is officially recognized by a Government member, your birthday declared as a holiday, and consequently the Local Board in America has issued orders to take your image in a procession and to worship your image. Goodbye, yet my people are to say, we are not interested and we do not recognize you as Mahabharata or our religious and political leader."

Whatever the nature of the complaints, if the respondent and his followers pursue the path of truth and non-violence, all will be well, and it will be found at the end of the contemplated action that both the parties have come closer together and that the obstacles of misunderstanding have all been removed.

As to the complaints, I must warn the correspondent and others who expect the impossible from me that while I am ever ready to use whatever influence I may possess, for the promotion of good and goodwill, I have grave limitations. I could not live for two days. I should shed the burden of investigating every complaint against every Congress minister. For that purpose there is the Parliamentary Sub-Committee created by the Working Committee.

But I can say generally about the complaints as follows:

1. I see nothing wrong in the scheme as far as I know. I know that the name 'musabhar' has been objected to by some Muslims. Speaking has made it plain that if Muslim boys or their parents object to attend the schools merely because they are called Ulema Musabhar, it would be open to them to attend schools

which will bear an Arabic name. But surely this is a matter for adjustment. The word 'musabhar' has no exclusive religious significance. When it has any qualifying adjective it simply means a house. Nor is such use rare.

2. I do not know what actually has been done. But the mother-tongues of an area is surely the tongue which the inhabitants generally speak.

3. If Urdu inspectors have been discontinued because they know only Urdu, on the face of it, it seems to be wrong.

4. As to the amendment about the recognition of Urdu or Hindustani, I do not know the facts.

5. The name is true of the Bill.

6. If musabhar was played before the mosque whilst the June prayer was being said, it was certainly wrong. But I will want very strong proof to support the allegation.

7. This is a complaint and an assertion. With both I am in hearty agreement. It was wrong to give 'Mahabharata' official recognition. I explained my position as much as I was brought to my notice. I would support any movement to drop altogether the use of the word 'Mahabharata' before my name. My simple name sounds sweet without the adjective. The latter often strikes as when it is applied to promote violence or selfishness, anything or anything or the rule of spurious kind. To declare my birthday a holiday should be considered as a remarkable offense. The only use of my birthday that I have approved of is intensive speaking at some such national service. That day must be all work and no play. I cannot imagine any Local Board being so foolish as to have orders to take my image in procession and worship it. Even saying that my correspondent was wholly misinformed. I should imagine that the issue of such orders would be illegal. As to the assertions and repetition, I tender my congratulations to my correspondent for them, for I have never approved after leadership whether religious or political.

Pathan

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CONTENTS	PAGE
THE CONGRESSMAN'S WALK OUT	M. E. Gault 293
FACTS OF LITERATURE	M. E. Gault 297
A HINDU-ARABIAN TRAVELER	Special 303
CONGRESSMAN'S WALK	M. E. Gault 303
DO I WANT A DOLLAR	M. E. Gault 303
THE HINDU-ARABIAN TRAVELER	Special 303
A LETTER FROM BOMBAY	Special 303
THE HINDU-ARABIAN TRAVELER-II	A. G. Gault 303
THE HINDU-ARABIAN TRAVELER-III	A. G. Gault 303
THE HINDU-ARABIAN TRAVELER-IV	A. G. Gault 303
THE HINDU-ARABIAN TRAVELER-V	A. G. Gault 303
THE HINDU-ARABIAN TRAVELER-VI	A. G. Gault 303

HARIJAN

Editor, MAMADU DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Madras Social League



1190

VOL. VI, No. 17

POONA — SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22 1938

[ONE ANNA

HISSAR FAMINE AND KHADI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. Gopabandh writes

"Though every part of India are in the grip of famine, Hissar District is probably the worst. It is more a famine of fodder and water than of grain."

15 per cent of cattle have already died of hunger, another 10 per cent have been dropped at a normal price, or even less. 75 per cent of the rest are faint of hunger.

During the famines of 1928-29 and 1942-43, which were much less severe, relief was arranged through agencies. The members of the district realise that it was the best way. Now today the members of the area, where the Aggl. S. A. is running a centre are somewhat help-off than the others. Aggl. is a centre which gives permanent relief. The members were help-off, but proved a great boon to agencies.

Capital is necessary for running such centres, and more than capital what is necessary is that people should produce the cash and grain produced in the area."

I can heartily support this appeal for greater support of khadi. Dr. Gopabandh calls a personage. I do not. Personage would not do the food that is needed. Only if the people recognise the duty of every khadi and working but khadi will khadi perform the functions that solely looking to it. One of them is permanent insurance against famine. In these days of easy transport — not by any means an unassured blessing — neither people nor cattle need die of want of grain or fodder. Famine nowadays is really of credit. When people live on the margin of starvation the slightest rise in prices upsets the balance, and for want of cash to buy dear grain or dear fodder they or their cattle or both have to die. They need not if they have work found for them on the spot. Such work on anything like a universal scale is hard-earning. But a source he gives on a large scale unless there is a guaranteed demand for khadi. The Parag has great resources. It has men with commercial ability and financial resources. It is to be hoped that they will give the help Dr. Gopabandh pleads for.

The newspaper is making an appeal for funds to great but I exclude myself. Famine is a

chronic thing as it is the same thing as another whole part of India, but the variation. When therefore, the appeal from Amma came I turned to the Services of India Society. The late Sir G. K. Devadas had specialised in famine work as in several other things. He was successful enough to establish a permanent fund. Then there is the Marwan Relief Society which helps wherever there is distress caused by famine, flood, plague or the like. So far as cattle are concerned there is the Humanitarian League of Bombay which acts as agency. I think, then, no case like the Hissar famine anywhere like the case I have named should be appealed to. A time must come when there will be one national institution specially dealing with such calamities. But meanwhile it will be better to strengthen existing institutions and expect them with their special agencies to deal with appeals such as Amma, Gorkhpur or Hissar.

But even that is hardly enough to cope with the distress such as is described by Dr. Gopabandh. The State's resources in men and money have to be used with vigilance, ability and seriousness. No voluntary agency can save thousands of cattle or men and women and children. Voluntary agencies can and should supplement State efforts, but without the latter state voluntary agency must fail to give adequate relief. At the same time, if the State effort is a mere sympathy, it may easily do harm by interfering with and diverting voluntary effort. What is required is honest and wise co-operation between the two agencies.

Uttarpradesh, 13-10-38

Notes

Mahadev Desai

Readers will be glad to know that Mahadev Desai is steadily getting better. After continuous vomit of vomit, he was satisfied to rest. But he would not take it. I did not meet on it. Real nature came to the rescue and ordered the rest he would not take voluntarily. Shri Rajawade Amra Kaur has taken him away to her home in Simla. Surrounded by health and aid, what is more, the loved one of the Rajawade, he is bound to flourish.

Uttarpradesh, 13-10-38

M. K. G.

A Correction

With reference to my statement published in *Harlan* of 8th October on Interview with Changuacherry K. Parameswaran Pillai, writer saying that he never made any statement to the press nor permitted anybody to make any on the interview he had with me. When he saw the line in my statement that he had used in giving his version of the interview, he at once issued a full contradiction. Of course I accept his repudiation without the slightest hesitancy. Indeed when correspondence pointed I was pained that such a cautious and correct man like Sri K. P. Pillai could ever allow himself to be so impudent as to publish anything about the interview without reference to me. I was inclined to refer to him before writing the line I did, but time was of the essence. I am therefore glad to make this correction and express my regret that I did so repetitively, though quite unintentionally, to a faithful co-worker like Sri K. P. Pillai by attributing to him what he never said.

Uttarak, 14-10-38

M. K. G.

Medical Mission to China

Dr. Hengshik Tao, who saw me in Saigon a few months ago and the substance of whose interview with me was given by Mahadev Das in these columns, writes in the course of a letter from Hongkong as follows on Dr. Arai's Medical Mission to China:

"The Indian Medical Unit under the leadership of Dr. Arai arrived on the 14th September, and was greeted by hundreds of friends including the Red Cross officers, doctors, teachers, students, relatives. Madam Sun Yat Sen had also sent a delegate to render her welcome. I myself had also the opportunity to be among the cheering crowd. I am confident that they will receive warmest welcome as they go into the interior. The arrival of the Medical Unit from India has given us a profound feeling that we are not left alone. These Angels of Mercy have in their hands not only cure for the wounded but also have to heal together the hearts of the war-grieved nations."

Uttarak, 13-10-38

M. K. G.

Hemchandra Khosla

Bengal has lost a devoted worker in the cause of constructive programme by the premature death of Sri Hemchandra Khosla. He died of pulmonary tuberculosis at the early age of 42 on the 17th of Sept. last at Dacca. He was not merely a devoted worker himself, but by his ideas and arduous work he inspired others. Few workers in Bengal can claim as many as eight whole-time workers in the constructive programme as Gopabandhu in Pandya district. Here he founded Shikshasram—an institution for the prosecution of the constructive programme with health as the centre.

In his younger days he was influenced by the Swadeshi movement of Bengal and later became a believer in the cult of violence. He was awarded in 1916 while studying in the U. A. class in the Dacca College. After his release he graduated in 1919 and was to appear in the M. A. examination in 1921 but a few months before the date of the examination the famous non-co-operation movement was inaugurated and he plunged headlong into it. He became a thorough convert to the cult of truth and non-violence, and he had deep and abiding faith in the efficacy of the constructive programme for India's freedom even up to the last moment of his life.

He suffered imprisonment in 1921 for two years, and after his release took to constructive programme in pursuance of the Swadeshi motto and founded the Shikshasram. For his activities in connection with the removal of untouchability, a section of the orthodox men of the village tried to persecute him and his family. His family members, although many of them differed from him in opinion, supported him whole-heartedly in this, and the attempts of orthodox men ultimately failed. It may be mentioned here that he was a bachelor and lived a very simple life.

His silent constructive work in the village created an influence in the whole district and he was placed in charge of the civil disobedience movement of the district in 1930. He went to jail several times during the 1930 and 1932 movements. Long terms of jail life in diseases, ill, specially in High Jail, shattered his health completely and when he came out of jail in 1934, he was found a tubercular patient.

His death has been a personal loss to some workers of Bengal. Bengal has used of such ideas and devoted workers. May his life inspire workers in the cause of the country's freedom. Our condolences to the bereaved family.

P. C. G.

Black Sales during Black Week

Sri Bhaskar Lal Mehra writes from Ahmedabad:

"The Black week, otherwise known as Gandhi Jayanti, was celebrated with great enthusiasm by the citizens of Ahmedabad from 21st September to 1st October 1942, and a striking response was made to the appeal for prohibition on the sales of khadi on the occasion. The City Congress Committee urged Black bands, and an appeal was made by the President of the Committee to the public for buying them. It is estimated that bands worth Rs. 15,000 have been purchased by the public, thanks to the vigorous efforts made by the members of the Congress Committee, the workers of the Mayor's Mahila and the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee. The sales effected at the Black Bandh certified by the All India Spinning Association amount to Rs. 45,500, i. e., more than double the sales

effected during the Gandhi Jayanti last year, the figure for the last year being only Rs. 19,658. The details of the sales effected at the different bhandas with corresponding figures for the last year are given below:

	Gandhi	Jayanti
	1934	1933
	Rs.	Rs.
Mayer Mahajan Khadi Sale	25,328	15,678
Khadi Mandir	12,069	5,751
Joshi Bazaar	437	608
	-----	-----
Total	37,834	22,037

The millhands working in the textile mills have made a handsome contribution by purchasing khadi worth Rs. 25,000 which came to nearly 50% of the total sales. They have by their enthusiastic response fulfilled the expectation expressed by Gandhiji as the special savings sent by him to them on the occasion. It is worth noting that customers and a large number of officers of the textile mills as also members belonging to the various Mahajans have purchased khadi bhandis. The student body also showed great interest in putting on sales of khadi, and a large number of school-going children too have gone in for khadi uniforms and purchased a fairly large quantity. The students returned to the houses dressed in khadi or wearing a paper turry and in purchasing the books of all classes of people living in the city.

The Secretary of the All India Spinners' Association also writes from Ahmedabad to say that the khadi sales in Gujarat during these days came to Rs. 75,000 as compared with Rs. 65,000 for the last year, thus showing an increase of 65 per cent. This was, he says, mainly due to the phenomenal increase in khadi sales in the city of Ahmedabad. This again was due to the increase in the quantity of khadi purchased by millhands who spent Rs. 25,000 on khadi as against Rs. 1,000 approximately last year. Here is a concrete evidence of the benefits of prohibition accruing to the liquorists who, but for prohibition, would probably not have been able to save this additional amount and spent it for a wasteful purpose.

How They Celebrated the Week

The Principal of the Vidyai Mandir (High School) conducted by the Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Ahmedabad, took a brief account of how the boys and the staff of the school celebrated the Gandhi Jayanti. It was decided in the same sense sponsored from 28th July to 28th September, and during the period 16,97,560 rounds (one round = 1/2 lb.) of yarn were turned out by 125 persons—both the students and the staff. 3 of these spun 70 thousand rounds, 2 spun from 30 to 40 thousand, 10 spun 20 to 30 thousand, 75 from 10 to 20 thousand, and 37 (perhaps the younger of the boys) spun less than 10 thousand rounds. From 21st September onwards a wheel was placed for seven days for 15 hours a day continuously, and 29,602 rounds were spun, the

average speed being 236, and the maximum speed being 585 rounds per hour. For five days beginning from 21st September, the students and the staff spun the two hours a day and turned out 100,800 rounds. The total output of yarn thus came to 1,69,560 rounds. Each of the participants in the spinning has set apart one bundle of 640 rounds as a birthday gift for Gandhiji. The 30 thousand rounds of yarn thus collected will be woven into khadi and will be sent to him.

On 21st September, all members of the school were given a full holiday, and the boys and their teachers did all the cooking, cleaning etc., themselves. During the period they were named Mahajan quarters, took part in their games and bhajans, and were sent and cleaned the streets of a neighbouring village and thus had a lesson in service and dignity of labour.

Another report says that the inmates of the Gandhi Ashram, Patalpuram, plied an 'akhanda charkha' from 21st September to 2nd October, and turned out 225 bales of 170,500 yards of yarn which will be woven into khadi and sent to Gandhiji.

C. S.

TO TRAVANCORE STUDENTS

Gandhiji has issued the following statement to the press from Madras on the 21st inst.

"I have two letters from schoolmasters, leaders others from Travancore, complaining of students' rowdiness in Travancore. The Principal of C.M.S. College, Kottayam, says that the students blocked the passage of those who wanted to attend the classes. They were turned away girls who did not listen to them. They walked in the classes and made noise, making classes impossible.

This violent participation by students in a struggle which is entirely alien to be absolutely non-violence, makes progress difficult, if not impossible. So far as I know, the leaders of the movement do not want the students, even if they wish to participate, to depart in any way from the non-violent way. Obstruction, rowdiness and the like are entirely violence. I am confused with influence over students. If I have any, I would ask them to observe non-violence in thought, word and deed. If, however, the forces of violence cannot be controlled by those who are in charge of the movement, it may be a question for them whether in the manner of the movement itself it is not wise to suspend civil disobedience.

I must not perhaps to lay down the law from this distance, but I do feel from the evidence before me that the leaders would incur great risk if they allowed students to think that their violence would help the movement or that it is actually liked by the leaders.

At Gandhiji's Man

By M. G. G. G. G. G.

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H A R I J A N

Oct 22

1938

WHAT ARE BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An unnamed correspondent, who has for years been following, as a student, the non-violent action of the Congress and who eloquently posed the Congress expression versus deeds with armed weapons. While the argument is helpful to me it is unnecessary to reproduce it here. He lays down three basic assumptions and expects that I am hardly able to verify these assumptions under all circumstances. We may, he says, struggle through with the English because they are lovers of liberty, are few in number, and their democratic instinct, more or less developed, secures them from lengths to which autocrats will go.

If non-violence has all these limitations, it is not of much value or it has as much value as any other remedy, including violence, may have. But I have presented it as a counter-acting remedy against tyranny. Limitations it has but they are all applicable to the war and therefore under its control.

The numbered basic assumptions are:

"1. Complete unity of the people in their desire and demand for freedom.

"2. Complete appreciation and assimilation of the doctrine in all its implications by the people as a whole, with consequent control over one's natural instincts by means of violence when it becomes or is a means of self-defence and [this is the most important of all].

"3. Implicit belief that the right of suffering on the part of multitudes of people will melt the heart of the oppressor and induce him to desert from his course of violence."

For the application of the remedy of non-violence complete unity is not an indispensable condition. If it was the remedy would require no special virtue. For complete unity will bring freedom for the whole. Have I not said repeatedly to the columns of Young India and these columns that even a few true Satyagrahis would suffice to bring us freedom? I have guaranteed that we would require a smaller army of Satyagrahis than that of soldiers trained as modern warriors, and the cost will be infinitely compared to the billions now devoted by nations to armaments.

Not is the second assumption necessary. Satyagrahis by the very name of marked will be an entity if they had all to overcome the doctrine in all its implications. I cannot claim to have assimilated all its implications nor do

I claim even to know them all. A soldier of an army does not know the whole of the military science; so also does a Satyagrahi not know the whole science of Satyagraha. It is enough if he trusts his commander and honestly follows his instructions and is ready to suffer unto death without bearing malice against the attacked enemy.

The third assumption has to be studied. I should word it differently, but the result would be about the same.

My friend says there is no historical warrant for the third assumption. He cites Achaia as a possible exception. For my purpose, however, Achaia's instance is unnecessary. I admit that there is no historical instance to my knowledge. Hence it is that I have been obliged to claim acceptance for the experiment. I have argued from the instincts of what we do in freedom or even slaves. The foundation is one big family. And if the love expressed is genuine enough, it must apply to all mankind. If individuals have succeeded even with weapons, why should not a group of individuals succeed with a group, say of nations? If we can succeed with the English, surely it is hardly an extension of high to believe that we are likely to succeed with less cultured or less liberty-minded nations. I hold that if we succeed with the English, with unadorned non-violent offer, we must succeed with the others, at which is the same thing as saying that if we achieve freedom with non-violence, we shall defend it also with the same weapon. If we have not achieved that faith our non-violence is a mere expedient, it is alloy, not pure gold. In the first place we shall never achieve freedom with definite non-violence, and in the second, even if we do, we shall find ourselves wholly unprepared to defend the country against an aggressor. If we have doubts about the final efficacy of non-violence, it would be far better for the Congress to review its policy and even the reason to a growing extent. A mere organisation like the Congress will be untrue to its charge if not based on one solid belief, it would be an act of apostasy. As I have said before, because we come to see our duty as non-violence, we do not necessarily become weaker. We surely throw off the weak and be strong. It would be a perfectly dignified course to adopt. The brave have during the past centuries yearn will still not be thrown over.

Now I am in a position to state what, in my opinion, are two assumptions underlying the doctrine of Satyagraha:

1. There must be genuine honesty among Satyagrahis.

2. They must under heart discipline to their commander. There should be no mental reservation.

3 They must be prepared to lose all not merely their personal liberty, not merely their possessions, land, cash, etc., but also the liberty and possessions of their families, and they must be ready cheerfully, in their bullets, bayonets or even their death by torture.

4 They must not be violent in thought, word or deed towards the "enemy" or among themselves.

Urmatta, 14-15-36

CONGRESS CORRUPTION

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

A U P correspondent writes:

"I have carefully gone through your statement in *Haripur* and read your recent speech before the members of the Congress Working Committee regarding the corrupt practices among Congress men and the committees.

I have myself on many occasions heard such corrupt practices as mentioned in the letter published by you, namely, the employment of bogus members, paying huge cash on pocket the members less of members, and even buying elections. The plea is that such things are done done by responsible office-bearers of the Congress committees. In various places such cases have come to the notice of the Provincial Committee officially, but these things were taken very lightly by the authorities. With the little experience I have of the Congress work in these provinces, I can say that this is true of many of the district and city committees.

My humble feeling of the corruption is that such things are generally pursued by that section which wants to capture the committee and retain power in their hands. Further, these things have commonly occurred with the coming of the parliamentary programme in the Congress. The dream of the Congress to capture the local boards and the provincial legislatures has attracted towards it a big group of men who are anxious to get into their pockets at any cost. It is this group which, failing to get the appropriate support of the genuine Congressmen, brings mercenaries and bogus members, who but for personal attachment to the professions who could then have nothing in common with the Congress. Even among the old members of the Congress some have been taken in by the temptation of office and power and they readily got hands with the new mercenaries. It is therefore that such corrupt practices and groupings of parties, without any fundamental difference in principles, is seen just on the advent of elections.

I therefore humbly suggest that the parliamentary system of the Congress be kept away from the committees, and those who want to enter the local boards or the legislatures should not be allowed to hold any office in the committees, or the office-bearers of the committees should not

be permitted to take stations in any of these bodies. Such a provision in the Congress constitution may do away with the necessity of corrupt practices. It would further give more time to the members of the committees to do the constructive work of the Congress, which is at present being neglected on account of legislative work, and may enhance their prestige among the public in native work."

The suggestion made by the correspondent has been made by several other Congressmen. It has much to commend itself. If members of legislatures and local boards are chosen from outside Congress office-bearers, there is less danger of manipulation. It would be necessary in such a case to reduce the membership of committees. The members should then be only those who would practically be full-time workers having no time or thoughts for other work or while outside their own committees. This is a change every Provincial Congress Committee can make without any change being required to be made in the Congress constitution.

Another suggestion, which ought to have occurred to me and the members of the Working Committee, was made to me by a business organizer. He said, "Why are you thinking of honest measures? Why would you not advise the Working Committee to cover what business houses do who have numerous branches? These should be strict inspection and auditing of all Congress committee books not merely books dealing with money but books containing names of members, etc. All accounts which do not contain complete identification and other particulars about members should be immediately rejected. And if the books are according to pattern, inspection and examination become easy. All the Working Committee has to see to it that there are enough auditors and inspectors who know their job and can be trusted to do it thoroughly and honestly. And if you pay the price, it should not be difficult to get capable men with common honesty." I have expanded the argument that was advanced in the course of a conversation. The suggestion is absolutely sound and can be, like the previous one, enforced without any change in the constitution. All that is wanted is the will to clean the Congress of Aungmye walls. One of the heads of Congress committees are sufficient to suppress the corruption cannot be done with. "If the salt loss its power whereever shall it be used?"

Urmatta, 15-10-38

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THE ARCHBISHOP'S DILEMMA

(By C. P. Andrews)

When I was stirred at the Phoenix Settlement in Mombasa, twenty-five years ago I saw for the first time a long letter written to Cardinal by the aged Leo Tolstoy. It was one of the last beautiful deeds of the old Russian author: thus in just a younger worker among the seas, who was carrying out to the full the principles of non-violence which were dear to his own heart. This letter very deeply moved me; for Tolstoy had only recently passed away and it seemed to be a farewell message from him. As a masterpiece, thrown off as it was from a man of true magnanimity, it is one of the most powerful writings that Tolstoy ever gave out to the world. Some day, that letter must be republished in all the languages of India!

What I will remember best in it is a story, marvellously told, about a young girl who was examined, before her confirmation, by His Grace the Archbishop. She had been drilled beforehand to say that killing in war was an exception to God's commandments and therefore justifiable. But when her turn came, she refused, and made the Archbishop look very cross indeed, as she questioned him in turn about the firm of juggling with the truth of God's word.

The whole scene comes back to me—the library at Phoenix, with the portrait of Tolstoy, on the wall, his sagged face there before me stamped with suffering and pain, the quiet of the room, Gandhiji outside talking to some Zulu children, who had come over from the settlement now at hand, by his side a very weak and ailing Mauney boy whom Gandhiji was sending back to health; the profound peace of it all, as I sat at the library desk, reading over again this letter of Tolstoy as he had faced the despair of all the problems of humanity and bled from afar the European movement in South Africa which had given him joy and hope in the closing years of his life.

What has brought back the remembrance today is a published letter, which lies before me on the table, in a little magazine, called the War Review. The headline of one of the pages runs thus:—"The mother of Anton writes to His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop."

When I read those words, my mind leapt over all the business of time and space. I was back in the Phoenix Library in South Africa, with this letter of Tolstoy to Gandhiji in my hand, while I thought of the young Russian girl and her Archbishop! Then, when I had read to the end the new story of Anton's mother and the Cardinal, I saw at once that the same eternal question was being asked afresh,—"Is it right to commit murder?" Let me quote what was written in the magazine:

"A young man called Anton, a minor student in Budapest, Austria, 22 years of age, was

called up to join the army in April, 1917. He refused to wear a military uniform. He was sentenced by the Kerezhdy District Court to three months' imprisonment. Then, after serving the sentence, he was once again refused to join up, he was again charged. At these proceedings, Anton stated that his religious convictions forbade his wearing uniform. A soldier must kill people, and that he would not do. He declared also that no punishment would have been done his sentence, for he had received orders and would be faithful to them. The State doctors then were sent away. God rather than man, the Court then decided that he should be examined by a psychiatrist."

After a complete examination, Anton came once more before the Court on January 12th 1918. The physicians said they did not find anything abnormal about him. He was sentenced to 15 months' hard labour for disobedience. He had a well-known and much respected in Budapest. His mother wrote then to the Cardinal Archbishop of Vienna.

"As the mother of Anton, and because I brought him into the world and educated him, only with great sorrow, I take the natural right of my mother to act on behalf of her child, and ask your Eminence to allow me to act before you the following submission.

"During a very hard time of suffering, I determined to dedicate my child to the service of Almighty God and His holy truth. As a child, he had to go through many deprivations. During his period at the University, he was much influenced, and was engaged in many temptations.

"Soon after his nineteenth year a change could be seen in him, and he began to study the Holy Scriptures after he had compared that in no other way was happiness and comfort to be found. Through the profound study he had obtained the knowledge, amongst other things, that as to commitment, as a true Christian, as he permitted to take an oath or a statement of another in his hand, and that no power in the world was enough him to act contrary to the command of God. On June 12th, 1917, my son was summoned to join an Infantry Regiment. Fidelity to the Law of God he refused to make armed service. He was told by an officer that in time of war he would be shot; whereas my son said that Christ had given His life and that he was ready to sacrifice his life for God. Refusing legal defence on the ground that justice had been done, he was sentenced by the Kerezhdy District Court to three months' imprisonment.

"On October 26, 1917, he was again summoned to join Infantry Regiment No. 15 in Vienna. Here again he refused military service, and said that now was obey God rather than man. On December 26th, 1917, he was sentenced by the Kerezhdy District Court to 15 months' hard labour. During these proceedings at the Court, the Counsel for the State stated my son to be the prisoner on the whole army,—"Before this Court this

things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's! My son replied that certainly man must render unto Caesar what is Caesar's, but that man, as God's image, belonged to God, and no other man can claim for him. The judge then said to the Counsel for the Prosecution: "Do not enter into such talk with him." My son advised the prosecution advised upon him full of zeal for God, and strengthened by his faith, he has offered good assistance in his serious sufferings. My own conviction is that if my son's action is not pleasing to God, that he will not have sufficient conviction to hold out through these trials but if it is from God, everything which is done against him will be in vain. As a truly converted Christian I believe that the love of a Christian there must be in harmony with the love of the Almighty, and not in opposition to them. In your Eminence, as Father and Christ Shepherd of the Catholic Church, also of this apostle! I entrust you to answer me I have complete trust in the goodness of God, and such no human will but I feel obliged to inform your Eminence of this event.

DEAR SIR "

Nothing needs to be added to this remarkable letter. All over Europe, at the present time, young men of military age are suffering imprisonment of this character. Some have even been sent out to what is called "Devil's Island" in French Guiana, because they have continued to refuse to take part in the violence of war.

It is a matter of deep thankfulness to me, that not merely a single individual here and there, but the whole Congress movement in India has openly declared for non-violence. More and more the implications of this are being learnt and put into practice. My great hope is, that these new adventures in non-violence will be carried on to include at last a campaign against, on a national scale, to resist by moral and spiritual force any armed intervention that might be attempted by a foreign power from outside. That would be the crown of all that Gandhi had started in South Africa, so many years ago, with the blessed of Leo Tolstoy.

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MORE TEMPLES OPENED

The Bombay Provincial Board of the Marjona Sewak Sangh have issued the following press note.

The Bombay Provincial Board of the Marjona Sewak Sangh are glad to announce that they have received confirmation from the Government to the effect that the undermentioned temples, under their control, are also open to Marjona. This brings the total number of temples thrown open to Marjona in Bombay to 24.

1. Shri Ramji Mandir, 33, Goldsmith, Bombay
2. Shri Belding Mandir, 67, Goldsmith, Bombay
3. Shri Hanaji Masi Mandir, in Shri Maheshwar Mandir Compound, Marjona, Bombay
4. Shri Anba Masi Mandir, Bhakshwar, Bombay
5. Shri Twanki Kwar Maheshwar Mandir, Pethane, Bombay
6. Shri Dattatraya Mandir, 324, Gargan, Bombay
7. Shri Agni Mandir, 56, Second Kumbharwade, Bombay
8. Vajra Sakthi Mandir, in the compound of Shri Maheshwar Mandir, Marjona, Bombay
9. Shri Keshavnagar Mandir, Middle Pethad Wadi
10. Shri Sadasiv Mandir, 110 B, Lady Janapaty Road, Mahon.
11. Shri Ram, Mahadev and Maruti Mandir, Yerova Road, Andhera
12. Shri Maruti Mandir, 110, Lady Janapaty Road, Mahon.
13. Shri Vajra Sakthi Temple, Corner of Kumbharwade, 4th Lane.
14. Shri Vajra Sakthi Temple, Mori Road, Mahon.
15. Shri Chandramaheshwar Mandir, next to Maheshwar Police Church, Vajra Sakthi Road
16. Shri Shri Mandir, Opp Chena Mill, New Screen Road.
17. Shri Jan Man Masi Mandir, Opp Bhandra Tank, Ghoshwadi Road, Bhandra
18. Shri Mahadev Mandir, Sir Mangalika Wadi, Lamington Road
19. Shri Mahadev Mandir, 112-C Lady Janapaty Road, Mahon.
20. Shri Radha Krishna Mandir, 29, Fourth Kumbharwade, Bombay.
21. Shri Vajra Mandir, Dugal Scheme, Vile Parle,

A Correction

The list of "Foreign Companies (India) Ltd" published on page 298 in Marjona dated 1st September included the name of "United Oil Co (India) Ltd. Corporation. The managers of the Company now write to us to say that there is a purely Indian concern and mistakes fully the definition for a "Foreign concern" laid down by the Working Committee. We are glad to make the correction.

MINIMIZING GLASS ADULTERATION

(By Seth Chandra Dasgupta)

Glass constitutes one of the most important cottage products. The total value of glass produced in India is estimated at Rs. 110 crores and is equal to a third of the entire foreign trade of India. It is to be expected that adulteration in this article has reached a staggering magnitude. There are samples available which contain 15 per cent adulteration. Government has prescribed some rules for genuine glass, but precautions on the basis of this are few and manufacturers' greed have no deterrent effect on adulteration. Another very important factor is that the physical and chemical tests applicable to glass may only indicate a percentage of purity in the tested sample. The quality of genuine glass varies with processes and differs the lived and the case of the animal and with the season. Thus again the test for buffalo glass is different from that of cow's glass, and if the raw glass are mixed it becomes most to study the case and an adulterated product may pass the test for mixed glass.

Glass used to be adulterated with talcum and soda, but now with the introduction of vegetable product or solidified oil, the adulteration of glass has become a scientific art, but is easily learnt by those who want to adulterate. A mixture of various percentages of vegetable glass with pure glass may strike the most searching test in our present state of scientific knowledge. In other countries oil or varnish of has to be mixed under Government orders with all vegetable product. For oil of can be easily detected, and any glass adulterated with vegetable glass containing oil will therefore be easily detected. But neither the Government of India nor the Provincial Governments have put this necessary condition on the manufacture or export of vegetable glass or vegetable product. Formerly much vegetable glass used to be imported but now there are few factories in India turning out the product by thousands of tons, and marketing them in a confused state for adulteration with glass. The consumer is not safe even with Government seals on glass tin, as already stated, it only means that the Government-sealed glass comes up to an arbitrary standard having a percentage of purity, in which there is yet room for adulteration with some percentage of adulteration, particularly in the case of "G" or mixed grade. Under the circumstances, the consumer wishing to have absolutely pure glass has to take chances or depend upon his supplier.

It is common knowledge that makers of vegetable product or vegetable glass cause for the requirements of those who adulterate glass. In fact it may be said that their primary object

is to supply a suitable material for the fabrication of glass. Mr. Wright comments in his report that,

"It is the opinion of some of the participants that about 70 per cent of the total supplies are used for the adulteration of glass."

Thus again in Paper No. 1 on glass, circulated for the Glass Conference, we find a statement of what is a matter of common knowledge to those who are acquainted with the glass market.

"The ordinary products are carefully manufactured so as to resemble the physical properties of glass, as required in different markets at different times of the year. For instance, it is possible to produce two of vegetable product which have no glass, at the bottom a hard and well solidified mass, in the middle a mass sold but granular mass, and at the top a 1 or 2 inches layer of liquid matter to simulate the composition of a tin of pure glass. Appropriate colors and glass reactions are used as a further disguise."

There was a non-official suggestion at the Glass Conference arranged by the Central Government in September 1932 to the effect that all hydrocarbon oil products should contain at least 10 per cent of varnish or oil. But this suggestion was not accepted on the ground that it would not be proper to discuss it without having the views of vegetable product manufacturers. Since then one year has elapsed. If the Central Government has not moved, Governments of the Congress Provinces should take up the matter in their own right and take suitable measures to provide that vegetable glass or hydrocarbon oil prepared in the factories or manufacturing units should have a percentage of varnish or oil in it.

Such a measure followed by extensive glass examination and prosecution will certainly minimize glass adulteration.

CONTENTS	PAGE
REMARKS FURNISH AND EXAMINE	M. K. Dasgupta 255
TO TRANSLATE RECORDS	M. K. Dasgupta 257
WHY ARE THERE ADULTERATIONS	M. K. Dasgupta 258
CONCRETE CONSIDERATION	M. K. Dasgupta 259
THE ADULTERATION OF TALCUM	C. F. Andrews 260
HOW TALCUM IS USED	261
MINIMIZING GLASS ADULTERATION	S. C. Dasgupta 262
BY THE FURNITURE PROMOTION BOARD	263
NOTES	
MAINTAINING DEMAND	M. K. G. 264
A. COMMISSION	M. K. G. 266
MEDICAL WISDOM TO CHINA	M. K. G. 268
HINDUSTANI KNOWLEDGE	P. C. G. 269
REMARKS ON THE USE OF GLASS	C. S. 270
HOW TOY GLASS IS USED	
THE WIND	C. S. 271
A. COMMISSION	C. S. 272

IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE

I

A Pioneer's Progress

"Thanks to the hospitable care of Khan Sahib Abdul Gaffar Khan and his brother Dr. Khan Sahib, contrary to all forebodings Gandhiji is flourishing in the bracing climate of the N. W. Frontier Province. The cold is not yet too intense and there is an agreeable nip in the air. Khan Sahib, the Raja, is great fun all the time that one could wish for. A leader or a more amiable 'joker' Gandhiji never had. He has left Gandhiji free to follow his course of almost unbroken silence and to order his time just as he likes. There are no public functions to interfere, no conventions practically even by means of written slips of paper. It is relaxed above him that when he paid his historic visit to the Sage of Chelms in England, neither of them spoke a word. At the end of his "wordless interview" the Ruler of Concord rose with the perfect remark: "Sir, we had a good talk," to which Carlyle who believed in the virtue of silence simply replied, "Yes Sir, and a more eloquent one." I am perfectly sure that, if Gandhiji only visited in the Khan Sahib as his guest, would be needed to give him a "tour" without any movement and a "programme" without any engagement, and at the end of it allow him to say "farewell." "Sir we had a good tour!"

Khan Sahib never feels completely happy, unless when in the midst of his more numerous visits he can breathe the fresh, free air of the countryside. No Peshawar ever does. And Khan Sahib has a particular horror of big cities with their noxious mass of humanity, and the self-will and clamour that rule them. In order, therefore, to give to Gandhiji complete physical and mental rest, that he felt he ought to have, he brought him away from Peshawar, after a few days stay there, on the 9th on to his country residence at Utmanan.

An Idyllic Picture

Set in the midst of a landscape of rice paddy terraces, on the bank of the Swat River, the little village of Utmanan is not lacking in idyllic charm. For miles round as all villages there is an unbroken stretch of dark green fields of maize and rice and legumes and cotton, interspersed with fruit gardens which grow the finest fruit from blood-red cherries to pink peaches and plums and grapes and apricots and rich bananas pure. The soil is rich the more plentiful thanks to the Swat River canal which, with the soft gush of its amber-brown little waterfalls fills the entire landscape with a gentle, unceasing music by day and by night.

On the edge of the village there is a small, picturesque water mill. A quiet old-world air hangs over the place, which seems lost in change with the changing times. The houses in the village, even of aristocracy are mostly mud, with thick adobe walls and heavily arched

roofing which keeps them cool in the hot weather and agreeably warm in the cold. Some of these houses are still built in the old Peshawar style with *Phans* in front, the stables next, and the residential quarters proper right at the back. The Hagra at present serves as the aristocrat's quarters, but in the good old days it served also as the 'village club house' where all the male adults of the village duly gathered together and smoked and where the bachelors even slept at night in preference to their own houses. The horses in the stables I was told, used to be kept ready harnessed by day and by night in the old worlded manner so that in case of an emergency the Khan could in an instant leap into the saddle and ride off. Thanks to the fine metalled roads with which the whole of the Frontier Province is heavily connected, and increasing facilities for vehicular traffic which they provide, the stables are today almost all empty, though an enthusiastic horse-lover might still, here and there try to maintain the appearance of the old tradition. These roads are a tremendous gift to the people of the poor Indian tax-payer, which the Frontier Province owes to the strange conjuncture of British Imperialism. During the Civil Disobedience days they became at once a prison and penalty for "seditionists." The more roads — almost none existed — a village showed, the greater was the chance of an early head cracked by a road — for punitive purposes, of course. The village has no sewer drainage system, there is no municipality. The principal drains wander aimlessly through the streets, spreading out into black, stinky, and now too sweet-smelling pools here and there and each locality. Nor have the people learnt the value and importance of having proper sanitary arrangements. All this led a deep impression on Gandhiji's mind and formed the theme of a talk which he gave to Khuda Khudamagan here at Peshawar.

Those 'Armed Guards'

A little incident in connection with Gandhiji's stay at Utmanan that has been unmentioned and has attracted several friends may be noted here in passing. Being over-cautious for Gandhiji's safety, Khan Sahib had posted on the roofs of the rooms in his residence Khudas Khudamagan to keep watch during the night that Gandhiji was at Utmanan. Before posting them Khan Sahib had a talk with Gandhiji without mentioning his plan. He simply asked if Gandhiji objected to posting. Gandhiji was in silence and, without knowing what he was in for, he nodded so as to say he did not. Khan Sahib understood it as consent for the posting of armed night watches. When however, Gandhiji came to know of armed guards, he objected and said that while he would tolerate posting for others he could not tolerate armed guards for his protection. It would be quite contrary to the promise of a life-time. Khan Sahib appreciated the objection. The guards were removed, but Khan Sahib insisted on armed night watches to which Gandhiji submitted though under protest.

Challenges of the B. W. Frontier

To Gandhi's mind that little incident seemed to be symbolical of another and bigger one that confronted us just as a Sanyashti must recognize the use of arms for self-protection, even so, if India is ever to attain non-violent Swaraj it must first be able to defend itself against the trans-border raids without the help of the police and the military. These in the Frontier Provinces were said to be one lakh of Khonds Khondsagar pledged to the creed of non-violence. If they had really sanctified the principle of non-violence, said Gandhi, if their non-violence was the true non-violence of the brave and not a mere expedient or a lip profession, they ought to be able to defend the trans-border raiders by their loving service, and to win them from their raiding habit. Indeed they would win independence for India and set an example to the whole world.

Endearing the Tribes

He opened up his heart to the course of a talk with Khamsab's

"The conviction is growing upon me, Khamsab," he began, "that unless we develop the capacity to put a stop to these Frontier raids without the help of the police and the military, it is no use the Congress remaining as silent as the Frontier, so as that even we are bound to be defeated in the end. A war proved done not and all be is actually futile, its withdrawal at least is an orderly manner from a position which he knows he would not be able to last. "Five years," he continued, "it has been a pet dream of mine to be able to go among and live with the trans-border tribes. I am certain that the only way of bringing about a permanent settlement of the Frontier problem is through the way of peace and reason. If our Khonds Khondsagar sympathies is what is more valuable and what is right to be, I am sure we can achieve that last today.

"I am therefore anxious to find out exactly how far the Khonds Khondsagar have understood and assimilated the spirit of non-violence, where they stand and what part and my future line of action should be.

"In South Africa a small band of 15,000 Sanyashti counterparts of ours were able to hold their own against the might of the Union Government. General Smuts could not turn them out as he was able to do the 50,000 Chans who were driven out long and longer in less than six months and that without compensation. He would not have hesitated to crush us if we had stayed from the path of non-violence. "What could not an army of one lakh Khonds Khondsagar trained in the use of the non-violence method achieve?"

The Army

He told Khan Sahib that he would like to have a heart to heart talk with as many Khonds Khondsagar as possible so that he might be able to understand them thoroughly and they too. Accordingly he was the officious of the

Chamunda Taluk, thirteen in number, on two successive days on the 11th and 12th inst. at Umerkot, and another group at Peshawar on the 13th inst. At both places, in reply to his questions they assured him that their adherence to the principle of non-violence was implicit and unqualified. They even went so far as to declare that even if the impossible happened and, as Gandhi had pointed to them, Khan Sahib turned away from the path of non-violence, they would not give up their faith in non-violence.

Implications of Non-violence

Gandhi told them that though it sounded to him as an overbold statement for them to make, still as was his wont, he would take them at their word. He explained to them in detail what his conception of the nature and implications of non-violence was. It was comparatively easy to maintain a posture sort of non-violence, when the opposite was powerful and fully armed. But would they remain non-violent in their dealings among themselves and with their own countrymen, when there was no external force to restrain or check them? Again, was there the non-violence of the strong or that of the weak? If there was the non-violence of the strong they should feel the stronger for their consciousness of the sword. But if that was not the case with them, it was better for them to renounce their weapons which they had of their own free will discarded. For it was much better for them to be brave soldiers in arms than to be deemed and unarmoured.

"A charge has been levelled against me and Khamsab," he continued "that we are weakening India and Islam & otherwise by promoting the creed of non-violence to the least and warlike people of the Frontier. My faith is that by adopting the doctrine of non-violence as its guiding principle will be rendering a lasting service to India and to Islam which just now it seems to me is in danger.

"A Khonds Khondsagar," he told them at one place, "has had to be a man of God, i. e. a servant of humanity." It would demand of his party in deed, word and thought, and conduct, honest sobriety since party of evil and disease was incompatible. They should together learn some handicraft which they could practice in their homes. They should probably be growing, spinning and weaving as their allies could be offered no salaries in their own homes. They should further learn Hindustani, so that would enable them to converse and exchange their words and bring them in touch with the wider world. It was up to them also to learn the rudiments of the science of agriculture and first and last but not the least they should cultivate an attitude of equal respect and love towards all religions.



HARITAN

SINCE, MANMOH DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harjan Press, Amal



VOL. VI. No. 3.]

POONA - SATURDAY, OCTOBER, 29, 1932

[ONE ANNA.

THE UNREFORMED LANDS

(By M. K. Desai.)

It would be wrong on my part if I allowed it to be said that the Bill as provided for the acquisition of lands belonged during the Civil Disobedience Movement was passed by the Bombay Legislature unaltered except in form, would not have been passed if I had not well I must make the confession that I had more heart in the movement's bringing in the Bill. Indeed I felt that any other course would be less than correct. Any policy with those who had bought the lands would be either evasion on behalf of the Government or blackmail by the so-called owners. If it was right to restore the lands to the true owners, it should be done by law. If the Government had not the power under the Government of India Act even to pass such an important and necessary relief measure, it was worse than the crimes had described it to be. I hold that the Bombay Bill is more than just. The claims pending for compensation to the so-called owners to the extent of their outlay plus interest make it more than just. The provable facts about these lands are that they were bought in collusion with the authorities. Indeed it was difficult for them to find purchasers. The lands were sold to increase the people. It was part of the revenue policy, and they were sold in some cases for a rent. When the Government that resorted to such measures gave place to those who were its victims surely they must be treated with magnanimity when, instead of condemning the lands purchased collusively and in the teeth of strong and overwhelming popular opinion they offered compensation.

Had the fight between the Government and the people been violent instead of non-violent, the victorious party among men peace would certainly have secured without compensation all property in the legal possession forcibly taken away from the rightful owners. Surely, the situation could not be claimed because the fight was non-violent and there was a combination of legal procedure about the transfer. The public should know that the lands were first confiscated by the then Government, and when the confiscators did not seem to break the spirit of the ligature, the minority means of selling the lands was resorted to. But they seemed to be

scorched off their own acreage and they desisted from selling further lands. I would the rather draw the curtain over the painful past. I have stated it just to let the reader know that the Bombay Government have not been guilty of injustice.

Khar, 23.10.32

Notes

Mr. and English v. Shri, Master, Master, Jank and the Lake

Some friends told me on my passing "Shri" before I took a word of "Mr." in my statement made before I visited him in Bombay that it must have offended him. I desisted and said that if he was offended he would have given me a gentle hint, I would have apologised and used an adjective for him. I am sure. The English will remember, in the history of non-co-operation the terms "Mr." and "Eng." were dropped by Congress and the nationalist press, and "Shri" was the title largely used for all irrespective of religion. Though the practice has largely fallen into disuse, I have never given it up. But for our bad habit I was going to my friends' meetings, we would never have used "Mr." and "Eng." before or after Indian names. In Europe an Englishman never addresses his friend as "Mr." or "Eng." but uses the adjective names or the respective professions. Thus Hitler is never called "Mr." but a "Herr" Hitler. Similarly Mussolini is neither "Mr." nor "Herr", he is a "Signor". Why we should have dropped our own name-suffixes, I do not know. For a moment's discomfort from the prevailing habit should show us that the use of "Mr." and "Eng." before or after Indian names sounds ludicrous.

I want, however, admit that the use of "Shri" before Indian names on three days of national mourning, may not please Muslim friends. I have discussed the matter with some Muslim friends. They told me the word "Maulvi" was the most appropriate. (Just) I have heard often in the South. Anyway I can say that in using "Shri" for Muslim Indian names I have had no idea except the friendship. When anybody calls me "Mr." the use of the word puts me out. The happens Hindu says it is at the end of the name. (Just) it is synonymous with "a" I remember I always used to address the late Mahatma Ajitkumar as "Mahatma". Some Muslim friends told

me that Mahan 'Pitab' would be preferred by Muslims. I had not known before of any such preference. But since the conversion, except for inadvertent use of 'a', I always addressed the deceased parent as Mahan Sahib. I could not address him as 'Mr.' Anyhow, even if somebody deposited five rupees on the table back. It seems that we become 'Muslims' and 'Hajiras' after we receive English education!! Will students learned in this kind of hat help me and persons like me by giving the accustomed usages in vogue in India?

Umanan, 20-10-38

M. K. G.

From Pottol New Zealand

Under date 26th September Dr. Kishor Nag writes from Auckland

"After the Commonwealth Relations Conference, I found the delegates from New Zealand who were returning, and they did their best to make my visit useful and interesting. While visiting the cities of Australia, I was glad to meet Indians in Fremantle, Perth, Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney. They spoke to me about their difficulties resulting from the 'White Australia' policy. Pandit Kumar and myself supported whole-heartedly by two Muslim fellow delegates (Omarullah and Anwar Ali), entered complete protests against such degrading racial discriminations.

Coming to New Zealand I found the condition of the Indians slightly better. The old settlers and their children have reasonably right, but they cannot bring any one member of their family or other friends to help them in developing their business. Parents and families generally found amongst our Indian groups abroad are companions by their absence here in New Zealand, where the majority are Gujaratis from Surat and Navan, together with a few Punjabis, engaged in dairy farming, while the Gujaratis are specializing in vegetables and fruit without business. A few Indian students from Poo come to study medicine and other technical subjects here.

On Sunday the 18th September, the Indian residents of Wellington and of Auckland were kind especially to celebrate your happy birthday. Our one hundred in Auckland and about fifty two in Wellington participated and the Wellington group especially wanted me to deliver an address on your life and teachings. It was real joy and privilege for me to express in my humble way the principle of non-violence for which the two-race nations would want come to India for cure. That, as has been pointed out by you, is the only way of escape from race, there is no other path for emancipation.

I gave them also some ideas about your Satyagraha, which I had the pleasure of visiting your lower teaching on self-supporting education, your better service to the state of the Harijans. I was very glad to find that our Indian friends of New Zealand in the Gandhi Jayanti meeting elected a few children from Bhagavadgita with Gujarati teachers. They

showed me the idea of Harijan in English and Gujarati, and when I was about to leave them they collected 12 New Zealand = £ 500 in English coin which is the 'coloured draft'.

The draft has been sent to the Harijan Sewak Sangh central office Delhi.

Umanan, 20-10-38

M. K. G.

HARIJAN WORKERS OF BOMBAY

Unfortunate Workers of Bombay City, recently published, is a theme submitted by Shri C. B. Padhan*, and accepted by the University of Bombay, for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Arts. It embodies the results of a fairly exhaustive social and economic survey made by the author by house-to-house visits during the years 1933-35 among 585 Marathi-speaking and 604 Gujarati-speaking Harijan families scattered in hatches over different parts of the city. It is a master-fulfilling presentation of "the first-hand information he thus gathered, almost single-handed, by patient inquiries and personal observation.

Their houses, says the author, "present a dismal appearance." Each family has generally one room — "a kitchen, a sitting room, a sleeping room, a bath room and a hygienic room all in one." Single-room communities can possibly have no privacy, and "a married couple sleeps in the same room with other members. In some cases there are two or more married couples in the same room, each couple occupying the room by turns. Out of 1625 families in all 1218 (i.e. about 75%) are allowed to have even a single-room community, a small room being shared by 1-12 persons on an average. Even this amenity is beyond the means of many, and out of the families whose conditions were improved into 362 were found to be occupying 126 rooms, more than one family sharing each room between themselves. "Happily in the Gujarati-speaking families there are only 18 families which share one room between two families." But the mass of the Marathi-speaking families is appalling. There are as many as 346 families which share one room between two or more families. 68 families out of these, with a total strength of 132 persons, are homeless." In the case of as many as 224 families with a total of 382 members, two families were found to be living in one room. According to the Census Report of 1921, 35 p. 2 of the total number of Marathi-speaking families were found to be sharing one room between one or more families with, on an average, 94 persons living in one room. The rooms are generally 12' x 12'. The conditions of these communities need to be personally observed in order to be sufficiently realized. Facts for the each family has to pay

* Published by Karmukar Publishing House, Chhatrapati, Bombay 2. Price Rs. 10.

2. The Harijan-speaking in Bombay number 154,377, i.e. about one-tenth of the total population of the city by no means an insignificant number.

on an average Rs. 19 per month is met. The expenditures of these classes are in most cases extremely high, water, clothes and water supply are often inefficient and the rooms are filled with darkness heat and smoke. And in those, a working mass of household spends six days year in and year out. There are still many more who live in huts made of 'mud' or of the pieces of broken oil cans.

The average monthly income of the bulk of these families ranges from Rs. 25 to 30; 35 families earn nothing, and the percentage of those who earn over Rs. 30 is negligible. A family, on an average, consists of 4.5 persons. It will thus be seen that the income per family is meagre and is hardly enough to maintain a family and to house it properly.

The author has spent a great amount of time and labour on compiling tables of the incomes and various expenditures of these families. The figures are instructive and clearly indicate a gap in the standard of living proportions as an increase in income. Families with higher incomes live, so far as possible, in single rooms, eat better food and wear better clothes, e.g. among the Gujarati-speaking families those with an average monthly income of Rs. 21 to 25 spent Rs. 19 on food while those earning Rs. 45 and above spent Rs. 32. Much of their money is thus due to their poverty and the meagreness of their incomes. Besides food and clothing they incur expenses after marriage which for them, are nothing short of extravagant. "In 4089 and Rs. 20000," says the author, after having examined 1341 different cases, "are spent on an average on every marriage in the case of the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking families respectively."

The figures also show eloquently enough as to how these people are forced to get new debt even in order to meet the basic necessities of life. Let us cite one most glaring instance of this. Among the Gujarati-speaking families, 45 earning on an average Rs. 18.5 had to spend on an average Rs. 121—i.e. 1065 p. c. of the income—on food alone. Among the Marathi-speaking families, 128 families earning on an average Rs. 9.5 had to spend Rs. 119—i.e. 1254 p. c. of the income on food. Let us take the next group:

Families Income Rs.	Food	Costing
Gujarati 173	224	25 1705
Marathi 128	278	49 193

To these are to be added expenditures on marriages, child births, sicknesses, funeral, etc. Drink and drugs take away not a small share of the income. Getting into debt, therefore, becomes inevitable. "34 p. cent. of the Gujarati and 66.9 per cent. of the Marathi speaking families are indebted. Each indebted family has a debt of Rs. 303.7 on an average." The rate of interest they pay ranges from 15 to 300 %. It is difficult to imagine how life—in all possible other than their circumstances—is a any worse

than this gets them up a life of vice and sin over a living by asking these houses, that persons refuse to send children to school, if only for the lack of the money to pay fees and to buy slates and books and that they are ignorant enough not to avail of medical aid—even when given free—but resort to superstitious practices in cases of illness! Their vital statistics tell a harrowing tale. "One of 1000 children born, 3076 and 4837 children die before completing the 5th year of their life in the Gujarati and the Marathi speaking Depressed Classes respectively." Of these 75 and 64 per cent. respectively die of fever and cough. The high death rate among children can be directly traced to malnutrition and unhealthy surroundings.

"The problem of housing of the Depressed Classes," says the author, "is the most important one because the existing housing conditions have marked detrimental effects on their health and efficiency. They are today a crowd of sick people, tired, dull and shivering. On human grounds, at least the problem must be solved, and what it may. This should be done on the ground of their self-interest also. For it is these playthings that are the breeding grounds of all sorts of infectious diseases which spread over wide areas of the city and take a heavy toll of lives."

The conditions described in the book are not peculiar to Bombay, but are common to all cities and towns in India. Are there the necessary consciousness of industrialism and industrialisation? In village housing conditions are not as bad as in cities. Speaking of villages, we wish the author had inquired into the reasons of the migration of these Harijans into Bombay from the villages. He would have traced the relation to the break-up of village economy and destruction of village handicrafts. For instance, among the Gujarati families 80 per cent. of male, and 75 per cent. of female, workers are employed in the Manchester mostly as scavengers. Many of them have been women in Gujarat and Kathiawar, and migrated to Bombay when the industry of hand-weaving was destroyed by foreign and machine-made cloth, thus condemning thousands of skilled workers to unskilled labour and a life of sweating misery and despair.

The author has added a useful service to the cause of Harjan uplift by selecting that subject for his theme and devoting years to what he seems to have made a lifetime of love. The book should move so close to the Harjan world that a vast field of service has before them, and should awaken in those who are in charge of civic affairs a sense of the duty society owes to a large class of its most useful workers.

C. S.

The Challenge of the South-West Frontier

By C. F. Andrews

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H A R I J A N

Vol. III

1938

HINDUSTANI, HINDI AND URDU

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is a great pity that bitter controversy has taken place and still continues regarding the Hindi-Urdu question. So far as the Congress is concerned Hindustani is an unopposed official language designed at an all India language for unopposed contact. It is not to supplant but to supplement the provincial languages. The recent conduct of the Working Committee should not all doubt be met. If the Congressmen who have to do all India work will only take the trouble of learning Hindustani in both the scripts, we shall have taken many strides in the direction of our common language goal. The real competition is not between Hindi and Urdu but between Hindustani and English. It is a tough fight. I am earnestly watching it with great concern.

Hindi-Urdu controversy has no better. Hindustani of the Congress conception has yet to be approached into shape. It will not be so long as Congress proceedings are not conducted entirely in Hindustani. The Congress will have to prescribe the dictionaries for use by Congressmen and a department will have to supply new words outside the dictionaries. It is great work, it is work worth doing, if we are really to have a broad, growing all India speech. The department will have to determine which of the many literature shall be considered as Hindustani, books, magazines, websites, dates, whether written in Urdu script or Devanagari. It is serious work involving a vast amount of plodding if it is to achieve success.

For the purpose of crystallising Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu may be regarded as feeders. A Congressman must therefore work well in both and keep in touch with both as far as he can.

The Hindustani will have many processes to supply the varied requirements of a growing nation such as provincial languages. Hindustani spoken in South or Southern provinces will naturally have a large stock of words of Sanskrit origin. The same speech followed in the Punjab will have a large admixture of words of Arabic or Persian origin. Similar will be the case with audiences composed predominantly of Muslims who cannot understand pure words of Sanskrit origin. All India speakers will have therefore to construct a Hindustani vocabulary which will enable them to feel at home with audiences drawn from all parts of India. Pandit Malaviya's name comes uppermost in the connection I have known

him handle Hindi-speaking and Urdu-speaking audiences with equal ease. I have never found him so witty of the current word. The same is true of Babu Bhagwanadas who uses synonymous words in the same speech, and he uses it at such a pace that he is in good. Among the Muslims at the time of writing I can think of only Mian Muhammad Ali whose vocabulary was varied enough to suit both audiences. His knowledge of Quranic acquired in Arabic service stood him in good stead.

Independently of the Congress Hindi and Urdu will continue to flourish. Hindi will be mostly confined to Hindus and Urdu to Muslims. As a matter of fact, comparatively speaking, there are very few Muslims who know Hindi well enough to be called scholars, though I expect, in Hindi-speaking parts to Muslims learn them. Hindi is the mother tongue. There are thousands of Hindus whose mother tongue is Urdu and there are hundreds who can be aptly described as Urdu scholars. Pandit Madhok was one such. Dr. T. T. Babbar, Nagpur is another. Hindustani can be easily multiplied. There is therefore no reason for any quarrel or unhealthy competition between the two areas. Healthy competition there always must be.

From all accounts I have received it seems that, under the able guidance of Muslim Sahib Abdul Haq, the Quana University is rendering great service to the cause of Urdu. The University has a big Urdu library. Scientific treatment has been and are being prepared in Urdu. And as the teaching is being honestly imparted through Urdu in that University it must grow. And if owing to unconscious prejudice today, all Hindi-speaking Hindus do not profit by the literature that is growing there, it is their fault. But the prejudice has to die. For, the present distance between the communities is, like all distances, only temporary. For good or for ill, the two communities are welded to India, they are neighbours, men of the soil. They are destined to die here as they are born here. Nature will force them to live in peace if they do not come together voluntarily.

And as with the Hindus so with the Muslims. It is the latter's loss, if they will not take advantage of the fruits of the beautiful library of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and the Urdu Prabandh Sabha. It is a pity that have not taken note with pride and pleasure of the big (for the Sammelan) map taken by it in defining Hindi as the language spoken in the north by Hindus and Mussalman and written in Urdu or Devanagari script. Thus, so far as the definition is concerned, it removes the Congress definition of Hindustani.

I know that there are some who dream that there shall be only Urdu or only Hindi. I think it will always remain a dream and it is an unwise dream. Islam has its own peculiar colour, so too Hindustani as one India of the future will be a perfect and happy blend of both. When

than toward their common, their common speech will be Hindustani. But Urdu will still flourish with a predominance of Arabic and Persian words, and Hindi will still flourish with its abundant Sanskrit vocabulary. The language of Tabaka and Sarkar cannot die, even as the language in which Shikhi words cannot die. But the best of both will be seen at least with Hindustani speech.

Urmiana, 18-20-33

IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE

II

Among the Pathan Pals

Like all good things on earth the spell of "mastery" mastery which the Feroz Khan Sahib had prevailed on Gaudhop and about which I once last week came to an end on Saturday last, the 15th inst., when we set out on a tour of the interior of the Marikan District and Nowshera. The itinerary was brief and circumscribed in my notes, so that Gaudhop was able to agree to it practically without any change. The journey was by motor, the proprietors, but which Feroz Khan Sahib had made a gift of to the Khudai Khidmatgar being considered for the purpose. As we sped along the asphalted road, practically entire villages on either side of the road passed out of doors to leave a glimpse of Gaudhop. They were all silent. Such was the sense of discipline which they exhibited. These Pathans converse with their guests without a word of ceremony and a social reserve and dignity of bearing which remarkably endow them in you. How one wishes their example were copied by the crowds in the rest of India. Thus one weakness—if a weakness it may be termed—in their passion for hospitality and it might have proved embarrassing to Gaudhop. But thanks to Feroz Sahib's thoughtfulness and his ready appeal, it was kept effectively under check.

Striving Little Todaks

The only exception in this respect during the present tour was when on the issue of a casual among our Urmiana Gaudhop had to get out of the bus to receive gifts of fruit and suppers and vegetables which the inhabitants of Manse Khan Koh—passed after one of Feroz Sahib's marches—had brought to offer to him as a token of their hospitality. "We want you as guests in our midst and make our presence near home," they said to him. "We have a right perception over you," remarked the leading Khudai. You kept our Badshah Khan to some part of the country under duress for six years. We may keep you here as prisoner of our love at least for six months." And everybody laughed heartily in the witness. Gaudhop with the rest. Over a score of little children too had climbed out of the village to be introduced to Gaudhop and shake hands with him. They walked up to Gaudhop one by one their Mahomed caps drawn close over their heads, shawl faces, took his

both hands in theirs and shook them with a fervor and of importance, in the right Pathan style, not dropping their families "new words" and gently stroked of his curly locks, with an additional air of importance which they had learned in their own travel.

The Road to Nowshera

From Peshawar to Nowshera is an hour's journey by car. The air there clear as a sapphire blue sky and the air was sweetly crisp and cool when we started. But I must reserve the temptation of describing the natural beauty of the landscape till, though it was the fourth program was through a clear, purple haze of rambling up masses of hills, at one time and so be heavily wooded but now bare, open and wind-swept that profiled the distant horizon. On the verge of the stored path that went up before the mounds up to one contemplated the numerous ridges of the Badkhan and Ghorakhan valleys with which the whole of the Feroz and Kabul river valleys are thickly strewn. They did not escape, in more than a casual manner. Gaudhop's word which was wisely corrected with thoughts about the Khudai Khidmatgar. He had undertaken a tremendous responsibility. Here was a body of men, armed through out the world as the daughters of fighters. And now, at the bidding of one man, they had renounced the use of arms and adopted non-violence as their creed. What next he do to convert them into full-fledged soldiers of non-violence for winning India's freedom? Would he succeed?

Only the Beginning

We reached Nowshera after crossing the Kabul river, on the afternoon of the 15th inst. There is a big military establishment at Nowshera which, together with the movement and at least a hundred men to maintain the military camp at Peshawar. Peshawar being too near the border it was considered to be altogether unsafe to permit a possible surprise from the direction of the Khyber Pass which is partly. As Nowshera too, so at Urmiana and Peshawar, Gaudhop had a meeting with the officers of the Khudai Khidmatgar. In the course of a warm address which they presented to him they thanked him for having presented to them the weapons of non-violence which was infinitely superior to and more potent than the weapons of steel and brass. They assured Gaudhop that their faith in non-violence was unshaken and unshakable as had been amply proved by their conduct during the Civil Disobedience strike and that they would never go back upon it.

A Peace Peace in Making

"I accept in your own name, and Gaudhop acknowledged the address, that you have fully understood the principle of non-violence and that you will hold on to it always. I emphasize you on it, and I further say that if you can put the whole of this doctrine into practice, you will make history. You claim to

have one lakh Khudai Khidmatgar on your square which exceeds the total number of Congress volunteers as it stands today. You are all pledged to selfless service. You are all monetary abstinence. You have even to provide your own uniforms. You are a homogeneous and disciplined body. Khud Sahib's word is law to you. You have proved your capacity to receive blows without retaliation. But this is only the first step in your profession, not the last. To give India's freedom the capacity for selfless must be hand in hand with the capacity for ceaseless labour. A soldier for freedom must incessantly work for the benefit of all. The resemblance between you and the ordinary soldier begins and ends with the cut of the uniform and perhaps their non-commission which you have adopted. But unlike them the basis of all your activity is not violence but non-violence. Therefore, your training, your physical capacities, your mode of working, even your thoughts and aspirations must necessarily be different from theirs. A soldier is born to be trained to kill. Even he dreams up about killing. He dreams of triumph, of winning fame and advancement on the battlefield for the prowess of his arms. He has no other idea but to win. A Khatagan, a Khudai Khidmatgar, on the other hand would always long for opportunity for self service. All he can would be given to labour of love. If he dreams, it will not be about killing but about laying down his life to serve others. He has no other idea but to serve and for his fellow-men as an art.

"But what shall be the trained that will fit you out for the sort of work," he next asked, and replied that it must be training in various branches of constructive work.

These Borderlands

With one lakh Khudai Khidmatgar trained in the science of constructive non-violence, he told them, cross-border work should become a thing of the past. You should consider it a matter of your shame if a single thief or dacoit takes place in your midst. Even the thieves and cross-border raiders are human beings. They commit crime not for the love of the thing itself but because they are driven to it largely by poverty and want. They know no other. The only method of dealing with them that has been adopted so far has been that of employing force. They are given no quarter and they give none. Dr Khud Sahib feels helpless against them because the Government has no other way of dealing with them. But you can make a non-violent approach to the problem, and I am sure you will succeed where the Government has failed. You can teach them to live honestly like ourselves by providing them cottage employment. You can do so then make serve them in their homes and explain to them change in a loving and sympathetic manner, and you won't find them altogether amenable to the appearance of law. There are two ways open to you

today, the way of brute force, that has already been tried and found wanting and the way of peace. You seem to have made your final choice. May you prove equal to it.

Kash, 22-10-38

Fyzul

THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION MOVEMENT

[When Dr Hargreth, who visited me some time ago, I invited him to give me a note on the remarkable People's Education Movement going on in China. He has now sent the following interesting note which cannot but be useful to us in India. M. K. G.]

1

The People's Education Movement started some twelve years ago when a group of professors and students plunged into the life of the peasantry and tried to work out a method of education which would be of real service to the peasants. It has been an effort to supplement what the regular school system cannot do. It has been an attempt to develop an education from native soil as against education imported from foreign lands which have different historical and physical backgrounds. It has been an attempt to develop an education for the great masses of toiling people as against the education for the privileged few. It has been an attempt to develop an education for the whole life as against the education for an abstract method. In order to achieve these objectives we have had down four conditions to be observed in success:

1. The experimenters must live among the masses and learn from them.
2. The methods must be based on reflective acting instead of academic thinking.
3. The cost of education must be reduced to a minimum both in money and time.
4. A will to free ourselves from the bias and prejudices of the teaching profession.

There are some of the things that show a partial picture of the Masses Village Experiment (Shen Chaiang). The chief results of the experiment are the foundation of the theories of Life as Education, Society as School, and the Unity in Teaching, Learning and Self-Service Acting. The Shen Pao Labour Science Union and the Life Teachers came to answer the challenge of the Invention of 1921 and 1922. When the invasion penetrated into North China and the Peking students rose to call for its protection, our movement took the form of the Society of National China Education and co-operated hand in hand with the All China National Salvation Association. Ever since December 1935, the aim of the movement have been:

1. United Defence of Chinese Democracy.
2. World peace through international co-operation.
3. Self-lifting of the people.

4. Poor education for all

It is only the last aim and the methods for attaining it that will receive detailed discussion here. Even here it is not linguistic literacy alone that is looked for, but also political and economic literacy. All the while we are trying our utmost to discover the simplest techniques that will make it possible for an education of the people, by the people and for the people to be worked out so that our people can qualify more and more for participating in the great struggle for a free China among the family of free nations.

The Scholar Ghost

A wrong conception of education with centuries' tradition behind it is in our way. Education in the old sense has been identified with book-reading. A scholar is called a 'bookworm' which means one who reads books. When you ask a professor what his profession is, in a very usual manner he would answer, "I am teaching books in Peking University." In the same way a student would answer, "We are books' slaves," meaning that he is reading books in Peking University. While we value books as an important means of enlightening ourselves in past and contemporary education, we doubt whether reading books alone can lead us to freedom and doubt whether one has done justice to books by merely reading them. In more progressive circles such scholars are nicknamed as 'bookworms'. My friend, Dr. F. C. Chang, calls them 'scholar ghosts'. Here is a little poem of mine which gives a picture of such scholars.

What is a scholar ghost?

He lives along the Pacific Coast.

He has bookish knowledge to boast.

He has his eye on the official post.

He likes delicious food.

And makes the half-starved farmers to be

his hosts.

When killed, he makes children

And makes all of them little scholar ghosts.

Hands and Brains Unite

Traditional education in China seems to have created two types of strange human beings. In the schools the students are fed with knowledge to swell their heads and are provided with little opportunity for the use of their hands. Services are done more things for them that should be done by themselves. The making of mud pie and the opening of a watch for examination are paraded skills. From the development of the human race we know it was our hands that helped to make the brain. As our hands were set free by the created machine we began to work, and as we were working we made more that were gradually released to serve as our spoken language. The written languages and tools are all the creation of our hands. The disappearance of the use of hands in the older schools has really deflected their own purposes of developing the brain. With this abnormal training the students have acquired a store of

undigested and unrelated knowledge without being able to identify them with reality. They seem to have a big head which cannot think accurately in terms of the dynamic world. Therefore those who have had the opportunity of schooling come out with a big head and a pair of small hands, in figurative speech, look somewhat like a kangaroo, having only the strength to pick up a pen and write a few lines. On the other hand the great masses of our people, doing the great bulk of work for the nation, are left without school education. While they are paying taxes for schools to run, they and their children have been deprived of every lesson for cultural growth. They have been forced to exist with the appearance of a small head and a pair of big hands. The Life Education Movement aims at the restoration of both of these strange human beings to normal life. We want to awaken the scholars to pull out their hands to work and awaken the great masses of people to have something use their hands in order to think. The language was created of the scholars with the peasants has achieved almost miracles. Both the scholars and the peasants have rediscovered something they had forgotten. The scholars among the splendid products work done by the peasants, cannot but cry out, "Don't we have hands too? Why don't we work?" In a similar way the peasants have rediscovered their brains: "We have head, yes, we have head, but we think." Indeed real education must help to produce persons who can think and build. What we need is an education for brain-declined hands and hand-declined brains. This new conception of education is pictured by a poem, entitled "Brain and Hand Unite."

Two workers, work us killing means
A pair of two hands and a good brain
He who does not use his hand
Belongs to the defuncted king's land.
He who does not use his brain
Has to enter large and great.
He who uses both his brain and hand
Can create a new world on exploited land.

Labour-Science Union

From the principle of the Unity of Brain and Hands we have evolved the idea of Labour-Science Union. This seemed to be a very awkward name, but it tells the contents, methods and organization of our new education. Labour to enrich life, science to understand life, union to protect life. This gives the whole content of education. Further the methods of labour, science and union determine the methods of education which will no longer be purely academic. Finally, the union shows the nature of the organization. It is a richer term than school, because a school is the traditional name may exist so science but offers very little opportunity for the students to work and co-operate. It is even a larger term than co-operative society which does not give enough attention to other

phases of human life besides the immediate economic needs.

In practice the Labour Science Union takes three forms. First, those which apply the new principle in the strict sense and take the name of Labour Science Union, such as the Cotton Growers' Labour Science Union in Fuzhou, and the News Boys' Labour Science Union in Shanghai. In the former case, cotton-growing is labour; the seeking of a better way of growing cotton and a better understanding of life as a whole is science, and the organizing of the peasants engaged in growing cotton in such a way as to be able to protect their fruits of labour from exploitation as well as to participate in the greater protection of the nation and mankind against aggression constitutes the real meaning of a union. The improvement of the quality of cotton through a better selection of seeds has enabled a small community to reap an increase of 2,000 dollars averaging at 5 to 6 per acre. One-third of this extra income has enabled them to start a Children's Labour Science Union in the same village, aiming to give a better education to the children.

The Newsboys' Labour Science Union on Puking Road, Shanghai, was founded in a very interesting way. One day it was noticed that these boys could not read the newspapers they were selling. We offered the service of a young man to teach them. This was accepted by the boys with gladness. Then they met with the difficulty to find a class room. The boys were charged with the mission to find a place by themselves. Finally, the member of Labour, one of the boys, was generous enough to offer his only room for the first use of these boys. They spent one hour a day with the voluntary teacher there. The newspapers became their text-books. Headlines were their first lesson. They were given education free, but in return they had the duty to share what they learned with their neighbours. The boys were self-sufficient. Selling newspapers began to be regarded as a very honourable labour. Once united the boys became strong. They have a better chance to deal with the news dealers. Some of them have even won respect from enlightened police.

The usual form of Labour Science Union is worked out under the name of schools. They have described their progress by incorporating some productive and academic activities, but will keep the name of a school.

The third form consists of uniting the co-operatives with cultural and educative features while strengthening the productive phase. They are Labour Science Unions in reality but keep the name of co-operative societies. This movement will render its timely service to the millions of refugees.

(To be continued)

THE TRAVANCORE AMNESTY

Cardiff has issued the following statement on the 28th inst.

I tender my congratulations to His Highness, Mar Highness and the Dewan for the general amnesty granted on evil doers' birthday. It is to be hoped that in order to make the amnesty fruitful and hence permanent it will be followed up by the appointment of a committee of inquiry into past events and another into the nature of responsible government to be granted under the sign of the Maharaja.

There remain still elements against the Dewan. I would repeat my suggestion for withdrawal. Withdrawal need not mean disband in their rank by the authorities. They should withdraw in the higher interest. The case for responsible government must not be mixed up with the allegations which pale into insignificance compared to the question of the transference of power into the hands of the people.

Khad Sales in Bombay

Last week we gave the figures of Khadi sold at Ahmedabad during the Gandhi Jayanti celebrations. Here are the figures sent by the Manager, A. I. S. A. Khadi Bhandar, Bombay, of Khadi sold in Bombay during the same period.

	1937	1938
Khadi	Rs. 26,920	Rs. 42,832
Khadi bands	Rs. 35,400	Rs. 95,380
	Rs. 62,320	Rs. 138,212

It is to be hoped the central office of the A. I. S. A. will compile similar figures for the various provinces.

C. S.

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CONTENTS

		ACC.
THE COMPLICATED LIES	M. K. Gandhi	105
RAMANUJAN OF		
BOHRA	C. S.	104
HINDUSTANI, HINDI AND URDU	M. K. Gandhi	103
IS THE FUTURE PROTECTED—II	P. S. S.	102
THE FUTURE PROTECTED		
MOVEMENTS—II	H. T.	110
THE TRAVANCORE AMNESTY	M. K. Gandhi	112
NOTES		
MR. & MRS. M. S. S. S.		
JAMES & THE LIE	M. K. G.	103
FROM FAR-OFF NEW ZEALAND	M. K. G.	100
ROADS SALES IN BOMBAY	C. S.	107



HARIZAN

1140

Twelve Pages

Editor: MANMOY BEHRA

Under the Auspices of The Marjua South League

VOL. VI, No. 39]

POONA — SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1932

[ONE ANNA

SPEECH AT BANNU

[The following is the full text of Gandhi's speech at Bannu in the public meeting at Bannu held on the 29th instant.]

"Perhaps you know that for over two months I have been observing complete silence. I have been fasted by it, and I believe it has benefited the country too. The silence was originally taken in answer to an acute marital distress, but subsequently I decided on keeping it indefinitely on my own merits. It has served me as a wall of protection and enabled me to cope with my work better than before. When I came to this province, I had resolved to relax my silence only for the purpose of having talks with the Khudai Khidmatgars, but I had to yield to Khan Sahib's pressure.

I can Do Little

"Your addresses have welcomed me, and thanked me for having come here. I do not think I deserve any praise or thanks. I know that I can do very little to satisfy your expectations. My visit to the Frontier Province is purely to meet the Khudai Khidmatgars, and leave for myself three unblemished months. Was to pass time in a by-product.

Peculiar Situation

I gave many hours today spent deposition and studying papers presented to me. The scenes and of Bannu and the happenings during the raid have touched me deeply. This Province is peculiarly placed, and is different from the other provinces inasmuch as, on one side it is surrounded by a number of border tribes continuing men whose professions is raiding. So far as I have been able to know they are not actuated by material considerations. The raiders' motives seem to be satisfaction of primary needs. That the Khudai are more often their victims is probably due to the fact that they generally possess more money. The kidnappings too appear to have the same motive.

Government's Failure

Continuation of the raids is in my opinion a proof of British failure in this part of India. Their Frontier policy has cost the country, lives of rapists and thousands of lives have been sacrificed. The brave tribesmen still remain unsubdued. If all the accounts I have heard to day are substantially correct, and I believe they

are, life and property are not secure in most parts of the province.

No Magic Cure

A number of people whose relatives or dear ones have either been killed or kidnapped and held in ransom by the raiders, saw me today. As I listened to the harrowing tales of distress my heart went out to them in sympathy. But I must caution you that with all the will in the world, I possess no magic spell by which I could remove them to their families. Nor should you expect much from the Government or the Congress manner. No Government can afford to, and the present British Government lacks even the will, to maintain an military operations every time one of its subjects is kidnapped, unless the person kidnapped happens to belong to the ruling race.

Ministry may Resign

After studying all the facts I have gained the impression that the situation in respect of border raids has grown worse since the incorporation of Congress Government. The Congress ministers have no effective control over the police, none over the military. The Congress ministry is this province has less than the others. I therefore feel that unless Mr. Khan Sahib can cope with the question of the raids it might be better for him to tender his resignation. There is danger of the Congress losing all prestige in that province if the raids continue to increase. Apart from my opinion, you have to say for yourselves whether in spite of the hardships I have mentioned, you would rather have the Congress ministry or some other. After all, the Prime Minister is your servant. He holds office under the triple sanction of his electorate, the Provincial Congress Committee and the working Committee.

Other Alternatives

Some of those who met me to day asked me if they could seek safety by migrating from the Frontier Province. I have told them that migration is a perfectly legitimate course to adopt when there is no other way of living with safety and honour. A complaint has further been brought to me that the Muslim population in the affected places no longer give help against the raiders which they used to formerly, before certain sections of Frontier Crimes Regulations Act were repealed, and that has encouraged the raiders. While that may be true, let me warn

you that if you depend for your protection on the armed assistance of others you must be prepared sooner or later to accept the domination of those defenders. Of course you are entitled to have the art of defending yourselves with arms. You must develop a sense of co-operation. In no case should you be guilty of cowardice. Self-defence is everybody's birth right. I do not want to see a single coward in India.

Non-violent Approach

The Fourth alternative is that of non-violent approach which I am here before you to support. It is the surest and infallible method of self defence. I had my way, I would go and mix with critics and argue it out with them and I am sure they won't be impervious to the argument of love and reason. But I know, today, that does it does not. The Government won't permit me to enter the tribal territory.

Not a Beggarman

The tribesman cannot be the beggarman that he is represented to be. He is a human, just like you and me and capable of responding to the human touch which has hitherto been compensated by an absolute on dealing with him. A number of Waziris came and saw me today at noon. I did not feel that their nature was essentially different from human nature elsewhere.

Weapons of Love

Man's nature is not essentially evil. His nature has been driven to evil by the influence of love. You must never despair of human nature. You are a community of readers. Do not drive out of your traffic these soldiers and most persons of merchandise viz. love. There is the tribesman all the love that you are capable of, and you will have them in return.

Before Blackmail

To seek safety by offering blackmail or ransom to the rulers would be a direct invitation to them to repeat their depredations and will be demoralizing alike to the poor and the tribesmen. Instead of offering them money, the rational course would be to raise them above poverty by teaching them industry and thereby removing the principal motive that leads them into the trading habit.

A Final Solution

I am having talks with Khuda Khudnagar in this connection and evolving a plan of collaboration with Khan Sahib. If the plan bears fruit, and the Khuda Khudnagar only become what their name signifies, the influence of their example like the great influence of the rose will spread to the tribes and might provide a permanent solution of the Frontier question.

BURMA, 26-10-38

The Challenge of the North-West Frontier

By C. F. Andrews

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AT MARDAN

The talk at Mardan was for a couple of hours only. Leaving Mardan on the next day, we reached Hiss Mardan at evening. Hiss Mardan is the head quarters of Marikot district. Like Mardan it is too a commercial town and owes its strategic importance to the fact that it is the centre of traffic for the tribes inhabiting the adjoining territories of Swat, Buner, Pajur and Dir.

The Sun of Non-violence

A case of common sense through the talk that Gandhiji gave to the Khudis Khudnagar at Mardan. In reply to his usual question, whether they had fully understood the meaning of non-violence and whether they would remain non-violent under all circumstances, one of them replied that they could put up with every kind of provocation except the abuse of their sacred leaders. That gave Gandhiji his cue, and he explained to them that non-violence could not, like the sun's ray be accepted or rejected in part. It had value only when it was practised in its entirety. "When the sun runs the whole world is filled with its warmth, so that even the blind man feels its presence. Even so when one link of Khudis Khudnagar are fully permeated with the spirit of non-violence, it will permeate itself and everybody will feel its life-giving breath."

A Significant "I"

"I know it is difficult," he proceeded, "it is no joke for a Pathan to take an effort toward him. I have known Pathans under my South African days. I had the privilege of coming into close and intimate contact with them. Some of them were my pupils. They treated me as their friend, philosopher and guide, in whom they could confide freely. They would even make and make to me their secret errors. They were a mouth and ready ear. Few masters in the art of working the habit, influence, first to take part in race, they held life cheap, and would have killed a human being with no more thought than they would a sheep or a hog. That such men should, at the bidding of one man have had their own arms and accepted non-violence as the superior weapon sounds almost like a fairy tale. If the one link of Khudis Khudnagar, become truly non-violent in heart and in spirit and shed their violent past completely as a snake does its poisonous skin, it would be nothing short of a miracle. That is why I repeat of the assurance of your faith in non-violence that you have given me, I am forced to be cautious and profess my doubts with us. 'I' My difference is only a measure of the difficulty of the task. But nothing is too difficult for the brave and I know the Pathans are brave."

The Crucial Test

He then went on to describe the scene by which he would judge whether the Khudis

Khalidmaran had released the spirit of non-violence. The crucial test by which I shall judge you is this: 'Have you befriended and won the confidence of such and all in your locality? Do the people regard you with love or with fear? So long as a single individual is afraid of you, you are no true Khalid Khalidmaran. A Khalid Khalidmaran will be gentle in his speech and manner, the light of purity will shine forth from his eyes, so that even a stranger, a woman or even a child would instinctively feel that here was a friend, a man of God, who could be trusted. A Khalid Khalidmaran will command the co-operation of all sections of the community, not the sect of adherents that a Mahant or a Fakir can command through his mystical power of control, but the willing and spontaneous obedience which is yielded to him alone. This power can be acquired only through constant, loving service, and waiting upon God. When I find that under your influence people are gradually giving up their dirt and necessary habits, the drunkard is being weaned from drink and the criminal from crime and the Khalid Khalidmaran are welcomed everywhere by the people as their natural protectors and friends in need, I shall know that, at last we have got to our goal: a body of men who have truly embodied the spirit of non-violence and the love of India's deliverance is close at hand.'

An Ideal Interpreter

Throughout these talks with Khalid Khalidmaran Khan Sahab acted as interpreter, and a finer interpreter Gandhiji could hardly have had or wished for. He did his work with care and zeal, and put his whole soul into it. His final exhortation to Khalid Khalidmaran, after explaining to them in Persian what Gandhiji had said, was worth remembering. "I know it is difficult to curb one's anger altogether. But you have pledged yourselves to it before God. Man is by nature weak but God is all powerful. He rewarded you may be for your efforts to be completely non-violent, but God helping you will succeed. It may not be all at once. The progress will necessarily be slow and there will be setbacks. But each effort will take you a step higher on your path. Do not lose heart." Simple words and straight, that proceeded from the depths of a soul at one with that in God, and were straight to the hearts of his disciples.

Heart Searching

Sadrat Tahal comments the North-Eastern most part of Madras District from which it is separated by Kulpas or Chikilpas. (Literally, the 'descent of error') It is one of the strongholds of the Khalid Khalidmaran movement. During the civil disturbances days, along with Unnavaia it became a scene centre of the fight which drew occasion for riotous expressions on the one side and a non-violent lesson on the other. Gandhiji's speech here was a passionate appeal to the Khalid Khalidmaran to

turn the monthlight towards. They had proved their worth by marching to jail in their hundreds, and thousands. But that was not enough, he told them. More filling of the jails would not beat India freedom. "Even thieves and criminals go to prison, but these peace going has not went. It is the suffering of the poor and innocent that tells. It is only when the authorities are compelled to put into prison the power and the most innocent persons that a change of heart is forced upon them. A Sahayathi goes to prison, not to enforce the lawman but to convert them by demonstrating to them his innocence. You should realize that unless you have developed the moral fitness to go to prison which the law of Sahayathi demands, your jail going will be useless and will bring you nothing but disappointment in the end. A votary of non-violence must have the capacity to put up with the indignities and hardships of prison life not only without resistance or anger but with joy in his heart for the preparation of those hardships and indignities. I would therefore, today, ask you to examine yourselves in the light of my remarks, and if you find that you cannot or do not want to go the full length, to drop your badge of non-violence and request Khan Sahab to release you from your pledge. That will be a species of hypocrisy. But if you have full faith in the creed of non-violence as I have described it, then leave it to me that God will arm you with the required strength in your hour of trial.

And the appeal was not wasted. At the end of the speech in answer to Khan Sahab's inquiry, the Khalidmaran said, "We admit we fall short of Mahatma's standard of non-violence. We have not been able to banish anger from our hearts. We often lose our temper. Some of the implications of non-violence that Mahatma has set before us are now to go. All we can say is, that we feel our shortcomings and that we will sincerely strive and spare no effort to overcome them and reach the ideal that has been placed before us."

Gandhiji was pleased at the truthful reply of the Khalidmaran. "Then it is well with us", he remarked as he took leave of them.

Bombay, 25-10-34

Patiala

Mr. Gandhi the Man

By Mollie Graham Field

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H A R I J A N

Nov. 3

1938

THE NATIONAL FLAG

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Here is a letter from a correspondent:

"It has become a far too common occurrence and therefore deserving of notice at your hands to set up the National Tri-colored Flag in such a manner as to indicate rivalry with or predominance over the religious flags and other symbols exhibited on occasions of religious worship and festivals. While we all desire that the National Flag should be a symbol of unity and determination to achieve uninterupted progress in all directions, we should be making this very purpose by trying to make rivalry between the National Flag and other flags and symbols connected with religion which should predominate on occasions of religious ceremony. The celebration of some of our western lands tend to err in this respect and in fact to develop an opposition in some quarters to the National Flag which did not exist before.

Some times, again, private interests tend to induce such to make use of the National feeling in support of the Flag and neglect it for their own purposes by mixing up a quarrel with the National Flag and confusing the issues in regard to religions.

It seems as if even so many of the most zealous for which you were responsible are liable to be miscontrolled and misdirected, when you are always ready to explain, mis-interpret and prevent misdirection. I particularly fear the use of argument of doing anything to create a rivalry between the National Flag and the religious symbols of other Hindus or Mussulmans or of others. The tendency of setting up the National Flag on temple and temple corners offends my sense of the universality of religion and the sanctity of temples to subordinate God."

As the author of the idea of a National Flag and its making up which is essence the present Flag represents, I have felt grieved how the Flag has been often abused and how it has even been used to cover violence. The flag has been draped to represent non-violence expressed through civil non-violent unity and non-violent labour which the lowliest and highest can easily undertake with the certain prospect of making substantial and yet unexpensive addition to the wealth of the country. But today it must be confessed that from that standpoint it is merely a piece of tricolour cloth not always Khadi and it is not good of and a living emblem of communal unity and crushing labour in which all participate. The spinning wheel does have its thousands of

village looms. But compared to what should be, the result is poor.

Moreover the National Flag, if it is a symbol of non-violence it must also mean harmony. If I had my way I would not exhibit it at any meeting which is not a purely Congress meeting, if a single person objects to it. The dignity of the Flag cannot be lowered by yielding even to a single objection at a non-Congress meeting. Its dignity will be lowered when it is hoisted down for fear of the power we want to gain. The dignity will be still more lowered when we exhibit it at meetings or on Congress offices though we have no living faith in communal unity and the spinning wheel with all its implications. Since the Flag is not a religious symbol and represents and reconciles all religions, all religious processes, or temples or religious gatherings it has no place. Everything has its value where it is in its place. It has none when it is out of its place. Indians and hinduism have no value whatsoever in the desert of Sahara. Indeed in the present state of tension, I would not have it on Government buildings or municipal offices unless it is accepted not merely by an overwhelming vote but unanimously. I have no hesitation in saying that even one vote cast against it, may be disastrously, should have no weight, if the flag is a symbol of non-violence and harmony.

My correspondent has evidently more faith in the power of my pen, than I have. I write not because I believe that my word would carry weight where it is needed to carry. But I may not reject the correspondent's appeal. His argument and facts I accept. I may not refrain myself simply because of the fear that my word may miscarry. Anyway it does not tend to reinforce my faith in the flag with all the implications I have mentioned.

Dacca,
24-10-38

Monsters of Trust

A correspondent writes:

"When at Ranch there is a Police Training School Police Officers are made in this school. They are expected to have their meals in a common mess and they are obliged to periods of fastness and wine. Let alone meat eating, here too is a connection with the Prohibition policy of the Government to train its police officers in wine drinking? These officers may well be required to take part in the Prohibition drive. Perhaps you do not even know that meat-eating and wine drinking is compulsory in this school."

I must confess my ignorance of the compulsion, it is only the assurance with which my correspondent writes that has induced me to publish the letter. If the information is true, it is surely monstrous that meat-eating and wine drinking

should be considered a necessary part of a police officer's training. This rule excludes vegetarians and non-drinkers from training as police officers. The rule is a gross injustice in a country in which tens of thousands are vegetarians by religion. I can only hope that the information is incorrect and that if it is true, the planned wrong will be redressed without delay.

Don Lunal Khas

M. K. G.

23-12-38.

WOMAN'S SPECIAL MISSION

(By M. K. Gouda)

The Editor, "Hainan"

Sir,

I have read your article on the recent European crisis with great joy. It was only natural that you should speak in Europe now. How could you restrain yourself when humanity was on the very verge of destruction?

Will the world listen? That is the question.

There is no doubt—judging from letters from friends in England—that people there went through absolute agony during that ghastly week. I am sure the same applies to the whole world. The mere thought of war—modern warfare—welds its deadly machinery and consequent pitiless brutality and barbarity—definitely made people think as they had never thought before. "The sigh of relief that was breathed and the gratitude to God that went up from every heart when the news came through that war had been averted are something that I can never forget as long as I live" writes an English friend. And yet it is just the last of unspeakable suffering, the dread of being slain oneself and dozens of being cruelly mutilated, that drove one to reject war? Are we glad war has been averted even at the foundation of another nation? Would we have felt differently at the murder of human life been demanded of us? Do we hate war because we realize it is the wrong way to settle disputes as in our latest of a part and parcel of our fate? These are questions that must be answered in the right way if war is really to vanish from the earth.

The crisis over, however, what do we see? A more strenuous race than before for armaments, a more comprehensive and intensive preparation than ever of all the resources available—of men, women, money, skill and talent—in the event of war! No avowed declaration that "we shall not be" from anywhere! Is this not a recognition that war—however averted today—is still hanging over our heads as the perennial sword of Damocles?

To me as a woman—it is painful to realize that my sex has not contributed to world peace the part that should be ours by nature and perspective to contribute. It pains me to read

and hear of women's auxiliary corps being organized, of women being conscripted and volunteering to take their full share in the actual field as well as behind the lines. And yet, when we come, it is the women's hands that are wrong as they are—it is their souls that are not and beyond repair. It is all so acceptable. Why is it that we have not chosen the better part through all the ages? Why have we, without number, bowed the knee to idols, empires, hate faces? It is a sad testimony to our spiritual development. We have failed to understand our high calling. I am quite convinced that if women could only have a heart-understanding of the power and glory of non-violence all would be well with the world.

Why cannot you inspire and organize us women of India? Why will you not concentrate on having us as pure "armed men"? How often have I hoped for you to undertake an All India tour just for this purpose? I believe that you would have a wonderful response, for the heart of India was created to respond and my women, perhaps, in the world have finer traditions of sacrifice and self-sacrifice behind them, as we. Perhaps if you would make something of us we may, in however humble a manner, be able to show the way of peace to a screaming and shaking world. Who knows?

22-12-38.

A. WOMAN

I publish this letter my various reasons. The correspondent's faith in my ability to stir the woman heart shivers me, but I am humble enough to recognize my limitations. It seems to me that the days of my service are over. Wherever I can do by writing I must continue. But my faith is increasing in the efficacy of silent prayer. It is by itself an art—perhaps the highest art required the more refined discipline. I disbelieve that it is woman's mission to reject violence at its highest and best. But why should it be a man to move the woman heart? If the appeal is addressed exclusively to one sex so many but as the (supposed to be) best exposure of violence to be presented on a mass scale, I have no urge to me to go about preaching the doctrine to the women of India. I can assure my correspondent that there is no want of will in me that drives me from responding to her appeal. My feeling is that if men of the Congress can realize their fault as violence and prosecute the non-violent programme faithfully and fully, the women would be automatically converted. And it may be that there shall arise one among them who will be able to go much further than I can ever hope to do. For woman is more fired than man to make explosions and take holdier action in violence. For the concept of self-sacrifice woman is applying superior to man as I believe man is to woman for the courage of the brave.

Thanks,

23-12-38

THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION MOVEMENT

By Dr. Hsueh-shan Tse

II

The Little Teachers

The little teachers are the children who share education with others. During the earlier stage of development the most prevailing type of little teachers are school children who volunteer to help their home folks and neighbours to acquire the elements of knowledge. As time goes on even children of the street pass on whatever they have learned to their friends. The first hint of the possibility of the little teacher was suggested by an incident some four-two years ago when my mother, then fifty-seven years of age, got interested in learning. She wanted to read my letters and home and wanted to know something of what was going on in the world. The only teacher available for her was my stunted boy who was then six years old and happened to have finished the first reader. The grandma and the grandson played, and studied. In due course my mother finished the first book. This happy incident did not arouse much enthusiasm beyond my family circle at the time. But the fact that a six-year old boy, without a diploma from a normal school or a certificate from a superintendent of education, succeeded in teaching a fifty-seven years old grandma to finish the first reader, had made upon my mind a very deep impression which was one of the determining factors in discovering "the little teacher."

When Manchuria was invaded and Shanghai attacked in 1931 and 1932, we began to be convinced that the nation cannot be saved without national unity through a general awakening of the whole population. This calls for a free education for all at the lowest cost and within the shortest period of time. Young men and young ladies with progressive ideas flocked into the villages in order to help the peasants to understand the national crisis. Some of them came to me for a word of guidance. My advice was simple: all come all serve. But as the peasants became increasingly aware of the importance of education to themselves and their children, they and their sons began to flood the small schools with attendance. Not a few teachers were doubting how long they could keep it going on this principle. Finally seeing some teachers were considering how to reduce the expenditure by changing fees or by having an entrance examination, if this was allowed the whole purpose of people's education would have been defeated, for it means a return to the education for the few. We tried our best to urge them to face reality and devise new ways to meet the situation. Under the pressure of necessity, they actually delegated some able pupils to take charge of the simplest instruction. One day, in November of 1933, I visited the

Shan Hsi Labor Union and was amazed to watch a twelve-year old boy Lu Feng handling a class of more than forty children. Every look and word in his palm: In a flash the number of the grandson teacher has grandma escaped from my sub-consciousness. A meeting of the staff was called at once and I told them that they themselves had already found a way to save the school and the nation. That is "the little teachers." With the aid of the little teachers we have been enabled not only to keep the existing principle 'all come all serve' but in addition we have put up a new slogan, 'they who cannot come will receive education on delivery without cost.' Since then we have witnessed the little friends delivering education to housewives and cowboys who cannot possibly attend regular classes without breaking their rice bowls. This feature of delivering education and home teaching has made the little teacher system unique and differentiated it from the Lancasterian pupil-teacher. Another difference is found in the fact that sooner or later even the cowboys and housewives begin to share their education with others.

The little teachers are rendering one unique service to China that is to help grown-up girls and women to acquire some education. Men teachers find it difficult to teach grown-up girls in the villages where old customs prevail. A young man daring to do so will run the risk of gossip and the girls will be scared away and he will have to teach lambs and sheep! Women teachers are very few. The problem of extending education to women has puzzled us for many years. But when the little teachers came up this problem just melts like snow before sun-shine. They can penetrate into the chamber of a bride and give her a lesson. The little ones are much more accommodating than the regular teachers. As a little teacher is delivering education to a peasant's home, if the housewife has not finished cloth-working she can ask the little friend to wait for a while. The little friend will be glad to do so and takes the opportunity to stir a little while on the yard. In this way the little teachers have helped to promote women education. In the one hundred Chien Village, Kuangtung, there were in 1934 two hundred school children who volunteered to teach two thousand villages of which fifteen hundred were girls and women.

The little teachers are very clever in convincing the older generation for further progress. A story may be of interest to all. Near the West Lake there is the Cave of Clouds and above the Cave there is a little tea growing community, called Wang Cha Hill, which has a school in a temple. This school has about one hundred 'little teachers.' Once a little teacher just twelve years old told me a very interesting story of how he convinced his grandma to take lessons from him. He approached his grandma with a borrowed book, "Grandma, if you like to

study the book, I will be glad to help you.' The old lady answered, 'My good boy, your grandson is too old to study. I am alone leaving this world. What is the use of learning to me?' This was quite a stiff problem for the little boy to solve. His idea having got puzzled for a little while he returned to grandma, 'On leaving this world, where are you planning to go?' Well, I am a good woman, and am destined to enter Heaven.' The boy said, 'Grandmother! But suppose the Angels in the Gate of Heaven should request you to sign your own name before you are admitted. What are you going to do?' Grandma seemed to be thoroughly convinced and immediately asked him to teach her how to write her name. 'Bring me a pencil. Give me a piece of paper.' She began to pronounce writing her name. A more interesting thing happened at midnight. In our country the grandmothers usually take charge of the orphan children of the family. This boy was sleeping with grandma. As midnight he suddenly woke up and reported that some insects were crawling up his legs. When he scratched his head and felt, to his surprise, it was not insects, but the fingers of his grandma making crosses, circles and snakes. When she was asked why she did it the grandma answered, 'well, I am practicing writing my name.'

From our experience, the little teachers are very enthusiastic. A song gives a better picture of the little teacher's enthusiasm.

I am a little teacher, you know
My heart is like a little volcano
I am not afraid of fire and snow
I melt 'quarant wherever I go

The little teachers are sometimes called 'maggot teachers. I presume most of us do not like maggots. But there is one thing I can defend for them. When you have maggots around you, the maggots will keep you awake all night long. Indeed, the little teachers today have gone far beyond the teaching of reading and writing. They are constantly bringing to the people songs, stories, news, knowledge and problems for discussion. The San An little teachers have even gone a step further by organizing themselves into a teaching corps carrying with them Radio sets, radio, musical, and dramatic equipment. They have travelled through nearly all the northern provinces and visited many villages along the highways and army camps behind the battlefields. Wherever they go they give performances, shows and lectures, and start reading circles or discussion groups in order to keep the national struggle alive in the minds of our people.

The principle derived from the little teachers is very simple: that one who has learned a simple truth has the qualifications to teach it and has the duty to share it with others.

Speaking from our experience the little teacher movement has shown the following merits:

1. The children learn more by teaching others. He who keeps his knowledge in the 'old storage of his head learns the least.

2. Knowledge is no longer a commodity for sale. Education becomes a free gift for all. It is like the air which everybody can breathe, like water which everybody can drink, and like sunlight which everybody can enjoy.

3. The older generation and youths make progress together. The constant contact between adults and children in intellectual growth tends to make the older people younger.

4. It helps to solve the unsolvable difficulties of women's education and makes it possible for us to extend an essential education to half our population which can be hardly reached by other means.

5. A new change in the school itself coincided with the arrival of the little teachers. Formerly the village school was a lonely thing in the country. Now with the little teachers as live-wires connecting the village school with every house the whole village becomes the school, and the light of education radiates everywhere within the school it is now replaced by the stream of problems calling for solution. The lonely teacher in a ruined temple, passed suddenly with one of little comrades came; but was a new voice in his profession and felt ashamed for the lowly mission that he is to fulfill. Mr. Tsun Daikang, a teacher in the Temple of Emperor Shun, was about to resign because he found it difficult to keep his family alive with the meagre salary of a Shanghai village school. When on the point of resignation he came across the methods of the little teachers from a magazine called, *Life Education*. He gave it a trial and sent out a message that has inspired many village teachers to stick on their post. He said, 'with the little teachers and the little workers as my comrades, I am confident that we can rebuild the village life in a few years. I feel as if the destiny of the whole nation is in the hands of teachers.' In conclusion he wrote that he would not resign even if he should be offered a salary ten times higher.

The little teacher movement is very without its dangers. I may mention two. Firstly, the little teachers, under the control of over-enthusiastic leadership, are apt to be overworked. This will do harm to the child's health and retard the cause. As a rule we do not allow the little teachers to teach more than half an hour a day. Secondly some politicians and despotic masters have co-opted themselves to use these children as little propagandists. This is against our principle. A teacher is one who teaches truth and nothing but truth. In order to teach truth he has to seek truth. Free conscience is absolutely necessary. In order to prevent the abuse of children for propaganda, we must insist the seriousness of free conscience.

(To be Continued)

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor Harijan

Dear Sir,

If I can beg of you, in the name of Harijan, for the courtesy of a little space in the HARIJAN (the very valuable columns of which I should not like to tax except in self-defence) I would like to clarify one or two points raised by Mr. Karswaga, who referred to my article on the Philosophy of Village Industries in the Harijan of the 24th July.

Firstly, Mr. Karswaga states that all my criticism of the Philosophy stems out of a misconception as regards the fundamental aim of the Association, which is, he says, the attainment of non-violence and truth as economic activity. Far from having any misconception on this point, I had actually stated towards the end of my third article (which, I believe, has caused to attract the attention of Mr. Karswaga) that this Philosophy "is in the economic realm where truth and non-violence are as the goal". I am as strict an advocate of non-violence as economic activity, as Mr. Karswaga himself, but my only difficulty is in seeing to finding out the means of attaining it. Mr. Karswaga believes that this could be attained if we accept the means proposed by the A. I. V. I. A. I doubt it and in support I had advanced my reasons for it. If Mr. Karswaga really desires to carry conviction to the doubters of my sanity, he must tell us why and how he believes these means to be variable and where exactly our economy is deficient. Instead of doing this, if he merely repeats for the 17th time what no one seems to deny, viz., that it is the duty of his Association to attain non-violence, he will not be serving his own cause, let alone ours or other. My criticism was a criticism as regards the impractical character of the means; he answers that the goals of the Association are great and noble viz., Gandhi, before the goal and as the end result.

Secondly, he says (what is not correct) that I object to the means of political, religious and humanitarian considerations with the economy. I do, no doubt, emphasize that humanitarian and other considerations, which seek to formulate economic policy without reference to economic principles will delay their own ends, if they are at variance with the latter. Humanitarians will not set aside the principles of economy any more than they will make the water flow up the hill. These considerations can reduce their ends when they are formulated, as obstacles to, but not a defiance of the principles of economy, if they are opposed it will not be the principles of violence that will be defied. If saying this is to be mistaken as "digressing" to these considerations, I believe it is a gross error of understanding.

Thirdly, he attributes to me the ghastly nonsense of a link in the 'economic chain', and writes that I used the fastidious of the creature. Most sorry for me, and, as I believe, in all probability, for most students of modern economics, the conception of an "economic man" is dead as mutton.

The only thing which he said correctly, and with which I find myself in heartiest agreement, is that

my criticism contains nothing new and is only a rehashing of traditional economic doctrine. It seems to me because the painful story of some people to achieve in this "rehashing", when very responsible people seek to build up justice in the cloth and opening the fundamental truths of human existence. I do not share Mr. Karswaga's supposed contempt for "traditional western economic doctrine". Truth knows not, and ought not to know, distinctions between East and West. I have every reason to believe that whatever differences may tear the unity of the rules of economics as related to the particular methods of application, they possess a set of fundamental ideas which are as true in capitalist America as they are in Socialist Russia, as evidently operative as backward India, as they will be in the alienated cities of Northern Australia. Searching as I do "honestly and conscientiously" for the truth underlying the problem of economy I am content to remain conservative enough to believe that we cannot afford civil disobedience to the laws of economy, without injury to ourselves as a nation. And if Mr. Karswaga is, in his own turn, content to offer himself as the mouthpiece for the belief that politicians are not subject to the governance, even of the laws of economy, I shall cheerfully give up what, then, will turn out to be a fruit worth for 'truth'. Yours etc.

P. S. Narayan Prasad

We are sorry the letter could not be dealt with earlier for want of space. Shri Karswaga can take care of himself. But one or two things may be noted here. The correspondent begs the whole question when he says that the measures of an unregulated character, exactly as those who used in 1921 when Sarayguda was of an unregulated character begged the question. Years of orthodox economics have shown that they contain in them the seeds of the present disintegration. The new technique has not been used even for one-fourth of the time that the old has been in vogue.

As regards his second point he must understand that real science and real economics cannot be and should not be in conflict with the good of all—even 'with the law'. The non-violent technique is not a defiance of the principles of what the wisest civil service and economists, the much wanted science and economics can counter to non-violence and humanitarianism and must therefore be replaced by a new technique.

Ed. Harijan

The Gandhi Statue

By D. S. Jaisra, M. A.

Principal, Pachappappa's College, Madras

Gandhi's teachings permeated in very pure and happy worded aphorisms (Gandhi's Satya) in the style of old Acharya. Every note is followed by appropriate quotations from Gandhi's writings selected with great care and labour from Young India and Harijan. Profits if any from the sale of this book will go to the Harijan Sewak Sangh.

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IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE

III

After a brief interlude of quiet rest at Ootomai during which Gandhys was engaged in hammering out, in collaboration with Khan Sahib, a plan for reinforcement of the Khudas Khudmagar movement in the light of non-violence which he had been explaining, Gandhys resumed his tour of the Frontier Province on the 21st inst. I must, however, reserve for a future occasion a resume of these important talks.

Khyber Pak

The week following was packed with a strenuous programme of the tour in Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan Districts. Distances to be covered per day grew longer, the motor runs more fatiguing and the crowds larger, more assembly and less dissembled as we moved away and Southward from the partly Peshawar speaking districts of Peshawar and Mardan, 'Red-shirt Districts' as they are sometimes called owing to the greater concentration of the Khudas Khudmagar movement there. To this was added the stream of public meetings. They had to be addressed in all the places visited, and although Gandhys would have preferred to reserve speaking exclusively for the Khudas Khudmagars, he had to yield to Khan Sahib's protest and relax his rule. A heavy round of deputations at Kohat and Bannu completed the tour. For thanks to the unobtrusive character of the Frontier Province at this time of the year, and still more to Khan Sahib's untiring care, Gandhys has been able to pull through all this untroubled and untrammelled to keep fit.

Khan Sahib and his Tour

To spare Khan Sahib and his Khudas Khudmagars the strain of conducting the tour during the Ramadan fast Gandhys had suggested that his tour programme might be shortened or its pace accelerated. But Khan Sahib would not hear of it, and he and his team of the Khudas Khudmagars continue to perform their sacred duties as unceasingly as ever, the Ramadan fast notwithstanding. At Utmanai he turned his entire household inside out to cater to the comfort of Gandhys. He drove his own wife what was obviously intended to be servants' quarters and himself slept anywhere. His eye was never off Gandhys and kept constant watch over him as a mother lion does over her little cub. You should have seen him move about with soft, cautious steps to see that everything was okay while Gandhys slept. Now with his hand held he would remove a dusty foot-print that a careless servant had left on the carpet, then he would gently adjust over Gandhys his cloth that had slipped off, or check him off his when an one was near and then, so unobtrusively glide out of the room when somebody turned up to take his place. He concluded the first echords of friends and neighbours to fetch for Gandhys the pack of the trail. It was a night when one fine morning, he quietly slipped

out of the house and returned after several hours with a big bunch of early apples which he served to Gandhys with his own hands! It transpired afterwards that he had gone out to pay a casual visit to the chief of the Khudas Khudmagars, at the latter's residence, some two or three miles from Utmanai, where his constant concern for Gandhys had led him to spot out that prize bunch hidden among some elms! That was just an instance of delicate attention with which he surrounded Gandhys. Before leaving for Kohat he decided to have with him a handful of his favored Khudas Khudmagars to accompany Gandhys during the rest of the tour.

In the Heart of the Frontier

Kohat District lies in the heart of the North Western Frontier Province. The town and cantonment of Kohat which occupy the Western portion of the Kohat Tehsil are forty miles drive from Peshawar, part of the road lying through the independent territory of the Pusa Akhbar. The Kohat pass is not so long as Khyber. Khyber has been variously termed "murderous high road," "highroad of sudden death" and so on. The western slopes of its narrow defiles screech one with awe. It is always Khyber, "bold, bloody and unmaned, unknown, unexplored and almost all unspeakable." The Kohat pass is more rutted, more exposed for its greater beauty and looks less sinister than Khyber. Its passes are higher, its rocks red, white and black bashed in sunlight, more pleasing to the eye while the magnificent prospect of noble cultivated valleys and lovely little shade lanes that spreads out below like a picture touched with amethyst and gold is such that once beheld it never can be forgotten.

More Wronged Against than Wronging

Khan Sahib was in raptures, interested with the keen mountain air and verdant beauty of the landscape. He would not suffer any one to remain apathetic in the presence of such natural grandeur. All of a sudden he showed me, "Look, there is the ridge of Agh Khan," as he pointed out a near, little used but in the valley below "Agh Khan, the abductor of Mulla Kili, the notorious outlaw, who paid the penalty for his long detour on a frontier gallows!" I asked, mechanically repeating these remarks which I had picked up from Mai Nana. Khan Sahib laughed. "Dead, hanged?" Why, he is still alive and settled somewhere on the border of Turkmen. And he was an excellent soldier." And with that he told me the whole story of the capture as attended to by eye witnesses who personally knew all the parties concerned. Agh Khan was what one might call "a gun runner"—a trafficker in unlicensed arms. His house was raided by Major R— of the British army, "You may do whatever else you like," was warned the north officer, "but if you enter the women, or touch the women folk, there will be a war to settle." The officer laughed and

saferly proceeded to unveil the statue in the presence. The outcome proved as good as his word. He settled the matter as the only way known to him. Unfortunately, I remembered the remarks of a well known writer on the Frontier tribes, that I had recently read "In this country a blow to a man, or a slap to a woman, has only one result,—death. Under no conditions is there any redress... If a man comes across his enemy asleep in such a spot that was not his, A blood feud never ends." I repeated the words to Khan Sahib, Khan Sahib went on: "And how did Agh Khan treat Mir Elin while she was in his custody?" Ask anybody. She herself wanted to go. No white man in Agh Khan's place would have respected her longer than."

At Kohat

The programme at Kohat was a crowded one and left little time for paying a visit to its famous hot and cold springs, or to do more than passing justice to the lovely mountains by which the city is hemmed. There were numerous deputations who met Gandhiji in the course of the day. There was the deputation on behalf of the Kohat Local Board Committee that wanted that the house that were granted for the relief of victims of auster and loss during the communal disturbances of 1934 should be waived off according to stipulated principles. There was another deputation on behalf of the cultivators who wanted their grievances about the "Tary dars", still further depersonal on behalf of the Harjans and yet another from the Sikhs. There was besides a whole lot of women complaints and appeals which various people had placed in his hands "to be answered to the Prime Minister." Gandhiji while answering them of his sympathy told them that he would discuss all these matters with the Prime Minister on returning to Peshawar.

A public meeting was held in the evening of 23rd inst, a charming spot outside the city overlooked by a natural amphitheatre of hills that put the city almost completely. Gandhiji was presented with an address by the District Congress Committee on behalf of the citizens of Kohat. Referring to the various representations that he had received in the course of the day, Gandhiji in his reply to the address said, "I have given over one hour today to acquaint myself with your difficulties and woes. But I confess to you that I am no longer fit to tackle such matters. While on the one hand, old age is slowly creeping over me, on the other my responsibilities are becoming more and more multifarious and there is danger that if I have too many cares on the line, I may not be able to do justice to the most important of my responsibilities. And among these, the responsibility that I have undertaken in respect of the Khudai Khidmatgar, is the most important, and if I can carry it out to my satisfaction, in collaboration with Khan Sahib, I will feel that my closing years have not been wasted.

People laugh at me and at the idea of Khudai Khidmatgar becoming full fledged non-violent soldiers of Swaraj. But their mockery does not affect me. Non-violence is a quality not of the body but of the soul. Once its correct meaning sinks into your being, all the rest is self follow. Human nature in the Khudai Khidmatgar is not different from mine. And I am sure that if I can practise non-violence to some extent, they will for the matter of that try and do the same. I, therefore, invite you to join with me in the Alamyar that He may make real my dream about the Khudai Khidmatgar.

Harage

Twenty-two miles to the West of Kohat, on the road given, is Harage, the head quarters of the Tehsil of that name. Gandhiji visited it on the following day. The weather was glorious and the dunes mountains close by high and clear through the dry atmosphere. The hillsides mostly composed of red rubble were overgrown with scrub and alive with countless herds of goats and fat-tailed sheep that were scattered over them as far as the eye could reach and filled the air with their plaintive bleating. At Harage there was a public meeting and an address. In the address there was a remark that the Frontier Province held the key to India's freedom. Gandhiji in his speech while agreeing with this remark added this in the Frontier Province, upon the Khudai Khidmatgar held the key. "Even as the rose fills with its sweet fragrance all the air around, when one herb of Khudai Khidmatgar becomes truly non-violent, their fragrance will permeate the entire length and breadth of the country and cure the evil of slavery with which we are afflicted."

Bannu

We reached Bannu on the 25th inst, after an eight miles motor drive. In all important villages on the way the people had erected arches of green flowers, cotton and tree leaves, and begged the approach to the village to attend Gandhiji a welcome. For eight miles on the side of Bannu red-rubbed posted as regular markets interspersed with knots of Wazir, Baluchistan and Qizilbash, lived the towns. These flowers cotton leaves berry cypresses, cardus and native medicinals which they carried on their shoulders had better effect to the reception which was enhanced by the playing of harmonium and the beating of drums.

Bannu is a walled town. It was still under the shadow of the recent and which, by the peculiar circumstances which accompanied it had at that time covered the whole of India. A party of modern numbering between 300 and 200 had marched one evening at about 7-30 p.m. over the city, through one of the city gates which they either forced or got opened by the persons on duty. They looted down shops while the towns was still asleep, fired down as they progressed, and set some other

shops on fire. Yes, enough to say, they met with no resistance from the police and made their exit so easily as they had come in, carrying away with them money which has been variously estimated from over one to over three lakhs. Several people were killed during the raid.

According to an official statement, 22 made by tribes on the North Western Frontier, were made in Bassein and other French Indian territories during the last three months. Thirteen Hindus and Muslims have been killed. The value of cash and property looted amounts to Rs. 1,50,000. About a dozen Hindus have also been kidnapped.

In the course of the day Gandhiji was met by a delegation on behalf of the Congress Defence Committee, and another on behalf of the Buffers' Relief Committee. A group of Western Tribesmen and some of the borrowed relations of kidnapped persons from Pinar Khat and Jambhikhat, also met him and narrated to him their tales of woe. One of them had his wife killed and a near relation kidnapped, another had his mother and uncle carried away by the raiders who had demanded a heavy ransom which was altogether beyond his financial capacity. A change of the circumstances under which the people of Bassein were perpetually to be living was afforded at the public meeting that was held to protest Gandhiji on address of welcome. The local speaker went out of order. Thereupon Gandhiji asked the people who were far away from the door to move a little closer. This gave rise to a mild rush which caused a temporary commotion among the women who mistake the harmless rush for a disorderly one!! Gandhiji's speech which was so far his mightiest public utterance during the year, gave his considered opinion about the various administrative remedies for the problem of the nomadic tribes and presented to them his solution by way of non-violent approach as the only safe and permanent remedy. A summary of his speech will be found elsewhere in these columns. D. L. Khan, 30-10-38. Peshawar.

A Detail

With reference to my note headed 'Seven Complaints' *Shri Rajlal Sharma* writes:—

"In the case of Harpal dated 19th October there is something which concerns me in your article headed 'Seven Complaints'. The complaint is that I was taken to prison with three just a couple during *Jaunpur Progress*.

Such a complaint was made directly to me and I issued a statement on October 12, a copy of which I am herewith enclosing.

The prisoners passed the prison when the papers were sent. *Parabhai* being *Mohammed Ali* who led the papers across that the papers were over and that he was in town shop while the prisoners passed."

In his press statement I notice the following very interesting sentence.

"I am one of those who religiously believe in tolerance and respect for all religions and who believe in Hindu-Muslim unity for the attainment of Swaraj in India."

Lalita, Marwar, 27-10-38

M. K. G.

PALM-GUT AND LAW

(By Gopalan Nair)

The palmatory palm-gut matter must have a good knowledge of the Excise Rules pertaining to the industry. The excise regulations governing the drawing of fermented toddy are not applicable to the transport of palm for processing in every detail. The Excise Act being a Provincial concern the rules relating to palm-gut are not the same in all the provinces. A tax is levied on each palm from which fermented toddy is manufactured, but no such tax is collected for palm utilized for the manufacture of gut. In order to check the misuse of this concession certain rules are made and conditions imposed on the palm-gut manufacturers. A study of such rules obtaining in the above administrative provinces reveals the following facts.

(1) In the N. W. F. Province no sugar yielding palms are found and so no rules. (2) In U. P., Assam, Sind and Punjab no or more varieties of palm exist but no concessions are embodied in the local Excise Act for palm-gut. (3) The Bihar rules require the palm-gut maker to pay the cost of the Excise constitution deputed to check smuggling.

It is Bombay besides the dispensation to pay half the cost of the Excise Staff, other very stringent conditions are imposed which previously denied the manufacture of palm-gut by the ordinary man. (4) The Bengal C. F. and Orissa revenue systems. The Madras rules add rules expounded elsewhere as extensive are suitable and commendable for furthering both the causes of Prohibition and palm-gut.

A palm-gut maker should note that a license for tapping any kind of palm has to be obtained except in Bengal, Orissa and the west districts of Madras. No kind of fees are required to be paid for getting the license. The details of obtaining it can be had from the local Excise Officer or the Revenue Revenue Officer, in a number of cases it is possible to reproduce the rules for each Province here. The need of the rules is to prevent the misuse of the sweet palm-juice at the hands of the go-between by converting it into the alcoholic toddy.

Palm is the gift of nature. Therefore one must have the freedom to make use of it, or use it as a beverage, the sweet juice of the palm without being required to pay any additional tax besides the revenue of the land on which the palm grows.

III. For years a section of our people are addicted to the intoxicant toddy manufactured from the sugar yielding palm. Hence, in the interest of society legal provisions for prohibition such measures are indispensable in the initial stages of Prohibition. At the same time the law must not be too exacting. It must afford ample opportunities for convenient manufacture of palm-gut by the poor as exemplified

in the villages. For advancing Prohibition and village industries every popular Provincial Government should frame without delay suitable rules on the Madras model in the behalf of Population of Prohibition and village industries should use their best to get such rules framed for their Province.

THE MADRAS SWEET TODDY RULES, 1937

In exercise of the powers conferred by sections 12, 20, 21 and 24 of the Madras Prohibition Act, 1927 (Madras Act X of 1927) the Provincial Government are hereby pleased to make the following rules for the tapping of toddy palms from the drawing of sweet toddy therefrom in pots or other contrivances fixedly coated unassailably with lime for the manufacture of toddy from such toddy as for the sale or use of such toddy, as a beverage without fermentation.

1 These rules shall be called the Madras Sweet Toddy Rules, 1937.

2 Licenses may be issued under these rules for the manufacture, consumption, and sale of sweet toddy. They shall on application be issued free to bonafide manufacturers of toddy, to those engaged in the sale of toddy as sweet toddy and to tea-estate owners of district sweet toddy for domestic consumption. Licenses shall be issued on the names of applicants only.

3 Applications for the grant of licenses shall be in the form appended to these rules. They need not be stamped. They should be presented to the Tahsildar, Deputy Tahsildar or independent charge or Revenue Inspector.

4 On receipt of an application, the Tahsildar, Deputy Tahsildar or Revenue Inspector as the case may be, if satisfied after considering the recommendations of the village headman that the applicant will not misuse the license, shall at once take steps for the issue of the license in the form appended to these rules.

5 Licenses shall be current from 1st January or any subsequent date to the 31st June following, but may be renewed for a further period of six months under an endorsement from the Tahsildar, Deputy Tahsildar or independent charge or Revenue Inspector.

Provided that license granted before the 1st January 1935, shall expire on-subject to renewal for a further period of six months as aforesaid.

6 For the convenience of applicants, applications will be received and licenses issued during the fifteen days preceding the sweet toddy year, provided that no sweet toddy shall be drawn except during the currency of such license. The license shall not run up any tax or cess on the number which he has applied for or is licensed to tap, nor shall he be allowed to tap for fermented toddy.

7 Sweet toddy, if for potting manufacture shall be removed from the tree only between 4 a. m. and 7 p. m. and if for use or sale as a beverage shall be kept in the garden or field containing the trees licensed to be tapped except the freshly-drawn toddy contained in the pots standing on the spades of the trees.

8 Sweet toddy must be at once manufactured into toddy or sold for or used as a beverage, and no such toddy shall be kept by the tapper until the day following that on which it is drawn.

Any person may buy, consume or possess for personal consumption sweet toddy as an unfermented wine.

9 Any person who is found guilty of a breach of any of the provisions of these rules or the conditions of the license may, at the discretion of the collector be debarréd either permanently or for a time from holding a sweet toddy license.

10 It shall be open to the Tahsildar, Deputy Tahsildar or independent charge or Revenue Inspector to refuse licenses for the tapping for sweet toddy of the trees of a tea-estate any of whose trees are proved to have been already tapped for fermented toddy by persons holding under lease, whether on a lease or otherwise under cover of a sweet toddy license.

See Toddy's Revolution and Essays

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CONTENTS	Page
SEARCH AT BANGALORE .. M. K. Gurdial	203
AT MADRAS .. Prasad	204
THE NATIONAL FLAG .. M. K. Gurdial	205
WOMAN'S SPECIAL MENTION .. M. K. Gurdial	217
THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION ..	
MOVEMENT .. T. K. Rao	218
CONSEQUENCES .. P. S. Narayan Prasad	219
IN THE FUTURE PARTITION—III Prasad	221
PALA-GOD AND LAW .. Gopala Subh	223
MADRAS SWEET TODDY ..	
RULES 1937 ..	224
NOTES ..	
MISCELLANEOUS IN THEM .. M. K. G.	226
A DIALOGUE .. M. K. G.	227



HARIFAN

Editor: MANABENDU DESAI

Under the patronage of The Marathi Sahitya Akademi

1190

VOL. VI, No. 42]

PUNE — SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1938

[ONE ANNA

IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE

IV

A critical stage in Gandhiji's Frontier mission was reached when he was kept prisoner at Udhampur for two days on 24th and 25th ult. in consultation and complete union with Kisan Sabha after his visit of the Khado Khadmagas in Peshawar and Muzaffargarh. "What is your impression," he asked Kisan Sabha, "How do the Khado Khadmagas stand with regard to non-violence?" "My impression, Mahatma, replied Kisan Sabha, is that as they themselves admitted before us the other day, they are now nervous and full for shots of the standard. There is violence in their hearts which they have not been able to suppress to cast out. They have their defects of weapons. But there is no doubt as to their sincerity. Given a chance they can be transformed into shape and I think the attempt is worthwhile."

'The Base of us Pathans

The fact is that Kisan Sabha is himself doubtfully in earnest. He is convinced that violence has been the base of his people. It is the deadly reality that is eating into their veins and is impossible more than anything else, for their downfall. He returned to this theme as a loose conversation in the course of a conversation with Gandhiji. He was describing to him the natural beauty and richness of the country around and, as a usual with him on such occasions was an anxiety that has been given clouded as he passed on from nature to refer to. "What man were man has done," Mahatma, this land, so rich in fruit and grain might well have been a standing lake. Eaten upon this earth, but it has only fallen under a blade. My conviction is daily growing deeper that more than anything else, violence has been the base of us Pathans in this province. It shattered our solidarity and tore us with worried internal feuds. The entire approach of the Pathan is today spent in checking how to cut the throat of his brother. To what fruitful use this energy might not be put if only we could be rid of this curse?"

Non-Violence for only Salvation

"Whatever may be the case with other provinces I am fully convinced that so far as the Frontier Province is concerned, the non-violence movement is the greatest boon that God has

sent to us. There is no other way of salvation for the Pathans except through non-violence. I say this from experience of the marvellous transformation that even the little measure of non-violence that we have attained has wrought in our midst. Mahatma, we used to be so timid, and weak. The sight of an Englishman would frighten us. We thought nothing of wearing our caps in salutes. Your movement has changed all this. It has enabled each life once so weak and made us more confident so that a piece of land that formerly used to yield hardly can reapen worth of produce now produces double that amount. We have shed our fear and are no longer afraid of an Englishman or, for the matter of that, of our men."

More Patient than Bullets

And he gave an instance of how during the Civil Disobedience days even an English officer accompanied by a body of soldiers had ordered dispersal of a procession of red-shirts which they had opposed. He had a prohibition order under section 144 in his pocket but would not show it as he was out in India. He even tried to snatch away the national flag which a red-shirt who was heading the procession carried in his hand. But the latter would not surrender it whereupon he grew wild and shouted out the order "fire" to his soldiers. But he was subjugated by the calm determination of the red-shirts who stood fast when they were, ready to brave the bullets. So he had not the courage to proceed further. "Mahatma," Kisan Sabha continued, "You should have seen his condition at that time. He could hardly speak. I tried to see him as he was telling him that unarmed as we were, he had nothing to fear from us and if he had only produced the prohibition order at the outset instead of trying to beat us down by arrogance and roughly snatching the order to open fire we would gladly have dispersed as it was not our intention to break orders. He felt thoroughly confounded and ashamed of his conduct. Englishmen are afraid of our non-violence. A non-violent Pathan they say is more dangerous than a violent Pathan."

Key to Security

"If we could maintain and put into practice the whole of the doctrine of non-violence as you have explained it to us how much stronger, and better off we would be. We were on the brink

of utter confusion. But God in His mercy sent us the non-violence movement to save us in our extremity. I tell my people "After is the use of your shouting empty slogans about Swamy! You have already got your Swamy if you have learnt to shed all fear and to work as honest, independent living through manual work as shown by you."

Peace Mobilization

Gandhi suggested to Kham Sahab that if his idea of non-violence was to restore a lost trail, the Khado Khadmagars must be prepared rigorously to go through the process of training in constructive non-violence that he had in mind for them. Kham Sahab had already decided to establish a training centre and home for the Khado Khadmagars in the village of Mirwadi near Umanara. In addition to it, it was decided to start a spinning and weaving centre in Umanara itself, where the people at large, who were not necessarily Khado Khadmagars, would learn the spinning and peace-producing arts of spinning, weaving and their allied processes. "My idea, Mahasway," Kham Sahab explained, "is to make Umanara into a model village. The spinning and weaving centre will serve as a sort of permanent institution for the education of the villagers. As the home for Khado Khadmagars we shall set before us the self-sufficiency ideal. We shall wear only the clothes that we ourselves produce, eat only such fruits and vegetables as we make them and have a small dairy to provide us with milk. We shall keep ourselves what we cannot ourselves produce." "Good," remarked Gandhi. "May I further suggest that the Khado Khadmagars should take their due share in the building of the house we are now to leave them?" "That is our idea" replied Kham Sahab.

Spice Transcendent Truths

To train the first batch of workers, Gandhi suggested that some Khado Khadmagars whom Kham Sahab might select, might be sent to Wardha, where, besides becoming adept in the science of khadi, they would also get a grounding in financial and hygiene, sanitation and village uplift work in general and in Hindustani. They would also get connected there with the Wardha Scheme of education so that on their return they would also be able to take up the work of mass education. "But Kham Sahab," noted Gandhi, "Your work will not come headway unless you take the lead and yourself become an agent in all these things." Kham Sahab agreed. "Lastly," said Gandhi, "Your work will come to fruition unless you embrace the rule of parsimony in your process. There must be a fixed routine and fixed hours for sleeping and resting at bed, for taking meals and for work and rest, and they must be rigidly observed. I attach the greatest importance to parsimony in our programme as it is a corollary of non-violence."

Khadi and the End of Double Rule

They next proceeded to discuss the matter opened by which the Khado Khadmagars, whom they had become men of their non-violence would fulfil these missions of coping with the twin-headed rule. Kham Sahab was of the opinion that the task was rendered infinitely difficult by the presence of the police and the military who were not fully under popular control and whose presence there brought in all the evils of double rule. "Either the authorities should whole-heartedly co-operate with us so they should withdraw the police and the military from one district, in the first instance and we shall then undertake to maintain the peace there through our Khado Khadmagars." He was afraid that unless this was done, all their efforts to establish peace would be thwarted.

Self-reliance and Self-acting

But Gandhi held a different view. He remarked, "I frankly confess that I do not expect the authorities whole-heartedly to co-operate with us. They would desire our ability in this work—if not our money. It is too much to expect them to withdraw the police on trust. Non-violence is a universal principle and an operation is not limited by a hostile environment. Indeed an efficacy can be created only when it acts in the midst of and against all opposition. Our non-violence would be a hollow thing and nothing worth, if it depended for its success on the goodwill of the authorities. If we can establish full control over the people, we shall render the police and the military unnecessary." And he described to Kham Sahab how during the Bombay riots on the occasion of the Prince of Wales's visit, the police and the military were rendered useless because the Congress immediately captured control and peace was restored.

Kham Sahab "But the difficulty is that the rulers are mostly bad characters, who have abandoned their British kith. We cannot come too much near them because the authorities won't permit us or our workers to go into the tribal territory."

Nature of Real Force

Gandhi "They mean, and I tell you, they also will when we are fully ready. But for that we shall need to have a body of Khado Khadmagars who are really and truly servants of God, with whom non-violence is a living principle. Non-violence is an active force of the highest order, it is not force or the power of the polluted whites. An imperfect man cannot grasp the whole of that Essence—he would not be able to bear its full blast—but even an individual fraction of it when it becomes active within us, can work wonders. The sun is the heavenly light the whole universe with its life-giving warmth. But if one were too near it, it would consume him as when, even so, it is with justice. We become justice to the extent we

mean non-violence, but we can never become wholly God. Non-violence is like India in its action. An infinitesimal quantity of it embedded in a malignant growth, soon unconsciously, steadily, and unconsciously till it has transformed the whole mass of the diseased tissue into a healthy one. Similarly, even a little of true non-violence acts in a silent subtle manner and harness the whole society.

"It is self-acting. The seed sown even after death, its increase does not depend on the physical body. Similarly, non-violence or soul force acts just as soul physical acts for its propagation or effect. It acts independently of them. It transcends time and space.

"It follows, therefore, that if non-violence becomes successfully established in one place, its influence will spread everywhere. So long as there is a single dastard in Universe I will say that our non-violence is not genuine.

The Basic Principle

"The basic principle on which the practice of non-violence rests is that what holds good in respect of oneself equally applies to the whole universe. All mankind is one and the same. What is, therefore possible for me is possible for everybody. Forward further this line of reasoning, I came to the conclusion that if I could find a non-violent solution of the various problems that arise in one particular village, the lesson learnt from it would enable me to tackle in a non-violent manner all the similar problems in the rest of India.

"And so I decided to settle down in Satyagrah. My exposure in Satyagrah has been an education for me. My experience with the Harijans has provided me with what I regard as an ideal solution for the Hindu-Muslim problem, which does away with all caste. So if you can see things right in Universe your whole problem would be solved. Even our relations with the English will be transformed and purified if we are true to them that we really do not stand in need of the protection for which their police and the army are constantly kept."

Liquidating Self-Interest

The Khan Sahib had a doubt. In every village there is an element of self-interest and egotism who are ready to go to any length in order to serve their selfish ends. Would it not be better, Khan Sahib asked, to ignore them altogether or should an attempt be made to cultivate them too.

"We may ultimately have to leave some of them out," replied Gandhiji, "but we may not regard anybody as irreclaimable. We should try to understand the psychology of the tyrant. He is very often the victim of his circumstances. By patience and sympathy, we shall be able to win over at least some of them to the rule of justice. Moreover, we should not forget that

even evil is nurtured as its position through the co-operation, either willing or forced, of good. Truth alone is self-nurtured. In the last resort we can only dare power to be crushed, by withdrawing all co-operation from them and completely isolating them.

The Non-violent Way

"This is essence is the principle of non-violence, non-co-operation. It follows therefore that it must have its root in love. Its object should not be to punish the opponent or to inflict injury upon him. Even while non-co-operating with him, we must make him feel that so to he has a friend and we should try to reach his heart by rendering him humanitarian service whenever possible. In fact it is the seed out of non-violence that in a non-violent conflict there is no reason left behind, and in the end the enemies are converted into friends. That was my experience in South Africa with General Smuts. His social work being my bitterest opponent and critic. Today he is my warmest friend. For eight years we were ranged on opposite sides. But during the Second Round Table Conference it was he who stood by me and, in public as well as private, gave me his full support. That is only one instance out of many I can quote.

"Times change, and opinions do. But it is my faith that in the world, it is only non-violence and things that are based on non-violence that will endure. Non-violence, hundred years ago Christianity was born. The ministry of Jesus lasted for only three brief years. His teaching was remembered even during his own time and today Christianity is a denial of his original teaching.

Six Centuries rolled by and Islam appeared on the scene. Many Moslems will not even allow me to say that Islam, in the word implies, is unadorned peace. My reading of the Quran has convinced me that the laws of Islam is non-violence. But even after thirteen hundred years are but a speck in the cycle of Time I am convinced that both these great Faiths will live only to the extent that their followers imitate the original teaching of non-violence. But it is not a thing to be passed through mere words, it must sink into our hearts.

Poona, 5-11-38

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HARIJAN

Vol. 12

1936

WHY NOT GREAT POWERS?

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

In the comments on my recent writings on the plight of Caste-discrimination, I have observed one thing which demands an answer.

Some critics argue that if the non-violent remedy I have suggested for the Caste is only for comparatively weak, backward small nations like China and not for the great powers like England or France or America, it cannot be of much value, if any.

Now if the critics will re-read my article, they will see that I have refrained from suggesting it to these big powers because of their history in other words, because of my misdeed. But there was a more potent reason for my not addressing them. They were not in danger and therefore in no need of any remedy. To use a medical expression they were not sick as Caste-discrimination was. Their attitude was not threatened as Caste-discrimination's was. Any appeal from me therefore to the great powers would have amounted to an empty and unwarranted sermon.

By experience I have also found that people rarely become virtuous for virtuous sake. They become virtuous from necessity. But is there anything wrong in a man becoming good under pressure of circumstances? It would be no doubt better if he becomes good for an *own* sake.

The Caste were given a choice either to surrender peacefully to Germany's might or to fight single-handed and risk almost certain destruction. It was at this moment that it became necessary for me like me to present an alternative which had proved its effectiveness under somewhat similar circumstances. My appeal to the Caste was in my opinion as appropriate as it would have been appropriate in the case of the great powers.

My critics might have, however, well asked why I had come out of my self prescribed orbit to speak in a Western nation when I could not show more potent success of non-violence on the Indian soil—most especially now, when I had begun to entertain serious doubts as to whether Congressmen were really living up to their creed on policy of non-violence. Indeed I had in mind the beatitudes and the present state of acceptance about the Congress program. But my own faith in the non-violent remedy was so bright as over what I wrote that article. And I felt that in the supreme hour of my trial it would be cowardly on my part not to suggest to the Caste the non-violent remedy for acceptance. What they ultimately prove incapable of acceptance by course of people, undisciplined, and uneducated

has recently to everyone suffering, might be possible for a small, compact disciplined nation united in corporate suffering. I had no right to arrogate to myself any belief that India alone and no other nation was fit for non-violent action. I must confess that I have believed and still believe that India was the first nation to embrace non-violent action for regaining her freedom. In spite of wars in the country, I have the hope that the whole mass of people who are more than the Congress will respond only to non-violent action. They are the students of all the nations of the earth for such action. But when a case for immediate application of the remedy presented itself before me, I could not remain myself lone suggesting it to the Caste for their acceptance.

It is however open to the great powers to take it up any day and cover themselves with glory and earn the eternal gratitude of posterity. If they or any of them could shed the fear of destruction, if they desisted themselves, they will unconsciously help the rest to repeat their misdeed. But then these great powers have to give up international ambitions and exploitation of the so called backward or semi-civilized nations of the earth and revise their mode of life. It means a complete revolution. Great nations can hardly be expected to the ordinary course to move spontaneously in a direction the reverse of the one they have followed, and according to their notion of value, from victory to victory. But misdeeds have happened before and may happen even in the very present age. Who can deny him God's power of making wrong? One thing is certain. If the world race for momentary convenience, is a bound to perish in a disaster such as has never occurred in history. If there is a virtue left the very victory will be a living death for the nation that courties vicarious. There is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications. Democracy and violence can all go together. The nations that are really genuinely democratic have what to become friendly relations with, if they are to become truly democratic they must become consciously non-violent. It is a blasphemy to say that non-violence can only be practised by individuals and never by nations which are composed of individuals.

Bombay, 5-11-36

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Notes

Amish Reform

I sympathize both the Kwantch and the people of Amish on the grant of responsible government. The small State has always been progressive. The ruler of Amish has but misapprehended the wants of his people and has even been in advance of them in social matters. The declaration of full responsibility was the natural result of the past acts of the ruler. I hope that the rights conferred by the proclamation will not in any way be whittled down in drawing up the constitution. I would suggest that the Pany party should on no account, extend rapid changes discussed. There should be a defense of fundamental rights, i. e. equality of all in the eye of the law, abolition of untouchability and liberty of speech. The last part of the proclamation is appealing. It truly says that "self-government implies self-control and self-sacrifice," and adds "in the new era that is coming to Amish, and we hope to the whole of our country, the strong will save the weak, the wealthy will serve the poor, the learned will serve the illiterate."

It is to be hoped, that the noble example of Amish will be copied by the other States and that its people will by their conduct prove themselves in every way worthy of the responsibility that is so devolved on them. The fact that in the last to the gods they have one, who, from all concerns I have received, is a true servant of the people, must be a great help at the time of the inauguration of responsible government. The Western education received by him has not spoiled him. He is reported to be a votary of truth and justice. He himself takes part in village uplift, does road clearing himself in company with other volunteers and handles the spade and the basket with as much ease as they. He visits the poor. He takes pride in doing unvarnished work like collecting the removal of ragpound.

Arjya Samaj and Pithy Literature

Shri Dhanu, Dev Sharm of Kanya Gurukul Dohar Das and their Archarya Devbharna Ahlyas of Gurukul Kangri have written to me to say that my reference in my article, "Pithy Literature" to my daughter-in-law, who is studying in the Kanya Gurukul and who writes to me about the Pithy she found in certain text books prescribed for her examination, has been interpreted in some quarters to mean that the Arjya Samaj authorities consciousness such literature. But the friends propagate the suppression of euphonic terms. Archarya Devbharna Ahlyas tells me that the Gurukul authorities were so suspicious about the matter that even for the recital of classical poem like Kalidasa they wanted an expanded version being placed before they would allow their students to study even a celebrated classic like Mahabharata. What has, however, happened is that, of late they have allowed

their students' requirements for Sahitya Sanshodhan examinations who's colored books containing such literature. I understand that the Gurukul authorities have brought the matter to the notice of the Samarthya management and asked them to withdraw the textbooks which contain objectionable references. I hope that they will not yet succumb if they have succeeded in their battle against modern literature forming part of students' textbooks.

To Correspondents

No matter what warnings I issued, my correspondence is daily growing. Even at the risk of a breakdown, I cannot cope with the whole of it. Nor can Pyramid, even though he often borrows midnight oil. Though Mahadev Datta is decidedly on the mend and is even being permitted to write what he feels impelled to and can write without an effort, he cannot be given any correspondence to deal with. I may not put his health in jeopardy again. Even a well regulated life like his has limitations which must not be disregarded. It is therefore a question if he can ever again be burdened with correspondence which is not merely unvarnished work. Happily let the readers, please, excuse my difficulty. I have a pile of papers stacked. Some has been read and remains undigested. Thus there are long statements complaining against the Bihar Museum, longer still from Malabar complaining against Kanyakulachari; I have scarcely glanced through them. I am wholly unable to deal with them. I may not even send them to the concerned ministers unless I am prepared to give the necessary time to them. I have neither the time nor the inclination. The Working Committee is the proper tribunal for such matters. If I happen to handle such complaints it would be an unwarranted interference with the ministers concerned and with the functions of the Working Committee.

But the real reason for non-response is attributable to this note. The distance makes it my own inability. Therefore, those and such correspondents will forgive me for not even sending them personal acknowledgments. Then, there are letters complaining against the failure to read minutes of Congress Committee in various provinces. These correspondents attribute to me power and influence. I do not possess but bear upon the physical inability is the temporary cause for my silence. Then there is the unvarnished correspondence. Heaven knows what is contained in it. There are no personal letters which I would gladly deal with if I could. I know, I can give some help or comfort to those correspondents, if I can deal with their letters as I should like to. As it is, I must plead my inability to handle such correspondence. What energy I have left is not to be removed for the general causes which, I fear, I can not serve. Therefore, correspondents who are sending answers will forgive me if they never receive any reply. Those who are in the habit of writing to me will help me much if they

will restrict their correspondence only to such questions as may lead themselves to discussion or advice through the columns of HARIJAN. In other words HARIJAN should as far as possible, be my only letter or message to those who seek to know my views on matters which interest them and which are also of importance to the public.

Bombay, 5-11-1935

M. K. G.

KATHIAWAR NOTES

[The following notes were prepared for me by Shri Rajkumar Anant Khat on finishing his recent tour in Kathiawar for Harijan and Khat work. The notes are valuable not only for the workers in Kathiawar, but contain reflections which are of all India importance. I hope that workers will profit by the experience recorded by the Rajkumar. There is one suggestion, the last para, which can be immediately given effect to, of what the eyes of the people in fact, as I think it is. The law forbids the people with the opinion that they have no belief in untouchability and that they will find open all temples in Harjan, if these people demand it. His suggestion therefore, is that they need not wait for any expression of opinion on the part of these people but should build and open temples which are accessible to all. The present law makes it a point of raising only these temples in the temples of those whose states are barred against Harjan. And if these temples are built and entered respectively and are well managed, they will be a powerful aid to the breaking down of untouchability. It is possible to extend the principle to all the territories which, the fear of wounding religious susceptibilities, they would not dare to open to Harjan. This is the line of least resistance. There is not much meaning in a past declaration of disbelief in untouchability, if the people cannot or will not take the common step suggested by the Rajkumar. Reference: 4-11-35]

M. K. G.]

I am writing this in the train on my way to Saur having just completed 15 days of a crowded programme in Kathiawar. The tour has been educative and interesting, as also depressing and inspiring in turn. Educative and inspiring somewhat in the sense that was a new kind to me and I was afforded unique opportunities of coming into touch with Harjan and Harjan Savak Sangh work and of seeing more closely the strong prejudices that, in our shame and sorrow, still persist against this poor source of humanity and realising the practical difficulties that make progress discouragingly slow if not virtually impossible at times. Depressing because of the crying need for Harjan Savak and the spread of Khat in a land where, just as in the Punjab the shackle is past and proof of every village home, there are not enough workers to carry the message of light and love to our agonised fellow countrymen and women. Inspiring

because of the general awakening responsible for the crowded meetings, the rapid attention with which thousands listened to your message and the consequent increased urge in one to press the newly made and more; also because of the realisation that the little that has achieved by a small and gallant band of workers is but a foretaste of what must come in time.

I feel I have left a little bit of my heart behind in Kathiawar. The fair country where with its heat and dust, its work, steady and good-looking peasantry, the men clad in turbans, dhotis and trousers, the women in skirts and chaddies with their hair bearing and tall dresses often draped in deep saffron red and black the villages and the excellent breed of cattle—all reminded me much of my Punjab.

I visited Rajkot, Vachher, Morvi, Jamnagar, Porbandar, Dwarka, Junagadh, Sikhi, Dhanu, Amoli, Lathi, Khavnagar, Palitana, Wadhwan and the same villages.

In general we had the usual government to place before the Rajkot and for the Dwarka. Harjan are barred from entering temples, from admission into schools from drawing water from common wells, from using a house. In the State of Palitana they are not allowed night up to the State Dispensary as other outdoor persons nor are they allowed admission into law courts. These questions often need to be calmly or wisely ignored, their pay is often too little, they are sometimes overworked and unduly harassed, they have no leave rules and there are no necessary benefits for them. Even where there are separate schools for them they are unable to send their children except at a very poor age because every member of the family has to become a wage earner as early as life is possible. Of course these disabilities vary from State to State. Much more has been and is being done in some places than in others according to the Rajkot and the subjects are more advanced. Everywhere I was given a most courteous and patient hearing, the authorities concerned invariably agreed that they would have no objection themselves to Harjan entering temples, schools and houses or drawing water from common wells but that their subjects would be up to arms if they faced acceptance of their own views on them in the matter which they were unwilling to do. Several people, however, especially members of the Youth League agreed that State subjects were far more ready for reform than their Governments imagined. My own opinion is that owing to the political agitation that already exists in some of the States and of which all stand in awe, the Rajkot are nervous of doing anything in all which may stir the slumber of sections of their subjects who today, at any rate, they feel, are well loyal to them. Nor is the removal of Harjan disabilities a matter of such importance as to be a living faith in them. It cannot be denied, at the same time, that a strong wall of orthodoxy does exist wherever the progress

sion of society in India may say. [Our boys live in the youth who, generally speaking, have shed old prejudices as also in the protection, sooner or later, on the part of the rulers, that is the removal by them of all disabilities and separation within their domain along line their strength and their future estimate.

In Bengal there is no law on Harijan children entering schools or temples. But in Dacca a dear little Harijan boy, about 12 years old, told me with tears in his eyes that he was the only one of his community in the school where he was made to sit away from the other children and the teacher would not even touch his shirt so that he did not get the necessary attention. And of course, the famous temple (the last on doors to Harijan) it was a ghastly sight—the night I stayed in Dacca. A young man was shocked to sleep late on the cake eat. The lightness in the light cage was (by the way) the man and she had a regular conversation. A cool soft breeze was blowing. The pole was steady about out and we were enjoying a stroll, hand-in-hand, on the damp sand of the lovely beach after a long day's work. But looking at the dark silhouette of the great "temple of the world" rising up against the clear sky, I could not help being saddened at the thought that while all around was beautiful, that which should have been radiating the real light was overshadowed in darkness because of man's violence to man. Truly the Almighty does not dwell in temples built by human hands but in our hearts. And if only we could open the doors of the temples of our hearts to Him all would necessarily be well with us. Here we are, however, and we have easily understood what aches is?

In addition to Harijan Seva, the year this year included opening the message of khadi also. We were able to sell all the khadi-made about Rs. 1,000 given to us by Shri Narendra Gandhi from the Rajkot Industries State as well as to obtain orders for Rs. 400 more. I was asked to appeal to the Rulers and the Doms so be good enough to popularize khadi by using it for uniforms in the States as well as by following Bhimsen's example and trying to make villages self-supporting through khadi in the matter of clothing themselves. The response has been good. Some of the States have actually promised to make the uniforms of khadi while some have asked for samples and have promised to order it if the right colour in 'khadi' can be made available. None is against the development of khadi in their villages. If the Kharward A. I. S. A. can supply the required quality and quantity of the material as well as reliable and efficient workers, I feel that the spinning industry might be developed in a creditable manner in their area. While there was willingness to give trial orders there was a lurking fear that I would let the quality may not be good nor as having as well dark but the 'khadi' colour may be uneven and perhaps not fast and let the orders

may not be carried out in time. I think these are points on which the A. I. S. A. must set their would be done? made at once if they really want to develop the work on sound lines.

On a separate sheet of paper I am giving you in detail what the promise is as regard to khadi and Harijan work in the places I visited. I must not forget to mention the complaints I received almost universally against the Harijan. They drink, gamble, waste money and are in debt; they eat unclean, they are very dirty, they observe unbecomingly among themselves, they do not send their children to school even when opportunities are provided for them, the Harijan are lazy and do not perform their tasks well in many cases as municipal employees. These accusations are not altogether untrue. The voluntary workers everywhere are to be congratulated on their efforts. Without them no progress would be possible. But we want more and still more good workers who will live among the Harijan and by their personal example raise them to the proper level. Until the mass strength of the Harijan does not enable him to shed the inferiority complex from which he now suffers he will continue to remain demoralized. While I know that some Harijan have got to have the question of the removal of unbecomingly constantly kept before them I do believe that unceasing work among the Harijan is equally necessary if we are to achieve our goal quickly.

Gandhi's Nursery-school Teachers' Training classes took my leave to attend English-medium Harijan's from various schools and village schools at Jamnagar and Junagadh. I visited Anah where Nandlal Bharti is working village uplift and education on the lines of the Wardha Scheme for rural areas. The area is fortunate to have these friends who are showing what can be done in practical form and it is to be hoped that they will help to spread these schemes throughout Kutchward.

I also took the opportunity of holding women's meetings everywhere. The response was excellent and small branches of the Women's Conference have been formed in every city I visited. Of course women workers are needed and the conference has to be formed. I am hoping the Conference Committees will send a worker for a certain period every year to keep alive the enthusiasm kindled. If women would take up Harijan Seva and khadi work in earnest, our goal would soon be reached. But social violence permeates in through and through we cannot understand any of the Nation-building activities that you have put before us. This was the sum-total of my message at all our meetings.

A. K.

Mr. Gandhi the Man

By M. K. Gokhale

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MASS LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN BHAR

[Dr. Iyad Mahomed has sent me a copy of his letter to the program of Mass Literacy Campaign in Bhar. Below will be found all the relevant paragraphs of the instruction wire, I command to the minister's attention. Dr. Tade's note on a similar movement in China. He will find in it perhaps much to copy. M. E. G.]

"The Literacy Campaign was inaugurated on the 26th of April last and on that day meetings and processions were organized all over the province. Messages were received from various persons in the country and they created a good effect. The Mass Literacy Commission, within a very short time, recruited and trained thousands of volunteers, printed charts and posters based on the rapid method of teaching adults and organized literacy centres all over the province. The buildings of colleges, high and primary schools were utilized for holding classes. Boys of the junior classes of schools formed themselves into bands for proceeding shifts to attend the centres. College professors and school teachers organized series of lectures, lectures so useful tapes to supplement the ordinary instruction given in these centres. The funds for the campaign expenditure were raised locally by subscriptions and in some cases given were given by local bodies. The men of the clergy and persons ran in Madheswari and they were present in Nagri and Urdu script. In a large number of literacy centres both these scripts were taught with the result that many Hindus and Muslims have learnt both these scripts. It was found that an adult learnt to read and write after 4 to 5 weeks' regular attendance. As most of the centres were situated in as well as Harjiana are able to acquire knowledge.

"Literacy work was organized in the jails and the prisoners showed great enthusiasm in joining these classes. This has given them a new outlook on life and the jail looks like a real school when the literacy period begins. Teaching work is conducted by literacy promoters, outside volunteers and the jail staff.

"Arrangements have been made to make the army of police constables literate within the next six months.

"The voluntary agencies in the province have rendered marked interest in this work. The Tata Iron and Steel Company have started a network of literacy centres at Jamshedpur where thousands of labourers are receiving instruction. Many of the mine walls also have started this work in their reserved areas.

"The Government have recently granted a sum of Rs. 50,000 with a view to make this movement permanent. Under this scheme the existing

machinery of the Education Department will be utilized for the maintenance and supervision of this work. The main agency for instruction will be as before the voluntary labour of teachers, students, unemployed young men and social workers, but in some cases, with a view to enable the workers to devote more time to this work, provision has been made for the payment of a small remuneration of about five per cent which would be paid for meeting the cost of necessary expenditure. To ensure lasting literacy a graduated series of readers on a carefully drawn up plan is being prepared and provision has been made for the publication of a fortnightly news sheet in Hindustani printed in Nagri and Urdu script. Special provision has been made for the expansion of literacy among women and this work will be restricted to a later statement.

"The experience gained during the past five months has been very encouraging. During the months of July, August and September when the agricultural work was in full swing and large tracts were flooded it was apprehended that the movement would collapse, but although the attendance has suffered the fall is not alarming. If the movement can be maintained, it may be possible to liquidate illiteracy from Bhar in less than 18 years.

"The figures in the enclosed till August show that over 3 lakhs of adults have been made literate during the last four months. A sub-division has been selected for extended work, and it is hoped that within one year the entire population of that sub-division will be made literate."

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MASS LITERACY IN BHAR. Dr. Iyad Mahomed	100
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TO CORRESPONDENTS. — M. E. G.	100

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1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

I have letters from Bombay, U. P., Bengal and Madras merely complaining that the black class of the Congress Committee is favoured more in the branch than in the performance. I have suggested that that provision not so have is referred that in the other provinces there are better. I have simply referred to these provinces because there are complaints from them. People in the other provinces have not perhaps thought it worth while to draw attention to the evil which is well-spread. It may well be that correspondence on the matter from other provinces has not been hearty or in number.

The correspondence chief complains in that in selecting Congress candidates for participation at local levels, the Congress officials do not reflect the whole class for each constituency. One correspondent says that the obligation of wearing khaki is waived because the Congress officials do not find competent enough candidates among khaki wearers. This would be a sound reason, if the death of proper khaki-died man can be proved for electing the class, surely not for committing a deliberate breach of the Congress Constitution. A writer parades the waiver by arguing that there is no connection between Ebury and khaki. The argument may be a good reason for a change in the Constitution but not for deriding a Ebury Congressman in a personal card-cutter. The right of card-discrimination accrues only to those who perform the duty of voluntarily donating the loss of their name, name on the loss of their own making. Therefore, the Congressmen are taking grave risks when they demand valid breaches of the Constitution.

And is there no connection between "Swamy and Shakti"? Were the Congressmen, who made themselves responsible for the black clause in the Constitution, so dense that they did not see the fallacy which is obvious to some extent? I have not hesitated to say, and I make bold to repeat now, that without black there is no Swamy for the millions, the husband and the father and for the millions of illiterate women. National use of black is a sign that the wearer identifies himself with the poorest in the land, that he has sympathy and solidarity

though we have to wear black even though it may not be as soft and elegant in appearance as foreign fabrics are so cheap.

But my statement has perhaps not done with many Congressmen who anxiously expect exposure among them. There is another batch of letters in my file which continue to give me fresh evidence of corruption among Congressmen as called. One correspondent says, large numbers are receiving on a wholesale scale. The cry comes from Texas, that Congressmen do not hesitate to spend tens or scores to select members. A California correspondent tells me that there are selected members who have not paid their own subscriptions. When asked, they say they cannot spare four cents per year. The correspondent indignantly protests that these men were spending many four cent pieces per year on cigars. My point however is not that these men can afford to pay and do not. My point is that if they have not paid their subscriptions they are not Congressmen and thus the register containing their names appears to be purged of them. A U P correspondent says, bribery and corruption are spoiling the good name of the Congress. He says that Congressmen do not hesitate to use their influence with collectors and other officials to have all sorts of impositions perpetrated for the sake of themselves or their relatives. And he adds that the corrupt are all able to meet the pressure. And he says, the growing evil may be worse than the evil that existed when the service had many under restrictions from French officials. This charge is most damaging if it is true. It requires careful investigation by the U P Government and the provincial Congress Committee. Indeed, the whole of the registration I have lumped together in the note requires careful and continuous handling by the Working Committee and the Provincial Congress Committee. If the Congress is not purged of discipline and impropriety, it will cease to be the power it is today and will fall in brief exposures when the real struggle comes the country.

Figure 1

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THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION MOVEMENT

(By Dr. Mengshih Tse)

III

Relay Teachers

Another type of voluntary teachers, modelled on the same principle that governs the kuo teachers, are called Relay Teachers. The difference is found in age, the kuo teachers are below sixteen while the relay teachers are above sixteen years of age. The term 'relay teacher' is derived from relay race, passing the baton to the succeeding runner. The best way to show the working of the relay teaching is to invite an audience to imagine themselves in the form of Chao, standing in an evening class in the village and the speaker as a country school teacher. The mission of the evening school teacher is not teaching the farmers as students but to help them to become relay teachers, who are supposed to go out to teach others not after five or six years' graduation, they are supposed to teach others right after the class is dismissed. After the class is dismissed, every student becomes a teacher and every house becomes a centre of learning. It is quite surprising to find that our youth of our farmers have the ability to lead independent classes. The men can teach at best two friends, one on the left-hand side and the other on the right-hand side. If the two friends are too poor to buy books, the relay teacher's own book can be shared by them. The relay teacher has got his lesson book from the evening class and by her to revive it. In preserving his own lesson he has taught his two friends. And as without his friends he learns more, more clearly and more profoundly. The moment one wishes to share his knowledge with others his own knowledge will have a high jump. Thus the truth as to poor teachers' has been the motto for the relay teachers. It is very gratifying to see so many of our farmers and workers who have come to serve as relay teachers of their fellow men.

Relay Teaching applied by Women Workers

Miss Chu Ping-ya, a women worker in a tobacco company, Yanshiang, Shanghai has done some excellent work in extending relay teaching to women workers. She works in Shanghai and lives in Fuzhou, about five miles distant. In Fuzhou, near her home, there is an evening school for the training of relay teachers, conducted under the auspices of the Shanghai Y W C A. Miss Chu takes one hour lesson there every evening except Sunday. Before daylight she crosses the Hwangtze river and walks about ten miles in order to reach the factory in time. At noon, the factory has one hour noon recess releasing all the workers to ride cheerfully to the street. The factory is then closed and will not open until a few minutes before 1 p. m. The single road on the street has no sunset, Miss Chu has a plan in her mind to

help her most workers to acquire some education by utilizing the rest of the time. First, she calls for her comrades to meet in an open place. However, the men workers crowd into the same place in order to watch what the women are doing. They are curious about these women because never before did they see the women, women gathering in the open air with books in hands and maps posted. The men were amazed to witness these women reading, discussing and studying maps. The presence of men has proved to be a great nuisance to the women. Miss Chu is finally forced to ask her other sister. Thus she crosses through an elementary school principal being finally induced to let her have one classroom for holding the students since her school children do not return until one o'clock. Since then the enrollment of more workers increases by leaps and bounds and in a few days Miss Chu has to choose an able student from her class to be relay teacher of a second group. In a month she has to occupy all the rooms at the disposal of the good principal in order to meet the increasing demand. After all the rooms have been crowded the new groups are formed in the houses of the street and capable relay teachers are selected by each group for the evening instruction. Thus the chains started by Miss Chu and her associates have become the training centre of relay teachers for women workers in that district and the light of education radiates therefore in every house that has come in contact with them. As time goes on, workers of other districts have caught the word of what has been going here. Some of them have been inspired to carry on similar project. When these men workers who caused some trouble to Miss Chu's class at the beginning began to see the importance of this situation and decided to start men's classes, applying similar principles.

A New Script

The People's Education Movement is also interested in promoting a new script for the Chinese spoken language. The attempt of inventing a phonetic script for the Chinese spoken language started more than seventy years ago, but the last attempt has proved to be the best and most fruitful. The scripts for the Northern, Southern, Canton, Amoy and a few other dialects have been worked out. The new script uses the Chinese spoken language as a polyphonic language and has succeeded in eliminating the troublesome written symbols for the different tones. It is the first time since ancient times that all the previous attempts. With these new scripts the persons in different localities can learn to read and write before in their mother tongue in one or two months by spending one hour a day. How great is the amount of time saved!

The greatest and most urgent need of China today is to rally all the people round the national thought and action in national Japanese aggression. We must not hesitate in substituting

all the vehicles of communication for achieving this unity. The New Scripts are some of the best vehicles at our disposal and must be used to their best advantage in spite of all the difficulties in the way.

For want of space I shall present only the New Scripts for the Northern Dialect. The six vowels are *a* as *a* in papa, *ä* as *e* in about, *i* as *i* in it, *o* as *o* in home, *u* as *oo* in food, *y* as the German *y*. The twelve consonants are *b* as *b* in Berlin, *p* as *p* in Peter, *ch* as *ch* in child, *ts* as *ts* in wonder, *q* as *q* in quit, *t* as *t* in tea, *ch* as *t* with tongue drawn back and unconsciously pressed upon the jaw, *f* as *f* in fat, *g* as *g* in get, *j* as *j* in yet, *k* as *k* in head, *l* as *l* in let, *m* as *m* in men, *n* as *n* in Roman, *ng* as *ng* in long, *x* as *x* in ax, *sh* as *sh* in she, *s* as *s* in son, *w* as *w* in wood, *h* as *h* in Hanan, *u* as *u* in use, *sh* as *ch* with tongue drawn back and unconsciously pressed on the upper jaw. The fifteen consonant vowels are *ao* as *ao* in high, *ou* as *ou* in out, *uo* as *u* in late, *uo* as *uo* in legation, *ou* as *ou* in pasture, with the lower jaw extended out, *ao* as *ao* in yard, *ou* equals *i* plus *ou*, *uo* equals *i* plus *uo*, *uo* as *uo* in Europe, *uo* equals *u* plus *o*, *uo* equals *i* plus *u*, *uo* equals *u* plus *u* as *uo* equals *u* plus *i*, *uo* equals *u* plus *u*, *uo* equals *u* plus *u*. The fifteen nasal vowels are *ang*, *ou*, *eng*, *iang*, *ang*, *ou*, *eng*, *iang*, *ang*, *ou*, *eng*, *iang*, *ang*, *ou*, *eng*, *iang*. The three variable consonants are *g*, *k*, *q*, which change into soft sounds when they appear before *i* and *y*. These complete the New Scripts for the Northern Dialect. The Northern Dialect can be understood by three-fourths of the whole population. If the New Scripts of the Northern Dialect could command a universal adoption, three-fourths of our literacy could be wiped out in two or three years. The New Scripts have received great recognition during the last year. In one city alone 300,000 have learned the new script and can read publications published in it. It is hoped that the government will see the importance of an adoption at least as one of the alternatives and use its prestige and influence to spread it among the less fortunate of the population who have neither the time nor the money to learn the thousands of Chinese characters which will take years to master them.

Society at School

Another conception is to extend the community as our school, utilizing all the available resources for the uplifting of the people. An application of this idea is to urban temples, tea houses and every possible vacant place for smoking, drinking, dancing groups, etc. Our policy is to spread as wide as possible our buildings. Whenever a room will not be available, the shade of a tree will do better; meeting is always held in the open air. This grass-roots education is indeed magnificent. With the blue sky as our roof mother earth as our floor, the unsophisticated work-

ing may be the most direct saving in our time, our farmers are holding their own against and against it is as much an exclamation that the peasants of China are saving their souls, selling their stores, learning their simple craft, and discussing national and international problems.

Birth of a New Peasantry

Under all these forces operating in the villages which command all these and marshalling them, a new peasantry is rising in the East. The farmer in Good Earth trying all the time to get more and more land for his own family in order to become richer than his fellow farmers is no longer an example for others to follow. The present day progressive farmers in China want to have land enough for every farmer to lead a decent life. It is for this reason that they take so great and heroic a part in the struggle against Japanese aggression. It is also for the same reason that they want to unite all the people in action in order to secure the final victory. Here is a picture of the New Peasantry.

DANCING OF THE FOX

Take up your fan,
Take up your fan,
Cut off the snake.
The snake will give
Dress off your hat!
Save of the Ancient Country.
Under the box,
There is liberty
Hail Revolution!
The box must follow,
Long live the box
Fight to the end,
When fighting done
The box must stand long
Whisper and box unite,
A new world is in sight.

(Concluded)

208 Prince Road,
Kowloon, Hongkong

A Comment

In the Frontier News published last week a couple of mistakes at the end of the last but one paragraph were left out in transcription. The original text runs as follows:

"Three things, and systems doing, that it is my faith that in the result, it is only non-violence and things that are based on non-violence that will endure. However, hundred years ago Christianity was born. The ministry of Jesus lasted for only three brief years. His teaching was non-violent even during his own time, and today Christianity is a denial of his central teaching." Love your enemy." But what are millions hundred years for the spread of the correct doctrine of a man's teaching?"

Edgar Higgins

HARIJAN

Nov. 19

1938

KHUDAI KHIDMATGARS AND BADSHAHKHAN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Wherever the Khuda Khidmatgars may be at any momentary time now to be, there can be no doubt about what their leader whom they delight to call Badshahkhan is. He is unquestionably a man of God. He believes in His living presence and knows that his movement will prosper only if God wills it. Having put his whole soul into his cause, he remains indifferent as to what happens. It is enough for him to realise that there is no deliverance for the Pathan except through us and our acceptance of non-violence. He does not take pride in the fact that the Pathan is a fine fighter. He appreciates his bravery but he thinks that he has been spoilt by overpraise. He does not want to see his Pathan as a possessor of money. He believes that the Pathan has been oppressed and kept in ignorance. He wants the Pathan to become braver than he is and wants him to add true knowledge to his bravery. This he thinks can only be achieved through non-violence.

And as Khan Sahib believes in my non-violence, he wanted me to be as bold as I could against the Khuda Khidmatgars. For me I needed no comparison to go to them. I was myself anxious to make their acquaintance. I wanted to meet their leader. I do not know that I have done so now. Anyway I made the attempt.

But before I proceed to describe how I approached my task and what I did, I must say a word about Khan Sahib as my host. His one aim throughout the time was to make me as comfortable as the circumstances permitted. He spared no pains to make me good against pressure or discomfort. All my wants were anticipated by him. And there was no fuss about what he did. It was all perfectly natural for him. It was all from the heart. There is no boasting about him. He was most generous to affection. His attention is therefore never embarrassing, never intrusive. And so when we parted at Tashik our eyes were wet. The parting was difficult. And we parted in the hope that we would meet again probably in a month next. The Frontier Province must remain a place of frequent pilgrimages for us. For though the rest of India may fail to show true non-violence, there seems to be good ground for hoping that the Frontier Province will pass through the fiery ordeal. The reason is simple. Badshahkhan commands willing obedience from his adherents and to number more than one hundred thousand.

They band on his lips. He has but to say the word and it is carried out. Whether in voice or all the weapons be necessary, the Khuda Khidmatgars will put the test in constructive non-violence remains to be seen.

Though Pyralis has been giving a faithful record of the time in the Frontier Province I must even at the risk of repetition in places give in my own way a resume of what has been done.

In the matter both Khan Sahib and I had come to the conclusion that instead of addressing the whole of the Khuda Khidmatgars in the various centres I should confine myself to the leaders. This would save my energy and be no waste of time. And so it proved to be. During the five weeks, we visited all the centres and the talks lasted for one hour or more or such centre. I found Khan Sahib to be a very competent and faithful interpreter. And as he believed in what I said, he put into the translation all the force he could command. He is a born orator and speaks with dignity and effect.

At every meeting I repeated the warning that unless they felt that in non-violence they had come into possession of a force infinitely superior to the one they had used in the use of which they were adept, they should have nothing to do with non-violence and resume the arms they possessed before. It must never be said of Khuda Khidmatgars that gone so brave, they had become so brave, made cowardly under Khan Sahib's influence. Their bravery consisted in being good men, not in dying death and being ever ready to burn their houses to the bottom. The bravery they had to keep intact and be ready to show whenever occasion demanded. And for the truly brave such occasions occurred often enough without seeking.

This non-violence was not a mere passive quality. It was the mightiest force. God had endowed men with linked, possession of non-violence disengaged men from the brute content. It was inherent in every human being, but it was more a by demand. Perhaps the word non-violence was an inadequate conveyer of almost which good was an incomplete consciousness of all it was used for conveying. A better rendering would be love or goodwill. Violence was to be met by goodwill. And goodwill came into play only when there was ill-will matched against it. To be good to the good is an exchange at par. A rope against a rope goes no more to its quality. It does when it is matched against an axe. Similarly a man of goodwill is known only when he matches himself against one of ill-will.

This non-violence or goodwill was to be matched not only against Englishmen but it must have full play even among ourselves. Non-violence against Englishmen may be a virtue of necessity, and may only be a cover for cowardice or simple weakness. It may be, as it often is, a mere expedient. But it could not be an expe-

dance when we have an equal chance between violence and non-violence. Such measures occur in domestic relations, social and political relations among ourselves, not only between rival units of the same faith but persons belonging to different faiths. We cannot be truly tolerant towards Englishmen if we are intolerant towards our neighbors and equals. Hence our goodwill, if we had it in any degree, would be tested almost every day. And if we actively resisted it, we would become habituated to its use in wider fields till at last it became second nature without.

The very name, Khan Sahib had showed for them, showed that they were no more, not to injure, humanity. For God took and worked no personal service. He served His creature without demanding any service for Himself, as service. He was unique in this as in many other things. Therefore servants of God were to be known by the service they rendered to His creature.

Hence the non-violence of Khuda Khudatagan had no other result in their daily action. It could be so exhibited only if they were non-violent in thought, word and deed.

And even as a person who acted upon the use of force in his daily dealings would have to undergo a military training, so will a servant of God have to go through a definite training. This was provided for in the very foundation provision of the special Congress of 1920. It was intended from start to finish. It was never thought down to my knowledge. The essence of service goodwill was to be traced through communal unity, shedding of caste-discrimination by Khudai, the home and hand-manifestation and use of Khada,—a new symbol of common with the realization and prohibition of intercommunal dislike and drugs. The fourfold programme was called a process of purification and a new method of gaining against freedom for the country. This programme was followed but half-heartedly by Congressmen and the country, their betraying a lack of living faith in non-violence or faith in the method devised for its daily practice, as faith. But Khuda Khudatagan was exposed and believed in here a living faith in non-violence. Therefore they would be expected to follow out the whole of the constructive self-purification programme of the Congress. I have added to a village sanitation, hygiene and simple medical relief at the village. A Khuda Khudatagan will be known by his works. He cannot be in a village without his making a decent and offering help to the villages in their simple ailments. Hospitals and the like are tops of the cake and are available for the most part only to the city-dwellers. Efforts are no doubt being made to cover the land with dispensaries. But the cost is prohibitive. Whereas the Khuda Khudatagan could, with a little but substantial training, easily give relief in the majority of cases of diseases that occurred in the villages.

I told the leaders of the Khuda Khudatagan that non-disobedience was the end of non-violence, by no means its beginning. Yet I started in the assembly in the wrong end in

1936. I was overwhelmed by activity. The assembly had not come to harm, only because I claiming to be an expert in non-violence technique knew when and how to narrow our steps. Suspension of civil disobedience in Punjab was part of the technique. I have got so much faith in the constructive programme of 1920 as I had then I could not lead a campaign of civil disobedience in terms of Punjab being without the fulfillment of the programme. The right to civil disobedience occurs only to those who know and practice the duty of voluntary obedience to laws whether made by them or others. Obedience should come not from fear of the consequences of the breach but because it is the duty to obey with all our heart and not merely mechanically. Without the fulfillment of the preliminary condition, civil disobedience is civil only in name and never of the strong law of the weak. It is not charged with goodwill: a non-violence. Khuda Khudatagan had shown in unmistakable terms their bravery in suffering during the civil disobedience days in cell over thousands in the other provinces, but it was not proof positive of goodwill at heart. And it would be a degradation in the Pathan if he was non-violent only in appearance. For he must not be guilty of weakness.

The Khuda Khudatagan looked on all I said with great attention. Their faith in non-violence is not at yet independent of Khan Sahib. It is derived from him. But it is now the law being as long as they have unquestioning faith in their leader who never outspoke kindness over their leaders. And Khan Sahib's faith is in his profession. His whole heart is in it. Let the darkness live with him as I have all these previous few weeks and their doubt will be dissolved like mist before the morning sun.

This is how the whole hour struck a very well known Pathan who sat me during the last days of the year. I like what you are doing. You are very clever (I do not know that coming is not the right word). You are making my people braver than they are. You are teaching them to husband their strength. Of course it is good to be non-violent up to a point. But they will be under your teaching. Khuda has bestowed the technique of winning without such without the usual use of violence. But you have betrayed even Khuda. You are giving our men training in non-violence, in dying without killing, as if ever the occasion comes for the use of force, they will use it as never before and certainly more effectively than any other body of persons. I respect you.

I was silent and I had no heart to win out a reply to darkness here. I ended and became passive. I like the comment that the Pathans would be braver than before under my training. I do not know an instance of a person becoming a coward under my influence. But the friend's doctored was deadly. If in the last hour the Khuda Khudatagan prove untrue to the creed

they profess to believe, non-violence was certainly not in their hearts. The proof will soon come. If they sincerely and faithfully follow the constructive programme, there is no danger of about-failing the propagation of the tract. But they will be found among the heretics of men when the test comes.

On the issue between Delhi & Wardha.

22-11-38

OCCASIONAL NOTES

A Cash's Argument

It is a curious coincidence that a little before Gandhiji wrote that article 'If I were a Cash' scored the portion of an ordinary Pacific Cash, the *Peace News* published an interview with a Cash, who was a Pacific but who had not remained one for reasons he had stated. He said that he knew that war was on, that there was nothing about it which was good or better or reasonable, but "if my country must fight, I shall fight. I shall fight even thus now, knowing that it is a sin." His wife said, "I was always for peace. Never to kill, I said. Now I see, yes, go, yes, fight. It is better to fight than to live as slaves." "Listen to my reason," the Cashdomer said. "War is the religion of the Mass. You may make economic concessions to Germany but it will not change their minds on this point. They will take all, all. If we submit they will seize our country and make it what they have made of their own, a police for minds. If we fight, some of us will die. And why not? If I cannot read, speak, think freely I would rather die. I would rather Anna and the boys die. You cannot make peace with these people. In the end they will not let you. I say, keep our three slaves who will make slaves of us, who will take away Hindu from our shelves, who will oppress our nation, who will bring our children up as slaves in war so that their tender minds are ruined and corrupted beyond care. I would rather my children were killed by Mass bombs like the children in Spain than educated by Mass methods. Shall I submit to myself, I with my few pacifist comrades? You see, they are few even if they are thousands. Or shall I run together with all my other friends to defend all that my country has believed and made? And when I look on my mind I know I could not submit. And I know I could not endure a life without freedom. To take away my Hindu!"

I have condensed the Cashdomer's argument as his own words, and so that his answer, apparently a Pacific one, and there was no reply, there could be none!

Without meaning my offence one is inclined to exclaim, wonderful Pacifics these! The words I have indicated show that there is no question, in case of the non-violence of the brave, of submission to wrong or tyrannous, of enduring a life without freedom, of living as slaves. I would never all "pacifist" to read, these and similarly diverse Gandhiji's words. "I would not be a slave

to any nation or body. I must have absolute independence or perish. To seek to win with a dash of arms would be pure suicide. Not so, if defying the master of one who would deprive me of my independence I refuse to obey his will and perish scorned as the master. In no dream though I lose the body, I save my soul, & a my honour."

Far better than squibbles or cowardly submission would be fighting on unequal battle with the money but if the will and the courage to die be there, far more better than fighting with arms would be to refuse to bend the knee to evil and to fill his body with willing sacrifices until it burns. This technique has not yet been tried in international conflict. The new mode of perishing scorned would surely be glory and a unique example to the world of non-submission to tyranny at the price of a few or many lives, and without any cost in the shape of munitions or war-material, then of armed warfare could only be a doubtful possibility of victory at an exorbitant cost of lives, munitions and money, and an even greater cost of keeping alive the embers of hatred and revenge. The case of Abyssinia is pertinent. In no case would the material loss of Abyssinia have been greater than it has been, had the Abyssinians refused to take up arms and challenged the Italians to swear Abyssinia by marching over their dead bodies. Whereas the moral gain would have been something considerable, even if Italy had chosen the ignoble part of occupying a supachised but martyred Abyssinia.

The ignoble peace arranged at Munich affords all pacifists a unique opportunity, if they will seize it, of working out a non-violent technique for the settlement of all conflicts, including armed aggression.

Constructive Pacifism

A friend from England says to the course of a letter

"All of us feel that the temporary postponement of the crisis is a true opportunity to work wholeheartedly for peace and to show the world now, that the only way out for Europe and the world is Ahimsa applied to Western needs. There is a tremendously strong desire for peace here, among people who and this may be harnessed and the horrible violence of modern warfare is forgotten. The broadcast space is reserved opportunity for pacifism. There is more need of the P. P. U. than ever before. Personally I am convinced that we must first and foremost endeavour to build up, among ourselves, a culture and a life based on non-violence. Then will our demonstrations have real power to support them. It looks a terrific task but once you start working with that you find your power and your fellow-labourers everywhere, masses of temporary demonstrators."

No doubt the opportunity is great and unique but it needs a tremendous constructive effort and a complete revision and reworking of the existing plans and programmes of work. It would be posthumous for one in India

to seek to work out the details of this effort. But if the principles are agreed upon the details can be worked out by the brain among the members of the Peace Ridge Union. The first of the principles would seem to be the maintenance of peace and equity and all that flows imply, including the demand that each man and Government of the enlightenment of all unwarlike aims and devoted even-headed justice throughout their own domain first and foremost. The second of the aims of war thus achieved, members should address themselves to the removal of all the preparations for war. The second principle would then be above work to stop all preparations for war. This would include propaganda not only among the army and anti-armament work, but propaganda among all who are actively engaged in the preparation of armaments. This implies coming in conflict with the authority and being prosecuted for tampering with the loyalty of soldiers and workers. The third would be the working for stopping all apparently peaceful activities which nevertheless prepare for war, e.g. 'black units' and gas-mask drills Red Cross work, and so on. The fourth would be the organization of the workweek of the nation for Pacific work. The fourth would be to find government for those whose successful propaganda can wait from war-work. The fifth that continues making it the only insurance against unemployment must be successfully rejected. And so on and so forth.

What "Khadi" Means

Two incidents have brought home to me the meaning of khadi in the minds of our common folk, in nothing else had done before. I happened to see a worker who was conducting a khadi Bhander some years ago and I asked him how the Bhander was working. "It is working all right," he said, "but it is no longer in my hands." "Then you gave up the work, then?" I inquired. "No," he said, "I cannot give up the work. I am helping in khadi production according to the A. I. S. A. programme and policy. But I found that I could not work that Bhander." I asked him to let me know the difficulties he had come across. "No difficulties in the ordinary sense of the word," he said, with a certain amount of hesitance. "Otherwise how should it be still working? But I had moral difficulties. I had engaged two men to carry on the work. They were working well, but I found in my conversation that they were living immoral lives. I was not always on the spot and so I was long in finding this out, but as soon as I found it out I said to myself I must wash my hands of the work. For me the Bhander was a kind of a temple. I used to get up in the early hours of the morning and would see upon the Bhander before I had said my prayers and asked of God to keep me pure in thought, word and deed which for me was the meaning of khadi. I found that my little temple had been defiled. I removed the men but had not the courage to engage others who might betray

me and the work no longer I said my intentions and transferred the Bhander to some one else for whom the work was more hallowed than the moral which it was to me."

I happened to walk into a shop the other day which obviously looked as though it were one dealing in indigenous articles. I was looking for wooden socks, but as I began to read on a sign the name of the manufacturer the good salesman came and said, "Sir, pardon me. This shop is not for you. Every article on your person is made of khadi, and there is nothing Swadeshi here. I am ashamed to confess that the name of the shop is a misnomer and I am sorry that you should have been misled. But the moment I saw you I said to myself that I must warn you the you could have nothing to do with non-khadi articles. I have done khadi work myself and I am sorry that I am here, but that is no reason why you should be deceived." He seemed to have for khadi a respect which made not only his eyes wet but brought tears to most too.

Khadi in Sindh

I remember performing the opening ceremony of the Khadi Bhander in Sindh in 1926. Khadi has made rapid strides even in Sindh since then. If I am not mistaken the sales which did not go in the beginning exceed Rs. 4,000 nearly exceed Rs. 10,000 and last year between April and December Rs. 15,000 worth of khadi was sold. This is due to the hard earnest of some ten thousand workers who are members of the All India Women's Conference Branch in Sindh and of the Young People's League who purchase and sell a fair amount of Khadi during the season, as also to the success of daily hawking. Even amongst the classes where it was, until a little while ago, unknown, khadi has become fashionable and it would be still more so and have a much larger sale, if it were not for some of our own drawbacks. We have yet to learn word propaganda, we have to visit our customers from time to time, ascertain their needs and be prompt in supplying them. It was not to hear that though the Sindh Municipality had resolved to make their municipal workers of khadi and the people in charge of the Bhander have had volunteered a tender to supply them with the requisite khadi, they had found it difficult to execute their tender. This is not good business, in my old time, and partly explains why we do not make the progress we should be making. A Government office should be made to fulfil the promise and this year's number ought not to be repeated.

Even in Sindh the successful Khadi Bhander threatens the existence of the certified one. I am told that there is danger of the former are conferences and have the assistance and support of Congressmen.

If this is true, they must know that there is nothing a member of Congressmen. I was told that if they were so minded Dr. Chakrabarti Bhagwati and Dr. Saraypal could easily help that

unsentinel Shanda closed. Again, I do not know how far this is true, but I mention this fact in order to bring it to the notice of both the leaders and to tell them what a heavy burdened it then.

The Cry of the Poor

There were friends—these two men in sight,—as they both worked with their hands and both knew their Shnda well and had evidently surveyed the shape and access of fortune, like the lonely men on the hills do the winds, the rain and snowstorms. But each of them had a sad tale to tell. The master from Shnda makes a day to get to know those working men at close quarters. It is they who come to Shnda in the beginning, made a habitable, and they remain until practically the whole hill is decided of its population. As we were talking, a group of men were shoveling their way up the hill with loads of 25 bricks each on their backs, which they had brought from several households, if not thousands of feet below. "Is that," I asked one of the two men of my party, "a very heavy burden?" "Not very heavy," said he. "But see the other was ponder and try to think how he carries that burden. I want say that even the sight of that man made me giddy. He had on him a load of stones or four manila (a manila being eight pounds) and he was heavily panting and profusely perspiring. He had no shoes on his feet and though he was young the friend I was talking to told me that he was not destined to live long. 'You people,' he said, 'take it for granted that we are born to carry those heavy weights that our clients can bear any number of times and that we do not need warm clothes or shoes. Well, we do need all these things and I may tell you these loads break our bodies and shorten our lives.' But why do you carry so much weight?" I asked. "I shall tell you presently," he replied. "We are paid at the rate of 3 cents a manna and the heavier the weight we carry the higher the wage we get. If there were a rule fixing the maximum weight that we may carry and if the wage were thereby increased, our lot would be happier, but who cares? And, Sir, look at that wretched path along which they are coming up. Is it not one so steep as down the slope if we were not so man-burdened?"

"But why do you take that path? There is the broad traffic path."

"We are fools. We feel that we can do our job quicker by taking these short cuts, but they must be bad for our health. It is, however, impossible for the authorities to have more roads on these mountains than we people are! But my wife of whom does not read these. Don't you can carry with the fact that we get no scheduled share even a pound. The Shnda servants help themselves to part of the wage by way of *danshi*, the wagesmen is taken not in our favour and we are lucky if we get a couple of manna per manna. But who cares for the poor? You come

here in search of health and you get it at the cost of ours. I am happy, I confess, but listen to my friend's story to be sure that our better-ness is more than justified."

The other friend used to be a barman of restaurants but had his years given up that occupation. This is how, he said, he was driven to desperation. He would go long distances to meet to the needs of the wife of a noted person, and naturally as he was a big man soon on giving his services on credit whatever the nature of the house ordered through him. I had no money and I was too poor to maintain a notebook or a bill-book. I often asked the servant for the amount his master owed to me, but he said I was foolish to be afraid of non-payment by a big person. Look at the palace, look at the number of servants, and so on. I was fooled and even on giving the money on credit until I was at the end of my means even in short dependence I had to see him in court."

I could not spare time in the story and smiled sympathetically, but he produced a sheet crumpled sheet of paper one of his pocket and offered it to me to read. It was the petition.

"This is an unnecessary case in which—a secondary case—and his wife for his 513-1-3. There are no witnesses as other society. Plaintiff produces a can very convincing hole. Defendant denies all liability, and says that anything purchased was through his servant who are honest for him. But he denies that he was his agent. I am afraid that the work has not come to light, but if plaintiff came to give credit to defendant without asking any vouchers up to our 50 200 he must take his chance. Case dismissed. Parties will pay their own costs, as I am convinced that something is due but not determine when."

"The" said the friend continued the story, "is another justice! No shall we agree?" What are we poor folks to do? I may tell you this man does not pay his servants regularly. They seldom are in arrears for months."

How do you know? And it was long ago that you had dealings with him?"

"I know these women many of whom have left him. Those who are still there further their name in other ways. But what have I lost? Nothing. God has given me hands and feet and I can work for my living. But I may tell you that I hope to live to see that man named. Jealousy cannot last long."

"Hardly ever will not work vengeance on him!"

"No. I will not, God will."

Often at these hills old Dr. Samuel Johnson's remark has come to my mind. "Life is a pill which none of us can bear to swallow without gulping. But for the poor we delight in strapping it still lower and are not ashamed to show visible displeasure even if the bitterest taste is taken out of their mouths!"

IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE

V

Here about Bama Said

Before leaving Bama Genday allowed himself to be taken to the site of the recent raid. In the course of the brief visit several facts were brought to his attention which are worth recording. He is wary of the inquiry made by Bamaran Asaf Ali at the instance of the Working Committee. I must confess that I might however give my impression of what I saw and heard. It is common knowledge that the raid could have been checked if there had been the slightest work on the part of the officers immediately concerned. They had notice of the coming raid. The raiders were reactively under observation all the time. Why the raid was allowed to run its full course, is a mystery which, it is to be hoped, Jamb Asaf Ali will be able to unravel, if not also the official committee.

The Historical Background

But the reader should have some knowledge of the character of the raiders across the border and beautiful Bama place visited by the Marwan and the Gambia, even has had a varied and woeful history. Surrounded as it is by the black and westerly side range area of the Kolar district on the Northern side the sandy coast of Dera Ismail Khan on the Southern and on the Western and North Western side by the hazy wilderness of the Waziristan hills where life is a perpetual struggle, not only of man against nature but also of man against man it is naturally become an object of temptation to its three border neighbors. In early history, of which the following excerpt taken at random from Thorburn's monograph on Bama and couched in his deliberately adopted venerable Biblical style, would serve as an instance and epitome, made more like a blood-curdling narrative of the battles between harka, kama and other bands of prey than anything else. "Now the children of Shab Bard, who was also called Shash were glad for they were now pressed at the hands of men of the tribe Wawa, and they girded up their loins, and with their wives and little ones came down from the mountains, and camped at the mouth of the pass called Tark. Then their elders assembled together and said, 'Let us send these papoon to the Mungah and Hama as a sign of what we shall do unto them.' Then they took these papoon, and the first they left alive, and the second they plucked of its wing-feathers close, but on the third they left not a feather and moreover they cut off its head and feet, and they sent a messenger with them who said to the rulers of the Mungah and Hama, 'The Lord is with you, for you have treated me fit respectfully, and he has delivered you into our hands; if ye run and fear, even as this papoon ye shall be able; if ye remain, ye shall be named even as this one and if ye stand ye shall be destroyed even as this one.'

Then the Mungah and Hama feared exceedingly and it happened unto them as unto the papoon.

In the middle ages it became a valley of rest and rest to the foreign invaders on their march from Ghazna to India, and all those vile consequences of moving armies—plague, pestilence, hunger and wholeness—made it a centre of their nefarious activities, leaving behind a tradition that has not become altogether extinct yet. A proper appreciation of this background of history is necessary to any full discussion of the phenomena of cross-border kidnappings and raids.

A Kharak Dance

In working contact with the smiling Bama place, in the Tribal of Marwan, it is one can easily trace 1,180 square miles in area, with Lakha as its head-quarters. Genday visited it on the 26th day after a thirty-one miles motor drive. An interesting feature of the programme at Lakha was a Kharak dance that Khar Lakha had specially arranged for Genday. Kharak dance is its name (Kharak, Baram, Kharak-Secord) implies a based on movements involved in sword play and is a very popular form of folk-dance among the Kharak clan of Pothohar whose land stretches from Bama through Kohat and along the Indus to the North as Akara in the Peshawar District. Like many other indigenous folk arts it was fast falling into disrepute when Khudai Khidmatpur movement which stands for the revival of all that is best in ancient, indigenous Pothohar culture, came to its rescue. The elemental vigor and simplicity of its rhythmic movements that are performed to the accompaniment of the music of the drums and the merran held one spellbound while the story alone, with which the young and the old, including even a sprinkling of Hindus, participated in it, gladdened one's heart. Particularly unforgettable was the performance of a powerful "great old man" who seemed so personally to his person as a most perfect manner the spirit of the old song, "Happo in the hall where hands were all" and who let up the intervals between the more vigorous forms by the slow when glory of his beard and the irresponsible lightness and abandon of his movements which drew even the dullest into raptures of laughter.

Power of Disarmament

There was a public meeting at night, where the focus of matchlocks and arrows told battles with which the gathering was bristling around visibly to remind one that it was an audience of warriors that was listening there with respect attention to Genday's discourse on non-violence and provided a particularly appropriate background for his theme, viz. "the power of disarmament" which he expounded to them. "I am here to tell you, with fifty years' experience of non-violence at my back, that it is an infinitely superior power as compared to brute force. An armed soldier relies on his weapons for his strength. Take away from him his weapons—his gun or his sword, and he presently becomes helpless. But a person who has truly realized the principle of non-violence has the God-given strength for his

weapons and the world has not known anything that can match it. Men may, in a moment of unreason, forget God, but He keeps watch over him and protects him always. If the Khadi Khadimans have understood this well, if they have realized that non-violence is the greatest power on earth, well and good, otherwise it would be better for Khan Sahib to return to them their weapons which they have discarded at his instance. They will then be at least better off than the manner of the world that has today made the warring of brute force its rule. But if they discard their old weapons and at the same time remain unwilling to the power of non-violence it would be a tragedy for which I for one am not and so far as I know, Khan Sahib too, is not prepared.

Violent vs. Non-Violent

The talk to the Khadias Khadimans was a brilliant exposition of the difference between the significance of violence and that of non-violence. "The principles on which a non-violent organization is based," he observed, "are different from and the reverse of what obtains in a violent organization. For instance, in the orthodox army, there is a clear distinction made between an officer and a private. The latter is subordinate and obedient to the former. In a non-violent army the ground is just the chief concern, first among equals. He claims no privilege over or superiority to the rank and file. You have freely done the title 'Deshiakh Khan' to Khan Sahib. But if in his hour of hours he actually begins to behave that he could behave like an ordinary private, it would spoil his despatch and bring his power to an end. He is Dethiakh in the sense only that he is the brave and fearless Khadias Khadimans and made all other Khadias Khadimans in the equality and equality of service.

The Only Sanction

"The second difference between a military organization and a peace organization is that in the former, the rank and file have no part in the choice of their general and other officers. These are imposed upon them and enjoy unrestricted power over them. In a non-violent army, the general and the officers are elected or are as if elected when their authority is earned and rests solely on the willing obedience of the rank and file.

"So much for essential relations between the general of a non-violent army and his soldiers. Coming to their relations with the outside world the same sort of difference is visible between these two kinds of organizations. Just now we had to deal with an enormous crowd that had gathered outside this room. You tried to disperse it by persuasion and logical argument, one by using force and, when in the end we failed in our attempt, we withdrew and sought relief from it by getting behind closed doors at this room. Military discipline knows nothing of moral pressure

Conversion not Coercion

"Let me proceed a step further. The people who are crowding outside here are all our friends though they are not Khadias Khadimans. They are right to listen to what we may tell them. Even their discipline is a manifestation of their love. But there may be others besides them elsewhere who may not be well disposed towards us, who may even be hostile to us. In actual organizations, the only recognized way of dealing with such persons is to defeat them out. Here, to consider the opposite, on the matter of that, anybody, even to thought, to force anyone would, in the parlance of non-violence or love, be called a sin. For from seeking revenge, a victory of non-violence would pay to God that his might bring about a change of heart of his opponent and if that does not happen he would be prepared to bear any injury that his opponent might inflict upon him, not in a spirit of cowardice or helplessness, but bravely with a smile upon his face. I believe implicitly in the axiom saying that 'non-violence real and complete will win the present battle.'

He illustrated his remarks by describing how Mr. Alan Khan, his Father-in-law, who is South Africa, had ultimately rejected and become friendly. "This could not have happened if I had resisted. My enemy can be fully defeated in a process of conversion. Unless you have felt within you the urge to convert, your enemy by your love, you had better cease your steps. The business of non-violence is not for you.

"Even Unto Them"

"What about those who doubt and speak of defensive warfare?" you will ask. What a Khadias Khadimans means, his non-violence is equal to them too? My reply is, most decidedly 'Yes.' Paradoxical as God's, Who alone is the righteous Judge, it does not belong to man "with judgment weak." Remembrance of violence must not mean apathy or helplessness in the face of wrong-doing. If our non-violence is genuine and rooted in love, it ought to provide a more effective remedy against wrong-doing than the use of brute force. I certainly expect you to train out the doctors, show them the error of their ways, and as so doing, leave even death."

Route to D. I. Khan

From Lahore to Dehra Dun, Khan was a long and happy down. While members of us, and and various ways, reaching right up to the lake. - I Day hills spreading across it like the remains of a huge, unshattered mountain, their sides deeply ridged by the action of the wind and the small strings of clouds carrying the strange phenomena of a household, from dark-brown hills to be seen, shafts and firewood on their backs. - 'Yes, these sharp-dogs of the Alps are taking down from their native homelands with their families for their winter quarters in the place within the South territory. - A wisp of a

stamps shimmering in the distance] through a wall of hatred as—! Don-bearded hedge-berry bushes fluting past, ghost-like by the road side—! The dust and the glare—! (These notes up the sum of impressions in the retrospect of the route to Dera Ismail Khan.

Dera Ismail Khan was reached on the evening of the 27th ult. It was still passing through the aftermath of the 1938 Hindu-Muslim riots with an ugly memory of arson and looting. The local Congress organisation seemed to start only in name and even the co-operation of Khan Sahib's sons of Khuda Khudwagan seemed to be unworkable in the local volunteers. The rank was that arrangements for keeping the crowds under control as Gandhiji's audience completely broke down and a pandemonium reigned there on the evening of his arrival, making the holding of the prayer meeting impossible. Gandhiji cried in vain to take shelter behind locked doors from the crowd who would not leave him at peace even there. The noise during prayers chambered up to the roof and the lighters looking into Gandhiji's room were soon litred with smoke upon scenes of confusion, crying and pain. After two days, the March Sahib of Dera Ismail Khan welcomed Gandhiji and party with the permission of his Hindu host, and escorted them to the comparative peace of his residence.

A party of Rs. 5,250 was presented to Gandhiji at the public meeting that was held on the evening of 28th ult.,—by no means a creditable performance for a city like Dera Ismail Khan. And even out of this amount Rs. 5,000 was a single donation. The poor show drew from Gandhiji a sharp rebuke in the course of his part reply to the various addresses of welcome that were presented to him at the public meeting. "I thank you for the party which you have presented," he began, "but you should know that Dandaraopras, whose representative I claim to be, is not in really satisfied. My business is with the crowd of man-made masses, who are not rich. We have to walk through khaki, the queens of a huge annual dress from India for cotton purchase. Through khaki the A. I. S. A. has already distributed over four crores of rupees in wages among the forty, poor Hindu and Mussalman spinners and weavers. Then there is the question of Hattaras uplift,—an equally miserable tale. Your donation ought to be commensurate with the magnitude of the task for which it is intended. Yours is not a poor city. The donors are mostly merchants. Surely, you could have done better." Referring next to the Khuda Khudwagan and to the strained relations between them and the local volunteers which he had noted, he proceeded. These differences are unnecessary. If, however, Khuda Khudwagan live up to their creed as they have now understood it, the differences and quarrels will be things of the past. They are on their trial. If they come out victorious they will be represented in keeping

about communal unity and establishing friend. I know, no harsh anger disappears from one's heart is a difficult task. It cannot be achieved through pure, personal effort. It can be done only by God's grace. I ask you all to join me in the prayer that God might enable the Khuda Khudwagan to conquer the last traces of anger and violence that might still be lurking in their hearts."

Khuda and Tark

Kudke, the headquarters of the Tehsil of that name, situated on the North bank of Lohi river, twenty seven miles West of Dera Ismail Khan presented an address to Gandhiji on 30th ult. in a public meeting held there. It referred to the chronic poverty of the Tehsil and the scarcity of rainfall which did not ensure three crops in a year. Gandhiji had no hesitations in saying that they could launch poverty by taking to Charkha. "I can say that if the Pakistan will take to peaceful movement, both cotton and wool spinning have a great future."

In the Balance

At the public meeting held next day at Tark Gandhiji referred to the lament that the Hindus of Tark had poured out before him. A deputation of Hindus had waited upon him and complained about the state of general insecurity in respect of life and property under which they lived. "If only the local Khuda Khudwagan helped them, they added, their problems would be solved." "They led," observed Gandhiji "that the existence of a non-violent Hindu minority in the midst of the predominantly Mussalman population in this area can be rendered possible only if the latter will be as true Hattaras—neighbours—to them, and they have asked me to appeal to Khuda Khudwagan to fulfil their natural role in respect of them. I earnestly endorse their feeling and their appeal and I am convinced that it is within your power to set them at their ease if you will but fulfil the responsibility you have assumed in me. As I observed on a previous occasion, the Hindus, the Mussalman and the Englishmen in this province are being weighed in the balance. History will record its verdict about the Englishmen's death. But the Hindus and Mussalman can write their own history by being honest in their mutual dealings. For the Khuda Khudwagan their course of action has been determined. They have to become a living wall of protection to these neighbours."

"A small body of determined spirits led by an unimpeachable faith in their mission can alter the course of history. It has happened before and it may again happen if the non-violence of Khuda Khudwagan is undiluted gold, not mere glittering lead."

No Half-way

In his usual talk to the Khuda Khudwagan, Gandhiji chose for his text, what a local Mussalman scribe had told him and which Gandhiji has reproduced elsewhere in these columns. "It is your heart of hearts that is the highest

refusance to regard your non-violence as a mere cloak or a support stone to prevent violence as suggested by the crowd," he told the Khatri Khadimpara. "say, unless you are prepared to carry your non-violence as an absolute logical conclusion and to pay" for forgiveness even for a lady-killer and a child-murderer, you cannot sign your Khatri Khadimpara's pledge of non-violence. To sign this pledge with mental reservation would only bring disgrace upon you, your signatures and have him whom you delight to call the *God of Athira*!"

A Chained Sentence

"But what about the chained sentence of the defendants, some as murder who is threatened with violence by an evil-minded ruffian, you will ask," he went on, "in the ruffian in question to be allowed to work his will? Would not the use of violence be permissible even in such a case? My reply is 'no.' You will answer the ruffian. The odds are that in his excitement he will run bare. But then you will suppose possible between the armed victim and him. Very probably you will be killed but you will have done your duty. This is one killing you cannot and according will arrange the murderer's poison and he will leave his victim unscathed. But it has been said to me this tyrant do not act as we want to expect them to. Finding you unwilling he may tie you in a post and make you watch his race of the victim. If you have the will you will no more pretend that you will break yourself in the struggle or break the bonds in order case, you will open the eyes of the wrong-doer. Your armed presence could do no more, while if you were unarmed the poison would likely be much worse than if you had intervened. There is also the chance of the armed victim copying your calm courage and understanding himself rather than allowing himself to be deluged."

A New Era

It was probably the first time that anybody had spoken to them in this manner and dared to present to them the goal of non-violence in such completeness. The very fact that Gandhi found it possible to do so, constituted a new era in the history of the Punjab race; and as one watched these rough soldiers listening to Gandhi's strange message of peace under the watchful eye of their chief, Khan Sahib Abdul-shaffer Khan, one could not help recalling to oneself the assumed faces of the poet describing "about Corrie" and his men that looked at each other with wild surprise, silent upon a peak in Darnay.

"Then left I like some warrior of the dawn

When a new planet seems into his beam,

On his steel Corrie, when with night eyes

He stood in the Ponds, and fell his face

Looked at each other with a wild surprise,

Upon a peak in Darnay

Dejah-Winter

1

Pyralis

PROHIBITION IN SALEM DISTRICT

[The Students of the American University depend that C. Jaganmohan to study the problem of prohibition in Salem District under the guidance and direction of Professor B. V. Mahalingam, Madras. I have been favoured with a summary of the report from which I take the following excerpts H. E. G.]

Pennalur is a typical south Indian village 24 miles south of Erodesagar, having 3000 persons of consumption, - without a hospital school, post office or even a decent village hall. The total area of the village is 1026 acres comprised of 224 acres wet and 872 acres dry. The population is 1,700 spread over 250 occupied houses. There are about a hundred cottages over 50 to 120 acres in each size. The total lot of the village is Rs. 2500; about 300 people possess another lands not houses. The total neighbourhood of the village stands at Rs. 8000. The annual yield of the village is estimated at Rs. 12000. Pennalur is an average village, but from the point of view of liquor habit it must be classified among the heavy villages. There are about 300 totally addicted 40 petty addicts and 2 or 3 opium addicts. Among the 300 landless agricultural workers 200 are given to toddy. Most of the Adh Dervidas are regular visitors to the shops. Surrounded by 7 toddy shops (the nearest being 34 miles and the farthest 3 miles from Pennalur) the locality is peculiarly fitted for the study of prohibition. Useful information was collected from a study of 54 family budgets in this village and valuable observations were obtained. Of their total income 48.14% was spent on toddy, the maximum spent by any family being 124% and the minimum 15%. But subsequent to the introduction of prohibition the standard of living increased and a phenomenal improvement in the standard of living of 17 families was noticeable. More money to the extent of Rs. 345 was spent by 25 families to board the year than was spent last year. Family debts were paid off partly or wholly by 21 families and the together with cash on hand amounted to Rs. 129 besides the purchase of cattle valued at Rs. 268. Therefore if the actual savings resulting from prohibition came to Rs. 758, this figure does not include the amount saved in the shape of increased sums spent on food and clothing and very payment of tax. Contrary to the opinion that cessation of drink causes health, it was found that only 13 in this village actually suffered. Except for 2 who opposed the Act and 7 who were inclined to go back to drink all the other addicts of the village favour prohibition and there has not been a single instance of an attempt to cross the border for drinking.

Pappasagotta and Chidambaram, two big hamlets of Erodesagar town, are inhabited by natives, poor agricultural labourers and the poorer sections of the population. There are 120 houses in each of these two hamlets carrying a population of a

Choward, and in this area the number of families increased in Pappanperum 24 and in Gaddampet 29. The average of liquor expense to total expense is 54.3% in Pappanperum and 25% in Gaddampet. 9 families in Pappanperum and 10 in Gaddampet were "indebted," but after the introduction of prohibition there has been a marked increase in the standard of living of 34 families in the two hamlets. This year for Pappal there has been an increase in the expenditure of Rs. 171 by 32 families in the hamlet and Rs. 48 by 12 families in the latter. 21 families were able to clear off credit debts partly or wholly. Savings directly attributed to prohibition amount to Rs. 125 and Rs. 52 respectively. Only the health of 8 addicts out of 45 was affected in Pappanperum. Prohibition is generally popular but for 19 addicts who oppose it and the 4 who were the heaviest.

Confidential and sympathetic talk with the village folk has revealed the necessity for complete prohibition. 9 instances representing the various states of society and fairly typical of the ex-addicts of the district are given in the report. They clearly demonstrate the economic benefits of prohibition to almost every addict family in contrast to their general backwardness in the pre-prohibition era. In some cases the village quick dance and so others the landless, both being friends of toddy contractors, accustomed to the patron or the laborer, as the case may be, toddy drinking had company or communal habit also resulted in counteracting the evil. While in poor families debts were contracted and lands sold as a result of toddy, in the middle class agricultural families there was a remarkably poor standard of living. Savings were made by village hawks and there was general unhappiness. But today as a result of prohibition there is peace and happiness everywhere. More money is spent on the necessities of life, and there is an appreciable increase in the standard of comfort and in their fiscal expenses this year Kando debts (small debts with very high interest contracted for a few weeks) are avoided and debts where incurred are being repaid easily. Except in the case of two individuals who seem to feel the loss of liquor, all the persons concerned are cheerful and free from any apparent ailment. It is interesting to note that almost every one of these does not want the shops to be re-opened again.

The liquor shops that catered to the addicts during the year 1936-37 were 38 toddy shops and 190 arrack, opium, gunga or wine shops. The population of Salem is 2,435,372. On an average 1 shop catered to 2,220 individuals, or nearly to one village if we take the population of the village to be ranging from 1,000 to 1,200, or it may be rephrased in a different way—that is the number of villages in Salem is 1,866 and so roughly a shop for every 2 villages. The total number of addicts in the district is about 7 lakhs.

Several factors during the years in the toddy or arrack shops, the desire to drown their care and to forget their physical pain resulting from hard work and poor maintenance, idleness and absence of propaganda against the evil, want of recreation in the evening, the influence of friends or relatives who were actual addicts, absence of proper medical aid, and badly business methods of the toddy contractor. These contractors are every set to shut the unbusiness spots in the shops. They are prepared to accept clothes and jewels for toddy and also sell on credit and sometimes give loans to new recruits. Even competitors and good among contractors have led to the popularizing of the habit. When the contractor happens to be a money lender also he draws loans freely, ultimately among the hands of his clients when they are unable to repay. Thus these factors operate severally and in combination to increase the number of addicts. The real achievement of prohibition is not so much the economic and social betterment of the condition as the removal of those subtle forces which drive the man to the shops. To have an exact idea of the direct extent of the influence of prohibition, the village of Salem can be divided into 3 groups. The first group of villages are those where 95% of the families of the village are addicts. These form 30% of the total number of villages in Salem. The second class comprises of those villages where 25 to 50% of the total number of families include heavy addicts, and this class forms 40% of the villages of Salem. The third class which also forms 40% of the total number of villages includes those villages where the total number of addicts forms less than 25% of the families who drink moderately and only occasionally. After prohibition the first class benefited most, the second class did not benefit so much, while in the third class the gain was little. Before prohibition the third class villages were slowly giving place to the other two groups. Prohibition has, therefore, remained the net and has saved Salem.

The total yearly need for toddy, arrack, gunga, opium, and foreign liquor shops in 1936-37 amounted to nearly 17 lakhs of rupees (toddies retail about Rs. 15 lakhs). Statements of some ex-addict contractors and their clients show that the annual expense of an average toddy shop cost to be 4 times the annual retail paid to the government bearing a sufficient margin for addition of liquor and for profits of the contractor. The proportion of the total sales of liquor to the retail can be fixed at 5:1. On this modest estimate Rs. 75 lakhs must have been spent on toddy by the addicts of Salem. One of the 7 lakhs of addicts in Salem 3 lakhs were addicted to toddy while 2 lakhs took to drugs or liquor. When these addicts are also taken into consideration the total amount spent on narcotics amounted to Rs. 1 crore annually. But from October 1937 to June 1938 the money saved would have come to Rs. 75 lakhs. After prohibi-

between 7 lakhs of shikhs should have an increased purchasing power of Rs 25 lakhs—in other words the per capita income must have increased by Rs. 11 in 9 months. But the actual increase in purchasing power is not so great since a part of the pre-prohibition expenditures were made in kind. Moreover a considerable sum goes to the money-lender for redempcion and interest payment besides payment towards the government tax. Thus Rs 25 lakhs represent the supposed money values of these together with the actual cash spent on toddy. Hence the investigation coincided with the stark truth for laborer, i. e. January to July, an accurate study of prohibition cannot be made until a whole year elapses. Nevertheless, the conclusion is inescapable that though there might not have been an actual increase in the standard of living to the expected level there has been a diversion of expenditure from unwholesome to fruitful channels.

An examination of the steady prices of grain and other necessities since 1933-34 in Tiruchengode taluk does not show any change in the price-trends after Prohibition. But the merchants are of opinion that the ex-salika purchases more regularly and in greater quantities. The figures supplied by 8 shop merchants in Kumbhargiri town, prove conclusively the benefits of prohibition. In January, 1933, the total sales in the 8 shops were Rs. 12,624-5-8 while in January, 1932, sales amounted to Rs. 38,341-3-8. The increase of Rs 7,147-3-0 in the sales is, in the opinion of merchants, the result of prohibition. Petty money-lenders who supplied funds have said that after prohibition they only had there been a fall in the usual demand for loans but money lent out was easily recoverable.

Wearers and Prohibition

In Tiruchengode and in the western taluks of Salem weaving is an important occupation of the people. In Salem town 50,000 belong to the weavers' families. The weavers were ancient drunksards. The technicians of their work drank then to the toddy shops wherever they were sent to derive relief and energy. A special study of 300 weavers in Saccampalayam village of Tiruchengode taluk indicates that when once these weavers were independent producers and dealers, they are now coolies under wholesale dealers. The middlemen supply the yarn for weaving clothes and saris and pay the weavers low wages ranging from Rs. 1-4-0 to 1-12-0 per week for a cloth of 14 yards wide and 12 yards long, for which they were paid between Rs. 4 and 5 before 1931. Japanese competition and Japanese production of silk have thus adversely affected the weavers appropriating their subsistence. But the amount spent on necessities did not show a fall proportionate to wages. In fact, with the weaver adding the toddy expense was the first change on his income. In a family of four earning annually (1 man and 2 women) earning Rs 23 per month the toddy expenditure alone came to Rs. 4 while the balance was left to support

them and a large number of dependents. After the introduction of prohibition, weavers realize the benefit conferred on them by the removal of the drink evil. The progress of village shikhs, who are co-operative in nature, was arrested by the habit of drinking. Drunk also resulted in low credit-worthiness of the weaver. The heavy shikhs often said the yarn supplied them by the commission agents of wholesale dealers and utilized that amount for interests. Hence the agents demanded deposits other assurances before they supplied the yarn. In other cases, the weaver shikhs took the woven cloth to the market for sale and sold their goods at ridiculously low prices as the evenings drew nigh in order to buy toddy.

But prohibition has enhanced their credit worthiness, they are treated by the agents and they have been more regular in their work. Fights and night brawls have disappeared and few of them, suspicion of loss of health or lack of inclination for work. They are now better fitted for co-operative organisations.

Besides the stable and the movable benefits reaped by the shikhs labourers, there are other interesting features of prohibition. The heavy drunksards who formed a small section of the shikhs and who complained of loss of efficiency are of opinion that only for the first few weeks was they disheartened but later when they spent their savings on wholesome food they regained their efficiency. New members and wives of coolies go to the employer to receive the wages of the laborer. This is partly to prevent them from spending on kacha, cinema and betting and partly to help 'kacha' debts. The complaint that prohibition deprives the weavers of the incentive to labor is not true because the laborer does not find it necessary to over-work himself as he did when there was the attraction of toddy. There is a fear that poverty and decrease of labour would lower the wages of the laborer. But experience in the three taluks have not disclosed such a state of affairs.

It has been suggested that one of the basic sources of investment is lost on account of prohibition on Salem. There is no foundation for this opinion. On the contrary ample evidence is available to show that the money which was invested directly or indirectly in the toddy trade of Salem by a few rich people is being diverted to other profitable avenues. Even before the introduction of prohibition the rich persons utilized a certain amount of loss on account of increasing charges for making trees, use of servants and the non-employment of peons. The sale of liquor was not profitable and the introduction of prohibition was a blessing in disguise.

Prohibition and the Tappers

The abolition of toddy resulted in the unemployment of toddy tappers in spite of the licenses issued to any want paid. Before October, 1932, there were 1,048 tappers in

Salem, 5,339 of them tapped decorated toddy and 3,699 tapped sweet palm. After October these tappers had either to take to sweet palm tapping or to go out of the district for employment in the wet districts. Many turned to land and other occupations while some left India.

Up to the end of March 1938 about 4,154 tappers had been noted for sweet toddy tapping and so that season unemployment of the tappers has been reduced. In Tiruchengode and Erode sugar cane unemployment is negligible. As long the tappers drank free tapping sweet palm because they were afraid of the dangerous punishment meted out to cane the poor farmers. But when the government assured them justice, the tappers took to it. Had this assurance come earlier unemployment would have been much less.

Amalgamate Measures

To maximize the benefits of prohibition and minimize the sufferings the Government are providing counter attractions to the addicts to enable them forget the toddy habit and are offering facilities to them to save money.

In rural areas 'Societies', drama and sports are organized. Subsidies are given to carry on anti-drink propaganda. The Indian Tea Marketing Expansion Board and the Indian Coffee Cane Commission are propagating tea and coffee. Gov. schemes are giving all facilities to non-officials in their attempts to provide diversion.

To promote drink among them, the Salem District Bank has distributed 144 hand books in several parts of Salem area. The co-addicts are allowed 34% interest on the amount saved. Up to 31st March, 1938, the amount saved was Rs 80-8-3. Weavers' Thrift Societies require every member to save at least 4 annas a week. They allow 2% interest. Ninety hand books were distributed and the amount saved up to the end of 31st March 1938, was Rs. 38-12-0. Rural co-operative credit societies which have introduced home safe deposits have distributed 817 hand books among their members and the amount saved is Rs 68-8-11, the amount offered being 4% in the several villages of Erode sugar cane hand books were easily used because the earnings of peasants are barely sufficient for their subsistence. As time goes on the bank below is bound to develop among these peasants.

The Collector of Salem, Mr. A. F. W. Dunn, has proposed to select some villages for rural recreation centres, where, under the guidance and supervision of government officials, some work is to be done for the regeneration of village life. Rural roads will be treated in these regions and that services will be of great use to the villages in the district. Since the conscience of the government are limited non-official co-operation is very necessary.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it has to be mentioned that

prohibition has improved the moral, social and economic life of the poor labor of the co-addicts of Salem though the exact nature of the gains differ with different families. Collection of lost has been rendered easy, a lot indirectly noted as a subsidy to the weaving industry of Salem, crimes have not increased, though there is hardly any remarkable monetary saving by the addicts, more money is spent on food, clothing and recreation, peace and happiness mean supreme. The Police Minister's claim that the average man is not a wild addict has clearly fallen into the latter is amply demonstrated by evidence. While 80 to 90% are sincerely in favour of prohibition the rest have now easily adjusted to the new situation. If a legislature is warmly welcomed even by those whom it unconsciously, the success of that measure is a foregone conclusion. But the success they which rests on the Government and the well-wishers of this movement is the prevention of varied interests from misjudging the average alcoholic man. The various handicaps to governments are limited staff, limited finance, the large number of co-addicts, expert misguiding, the widespread nature of crime, the daily visits of the district which facilitates illicit distillation and trade, existence of wet areas around Salem and the lack of non-official co-operation. The success will be more pronounced with experience gained by the Inebriation Department and the dissemination of inebriation measures derived by the Development Officer.

The cost of introduction of prohibition in Salem is Rs 12,13,000 (loss of excise revenue is Rs 13,80,000, cost of additional police Rs 51,000, savings due to the abolition of excess staff Rs 32,800) for the last six months of the financial year 1937-38. The total cost of prohibition to be sustained by Government for the year 1938-39 is estimated at Rs 28,52,000. The common opposition to prohibition is that it reduces Government's income and makes fresh money available to the pretented Presidency. But it is a claim which has had the peculiar misfortune of being true to an almost unique inheritance of apollined poverty and, graded work, the problem of this drink evil which is a common error approaches the attention deserves very serious consideration and away from the students of non-government. When it is emphasized that India is almost entirely an agricultural country, a third of whose population consists of a labour class subjected to drink, the seriousness of this drink evil is surely to be better realized and the loss at abolition costlier is bound to be appreciated all the more. The Government of Madras who initiated the prohibition scheme in Salem, therefore, deserve to be warmly congratulated on their bold venture. But if their conscience is to be an unquenchable thirst they will have to extend it to the other districts of the Presidency and devise the necessary measures of taxation for its effective working.

PROGRESS OF WARDHA SCHEME

[The following note has been prepared by Shrihari Anilram Dori
M. K. G.]

Begin

A training course with sixty students and eight teachers has been started in the Training School, Wardha, for a six months' emergency training course, and a compact area has been selected for experiment in the British theme of the Chauri-chaura Durand, where 30 Basic Schools will be started from March 1939.

Orissa

A Basic Education Committee consisting of both official and non-official members has been appointed by the Government, with Sgt. Gopalbhadra as chairman, to take the necessary steps for the introduction of Basic Education in the province. Eight workers have been selected by the Government and sent to Wardha to be trained as training school teachers and supervisors. One of the party is Sant Anantaram Choudhary, the daughter of Sgt. Gopalbhadra Choudhary.

A training school with one year's course will be opened in April 1939, and Basic Schools will be opened in April 1940 in a selected compact area.

C. P.

150 pupil teachers are receiving a further training of two months in the training school while the school-building and equipment is being got ready for starting Volva Mandals. It is hoped that got hundred schools will be ready by the end of December, and will start work with the new year.

A committee consisting of C. P. educational officers and local members of the Hindustani Taluk Sangh has been formed by the Government to guide the work of the training school.

Madras

The Government has deputed three trained workers, including the headmaster of a training school, to undergo two months' training in Wardha. The secretary is visiting the Education Minister on Nov. 26th and 27th to discuss further details regarding the introduction of Basic Education in the province.

A private training school with forty students has been organized at Mandhalingam attached to the Andhra Janya Kishori and is doing very good work.

Bombay

The Education Minister has accepted the plan submitted by the secretary for the introduction of Basic Education in the three linguistic provinces of Maharashtra, Karnatak and Gujarat and is sending the Education Secretary Sh. Gadhvi to Wardha towards the end of November to discuss further details.

Kashmir State

A short postgraduate course organized for all teachers and supervisors to acquaint them with

the principles of the Wardha Scheme has been successfully completed, and a training school has been opened to train teachers according to the Wardha Scheme of Education.

Myore State

A Wardha Education Committee has been formed. The secretary has been invited to preside over the first conference and open the first experimental school on November 2nd, and 3rd.

TRAINING IN PALM-JAGGERY

Under the auspices of the A. I. V. I. A. the class for acquiring training in palm-jaggery making has been started for the current session from 1st November 1938, at Sengam, near Wardha. The course is for a month. Tapping is not included in it. Only the process of jagg making is taught. The students have to do practical work for about 7 hours a day. Theory is taught for an hour daily, for acquainting the students with the various aspects of the industry, including its history, chemistry, commerce, history, economics etc. The students must be strong enough to work the engine of the practical work. A fee of Rs. 5 is charged per student. The boarding charges will be about Rs. 5 and Rs. 1 for lodging. A deposit of Rs. 15 is required to cover the cost of transport and of Rs. 10 for ensuring return journey expenses. The class will be closed on 31st March 1939. Leaving certificates should apply for admission to the Secretary, Training School Committee, A. I. V. I. A., Maharashtra, Wardha (C. P.), and should not proceed before obtaining a permission in writing.

Sengam, 14.11.38.

Sujanan Nakh
Supervisor, Gas Department,
Sengam, Wardha.

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CONTENTS	PAGE
CHANGES AND ERRATA	M. K. Gadhvi 319
THE PEOPLE'S EDUCATION	
MOVEMENT	T. H. Das 324
A CHALLENGE	323
AFRICA KIDNAPERS AND	
REDEMPTION	M. K. Gadhvi 326
ORGANIZATIONAL NOTES	M. D. 328
IN THE FORTIFIED PROVINCE—V	Parvati 341
PROGRESS IN SALEM	344
PROGRESS OF WARDHA SCHEME	346
TRAINING IN PALM JAG	Sujanan Nakh 348



HARIVAN

Editor: HARADAT DESAI

Under the Auspices of The Harjan Sewak Sangh

11/90

VOL. VI, No. 41

POONA — SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1938

[ONE ANNA

IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE VI

Religious Obligations

With Dera Ismail Khan ended Gandhi's tour of the trans-border districts of the North Western Frontier Province. Leaving Dera Ismail Khan on the afternoon of the 15th ult. we stepped upon the last phase of the tour. There was the call of the sick and ailing from Segawal, where no mother of mine had rendered more than half the help they do elsewhere. Gandhi was anxious not to extend his tour a day further than absolutely necessary into the month of Ramadan. The punctious care with which our Mussulman hosts throughout the town and Bahawalpura and his Old Grand of the Khadas Khudospura looked after the feeding and other creature comforts of Gandhi and his party while they themselves feared made Gandhi all the more determined to vigorously apply to his own case the principle of religious obligations. He made a feeling reference to it in the course of his talk to the Khadas Khudospura in a small two-side village where we halted for our midday meal last. It has touched me deeply and also humbled me to find, he observed, "that at a time, when owing to the Ramadan fast, not a kitchen fire was lit in the whole of the village of Mussulmans houses, food had to be cooked for us in this place. I am past the stage when I could do with you as I did in South Africa to teach the Mussulman boys who were under my care to keep the Ramadan fast. I had also to consider the fasts of Khan Sahib who has made my physical well-being his day and night concern and who would have felt embarrassed if I heard I can only ask your pardon."

A Mad Road

The rest of the journey was a mad rush. We covered over one hundred miles on the 15th day, making our way into the interior to take in the village of Panahi ten miles from the main road. Evening had already fallen when we reached Minthal and the roads were illuminated. Traveling on the section of the road is not considered to be safe and traffic is not permitted after 4 P. M. (the Khan Sahib's presence acted as "open season" everywhere. "Tell them, we want to travel on our risk," he instructed his son. With Khan who sat at the steering wheel

as we approached the first barricade. And then, "If you hear somebody shout our 'map' put in the bushes at once. Nobody will touch us if they know who we are, but if you try to rush past, you may have a shot may say about you." We halted for the night in the front garden of M. Magsudjan and his brother who takes behind a rural manner his conversing education. The rest was resumed on the following morning. Doubtless the track of our original journey to Dera Ismail Khan we talked for a couple of hours in the village of Ahmad Bakh, skinned the town of Bannu and sped past the grey masses of clay hills of the salt range on whose crumpling crests a wind howls and sheep seem to breed always. Then on through the town of Kakes and over the Kakes pass, we passed the pass, now marked by a police post where a post track diverges from a mountain dell and over which Mohi Khas was carried by his oxen to her place of captivity. And so on over one hundred and twenty-five miles of the track, and finally "the market square of the Frontier Town" at the end of the day.

A Vale Display

Bahawalpura kept up a running fire of comment on the various sites and localities on the route as made their way of the uphauled truck was rolled out and left behind. As we sped past one of the military posts with which the Bannu Kotes Road is studded, he looks out. "What a lovely facility," Magsudjan, took at the van display of flags, armoured cars and tanks. And they have not been able to capture a well-bred of robbers that has been harrying this part of the country for so long. In the year—the robber chief actually planted his flag on powder hill in sight of the military and challenged them to attack him, but he would as large. Either it spells hopeless inefficiency on the part of the military or deliberate apathy which is nothing short of criminal."

There were meetings with Khadas Khudospura both at Panahi and Ahmad Bakh and a public meeting besides at Panahi. But before I give the substance of Gandhi's talks in a necessary to describe a few things about the people to whom his remarks were addressed, their customs and characteristics.

Physical Characteristics

Unlike the corn Afghan which is used, in no way does, in dress any indication of the

modern kingdom of Afghanistan, the term Pathan has a linguistic derivation, being a corruption of *Pakthun*, the Pakhtu speakers. It includes all Pashtu or Pakhtun speaking people of Southern and Eastern Afghanistan and the Indian subcontinent. One of the points which Khan Sahib used often to emphasise in his public speeches was that in the Frontier Provinces everybody was a Pathan who had made that province his home and spoke Pakhtun, irrespective of whether he was a Hindu, Sikh or Musselman. And as a matter of fact there are Hindus and Sikhs, women and children settled among the Pathans who have adopted the Pathan dress and who can speak only Pashto. They have even adopted Pashto suffix *-ai*—*-wan* etc.

In appearance a Pathan is of a stalwart make, lean and wary. Throughout our tour we did not come across a single Pathan within a panch, thanks to laws which he considers and his spring use of sword. He never moves without his weapons. When crossing his cattle or driving his herds of horses, when tilling the soil or attending a fair or a public function he is well armed. His rifle or his long, heavy sword (as the elderly Pathan warlocks are called), which is generally slung over his left shoulder, the belt of cartridges and the knives and daggers that are stuck about his person, one of them often between the rings of his neck and the collar of his mantle, are never laid aside except his home and during waking hours. He is a crafty and determined as unshakable and mountain, guards warriors.

A Lion Refused

It has become a fashion among English writers on the Pathan question—most of whom are ex-military officers, and therefore has enormous veldy Pathan character. He has been described as "fierce and predatory to the last degree", "a Pathan will send a blinker down under a sleeping person", observes Commander Stephen King Hill. But we have the testimony both of Davies and the author of that delightful book "The Khyber Caravan" that the problem facing the military authorities today is not so much to prevent the border Pathan from seeking blackness from under the sleeping masses, as to save the sides of the women on sand being stolen, which even the penalty of capital law for loss of life and the promise of changing the thousands to the perches of words on a day, at the west and the west, have failed effectively to do.

Pathan Code of Honour

In his usual relations a Pathan is ruled by what is known as *Paktunwah* or the stern old Pathan code of honour, which imposes upon tribesmen obligations, the non-observance of which is regarded as the deadliest of sins and is followed by lasting dishonour and ostracism. (1) He must grant to all fugitives the right of asylum (*narwan*). (2) He must prefer open-handed hospitality (*achwan*), even to

his deadliest enemy, and (3) he must wipe out insult with insult (*kadal*). The last leads to blood feuds which in the case of the Pathan race, being hereditary or even of a wife has at times been every family an hereditary blood feud and every individual his personal feud. "Every person grows up his nation, each tribe has his debts and credits account with his neighbours, life for life." "Unfortunately", observes Davies, "society refuses to make that under the demands of the law of the frontier custom, many of these noble families are brought to the verge of extinction. Until these civil wars are over, there can be no united people and no reign of peace." As has been already noted in these columns, these blood feuds, Bedshahkhan deplores most and believes that if non-violence takes deep root in the Pathan heart the endless feuds will die and the Pathan will live.

A New Departure

But whatever the virtues and defects of the Pathan character may be, undoubtedly has not in the long past, been one of them. And as Gandhi took pains to explain to the Khudai Khidmatgar that what he had come to tell them was not any addition to or extension of their knowledge and practice and that what Bedshahkhan had taught was a reversal of the past. "I have now had the assurance from your own lips of what I had from Khan Sahib already," he remarked to the Khudai Khidmatgar at Peshawar. "You have adopted non-violence not merely as a temporary expedient but as a creed for good. Therefore, more renunciation of the sword, if there is sword in your heart, will not carry you far. Your renunciation of the sword cannot be used to be genuine unless it generates in your hearts a power, the opposite of that of the sword and superior to it. Christian revenge or retaliation has been held amongst you as a sacred obligation. If you have a feud with anybody that was become your enemy for all time and the feud is handed down from father to son, in non-violence even if somebody injures you or his enemy you may not so regard him as enemy, and of course, there can be no question of revenge." "Who could be more cruel or bloodthirsty than the late Gen. Dyer?" he asked them, "yet the Jilian Walla Bagh Congress Inquiry Committee, on my advice, had refused to ask for his prosecution. I had no trace of illwill against him in my heart. I would have also liked to meet him personally and reach his heart, but that was to remain a mere aspiration." And he went on to tell them how non-violence of a Khudai Khidmatgar exposed itself in acts of service to God's creature and the training that was necessary for it.

A Point

At the end of his talk he was presented a poem by one of the Khudai Khidmatgar who had followed his address closely. "You expect us to protect the Hindu against the raiders

and you tell us that we may not employ our weapons even against thieves and rogues. How can the two go together?" "The contradiction," Gandhiji replied, "is only apparent. If you have really assimilated the non-violent spirit, you will not wait for the robbers to appear on the scene, but will seek them out in their own territory and prevent the raids from taking place. If even then a raid does take place, you will face the robbers and tell them that they can take away all your belongings but they shall squall the property of your Hindu neighbours only over your dead body. And if there are hundreds of Khudai Khidmatgars ready to protect the Hindu Harijans with their lives, the robbers will certainly think twice of bunkering in cold blood all the innocent and confidence Khudai Khidmatgars who are non-violently packed against them. You know the story of Abdul Qadir Jilani and his forty pail Mahars with which his mother had sent him to Baghdad. On the way the caravan was waylaid by robbers who proceeded to strip Abdul Qadir's companions of all their belongings. Thereupon Abdul Qadir who so far happened to be unscathed, shouted out to the robbers and offered them the forty pail Mahars which his mother had sent him, and the heart of his enemy. The legend goes that the robbers were so struck by the simple earnestness of the boy, at the same time was, that they not only let him go unscathed but returned to his companions all their belongings."

An Akhbari Hindu Gandhiji explained to the Khudai Khidmatgars the place of Civil disobedience in the programme of non-violence and its relation to the constructive programme. But as Gandhiji has already set a touch in these columns it need not be repeated here.

Birds of a Feather (7)

The Bar Association of Peshawar offered Gandhiji's presence in the city by presenting him with an address at the Premier's residence in which they proudly claimed him as one of their confederates and incidentally also managed to do a little trumpet blowing for themselves by alluding to the splendid services in the political field rendered by leading lights of the profession. Gandhiji, in a very little speech, while thanking them for the honour that they had done him, observed that he was hardly entitled to this position, in the first place because as they all knew, he had been disbarred by his own law and secondly because he had long forgotten his law. Of late he had more often been engaged in breaking laws than in expounding or interpreting them in the courts of the land. Still another and perhaps, his most vivid reason was his peculiar views about lawyers and doctors which he had recorded in his booklets, *The Indian Home Rule*. A true lawyer he told them was one who placed truth and service in the first place and the enrichment of the profession in the second place only. He did not know whether they had all adopted this

ideal but if they pledged themselves to render service through their legal vocations as an alternative spirit he would be the first to pay them his homage.

Talks with the Ministers

Before leaving Peshawar Gandhiji had a meeting with the members of the Frontier Ministry whom, in fulfillment of his promise made at various places, he thanked out with these certain political and administrative matters round which a lot of public controversy had gathered. The discussion served the purpose of clarifying the position with regard to some matters, while as regard to some others, some definite decisions were adopted by the Ministry in the light of Gandhiji's views.

The Golden Bridge

A high official from southern India who sought out Gandhiji at Peshawar, put to him a puzzling query: "As I move from south, northwards, I seem to have a different humanity altogether. There seems to be no meeting ground between the type here and that found in the south. Will the reason ever come?" Gandhiji's reply was that while the apparent difference was there, non-violence was the golden bridge that united the Southern and Northern Parties with the mild and intellectual south India, Khudai Khidmatgars who had accepted non-violence as their creed ceased to be different, except in the degree of their non-violent spirit, from people in other parts of India. In that question of faith of various types, as in many an other knotty question, the moment we adopt the non-violent approach all difficulties melt away.

The ex-Indian District of Hazara, the last to be created during Gandhiji's stay, is the North-western district of the N. W. F. Province and the only territory of this Province east of the Indus. It lies like a wedge of British territory 120 miles in length, drawn in between Kashmir on the East and the independent hills on the West.

The Case of Quah

Before entering it however Gandhiji paid a brief visit to Kohistan, in Quah days on the 10th of November. This territory though politically and geographically part of the Punjab, is linguistically and in respect of customs, habits and mode of life of its people closely allied to the North West Frontier Province. They had requested that Pabai speaking people of their class should be permitted to join the Khudai Khidmatgar movement in the Frontier Province. Gandhiji told them that there could be no difficulty in their so doing.

"The Khudai Khidmatgars is an organisation with its head quarters at Umanian. And one who signs their pledge and can speak Pabai can enrol himself as a Khudai Khidmatgar. The only condition is that he cannot simultaneously be on the register of any other organisation. You are, therefore, absolutely free to enrol as Khudai Khidmatgars if you like and no special permission is needed for it.

(Continued on page 326)

HARIJAN

Nov. 26

1938

THE JEWS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Several letters have been received by me asking me to declare my views about the Anti-Jew question in Palestine and the persecution of the Jews in Germany. It is not without hesitation that I venture to offer my views on this very difficult question.

My sympathies are all with the Jews. I have known them intimately in South Africa. Some of them became life-long companions. Through these friends I came to learn much of their up-bringing and persecution. They have been the victims of Christianity. The parallel between their treatment by Christians and the treatment of non-casteables by Hindus is very close. Religious intolerance has been involved in both cases for the justification of the inhuman treatment meted out to them. Apart from the friendships themselves, there is the more common universal reason for my sympathy for the Jews.

Has my sympathy done not blind me to the requirements of justice? The cry for the national home for the Jews does not make much appeal to me. The answer for it is sought in the Bible and the analogy with which the Jews have furnished after return to Palestine. Why should they not, like other peoples of the earth, make that country their home where they are born and where they earn their livelihood?

Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French. It is a wrong and inhuman to require the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct. The moderns have no standard but that of the law war. Surely it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs to their Palestine can be returned to the Jews partly or wholly on their ancestral home.

The sadder course would be to insist on a partition of the Jews wherever they are born and bred. The Jews born in France are French or possibly the same sense that Christians born in France are French. If the Jews have no home but Palestine, will they risk the idea of being forced to leave the other parts of the world in which they are settled? Or do they want a double home where they can remain at will? This cry for the national home affords a colorable justification for the German expulsion of the Jews.

But the German persecution of the Jews seems to have no parallel in history. The reports of old never went as mad as Hitler seems

to have gone. And he is doing it with religious zeal. For he is propounding a new religion of violence and ruthless actionism in the name of which my humanity becomes an act of humanity to be overruled here and there. The crime of an alienated and lost unregarded youth is being visited upon the whole race with unbelievable ferocity. If there ever could be a possible war in the name of and for humanity, a war against Germany, to prevent the further perpetration of a whole race, would be completely justified. But I do not believe in any war. A discussion of the pros and cons of such a war is therefore outside my horizon or purpose.

But if there can be no war against Germany, even for such a crime as is being committed against the Jews, surely there can be no alliance with Germany. How can there be alliance between a nation which claims to stand for justice and democracy and one which is the declared enemy of both? Or is England drifting towards armed dictatorship and all a means?

Germany is showing to the world how effectively violence can be applied when it is not hampered by any hypocrisy or weakness unbecoming to humanism. It is also showing how hideous, terrible and terrifying it looks in its nakedness.

Can the Jews trust the organized and therefore persecution? Is there a way to preserve their self-respect, and not to feel helpless, exploited and belated? I believe there is. No person who has faith in a living God need feel helpless or belated. Jehovah of the Jews is a God more personal than the God of the Christians, the Mohammedans or the Hindus, though, as a matter of fact is accurate. He is common to all and one unifies a moral and beyond discrepancy. Not as the Jews attribute personality to God and believe that He rules every action of theirs, they could not be feel helpless. If I were a Jew and were born in Germany and earned my livelihood there, I would claim Germany as my home even as the native gentle German may and challenge him to shoot me or cast me in the dungeons I would refuse to be expelled or to submit to discriminatory treatment. And for doing this, I should not want the fellow Jews to put up a civil resistance but would have confidence that in the end the just are bound to follow my example. If one Jew or all the Jews were to accept the responsibility here offered, let us say, cannot be worse off than now. And suffering voluntarily undertaken will bring them an inner strength and joy which no number of persecutions of sympathy passed in the world outside Germany can induce even if Britain, France and America were to declare hostilities against Germany, they can bring no more joy, no more strength. The calculated violence of Hitler may even result in a general massacre of the Jews by way of his last answer to the Godlessness of such hostility. But if the Jewish soul could be prepared for voluntary suffering, even the

moment I have imagined could be turned into a day of thanksgiving and joy that Jehovah had wrought deliverance of the race even at the hands of the enemy. But to the God-fearing, death has no terror. It is a joyful sleep to be followed by a waking that would be all the more refreshing for the long sleep.

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that it is easier for the Jews than for the Goethe to follow my prescription. And they have in the Indian Satyagraha campaign in South Africa an exact parallel. There the Indians occupied precisely the same place that the Jews occupy in Germany. The persecution had also a religious tinge. President Kruger used to say that the white Christians were the chosen of God and Indians were inferior beings created to serve the whites. A fundamental clause in the Transvaal constitution was that there should be no equality between the whites and coloured races including Asiatics. There too the Indians were compared to slaves described as bastards. The other disabilities were almost of the same type as those of the Jews in Germany. The Indians were harshly, according to Satyagraha, without any backing from the world outside or the Indian Government. Indeed the British officials tried to denounce the Satyagrahis from their consular offices. World opinion and the Indian Government came to their aid after eight years of fighting. And that too was by way of diplomatic pressure not of a threat of war.

But the Jews of Germany can offer Satyagraha under infinitely better auspices than the Indians of South Africa. The Jews are a compact, homogeneous community in Germany. They are far more gifted than the Indians of South Africa. And they have attained world opinion behind them. I am convinced that if someone with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them in non-violent action, the wonder of their deliverance in the twinkling of an eye be turned into the summer of hope. And what has today become a degrading man-hunt can be turned into a calm and determined stand offered by unarmed men and women possessing the strength of suffering given to them by Jehovah. It will be then a truly religious resistance offered against the godless fury of debauched man. The German Jews will score a lasting victory over the Goethe people in the sense that they will have converted the latter to an appreciation of human dignity. They will have rendered service to fellow-Germans and proved their wish to be the real Germans as against those who are today dragging, however unknowingly, the German name into the mire.

And now a word to the Jews in Palestine. I have no doubt that they are going about it the wrong way. The Palestine of the Middle Ages was not a geographical unit. It is a state today. But if they must look to the Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun.

A religious act cannot be performed with the aid of the bayonet or the bomb. They can write in Palestine only to the goodwill of the Arabs. They should work to convert the Arab heart. The same God rules the Arab heart who rules the Jewish heart. They can offer Satyagraha in front of the Arabs and offer themselves to be shot as slaves and the Dead Sea without raising a little finger against them. They will find the world opinion on their favour in their religious opinions. There are hundreds of ways of coming with the Arabs, if they will only demand the help of the Jewish bayonet. As it is, they are co-existing with the Arabs in despising a people who have done no wrong to them.

I am not defending the Arab enemies. I wish they had chosen the way of non-violence in coming what they might regarded as an unwelcome encroachment upon their country. But according to the accepted canon of right and wrong nothing can be said against the Arab enemies in the face of overwhelming odds.

Let the Jews who claim to be the chosen race prove their title by choosing the way of non-violence for vindicating their position on earth. Every country in their home including Palestine will by agreement be by loving service. A Jewish friend has sent me a book called *The Jewish Contribution to Civilization* by Carl Roth. It gives a record of what the Jews have done to enrich the world's heritage, art, music, drama, science, medicine, agriculture, etc. (Even the will, the Jew can refuse to be treated as the servants of the West, to be despised or persecuted. He can command the attention and respect of the world by being man, the chosen creation of God, instead of being man who is first seeking to the brass and flunking by God. They can add to their many contributions the surprising capabilities of non-violent action.

Septon, 25-11-38

Notes

The Late Kemal Ata Turk

Shri Rajawati Asani Kaur writes

The various branches of the All India Women's Conference held their annual women's gatherings at this time of the year. At every one of these gatherings the first resolution in the programme has been one of order in the death of Kemal Ata Turk. The reason is not far to seek. Many and glowing tributes have been paid in our land to the Great Leader. But the women's tribute has a special meaning. It has been released of Ata Turk that when he was quite a boy he told his mother that he would one day grow up to be a leader, and that when he assumed the supreme power he would use it to that woman—the embodiment of true womanhood, bring to his own his own remarkable mother — was given his freedom. True to his word the very first reform that the new Turkey went in for under his programme again was the removal of all our shameful habits starting for women and

the coming down of the veil. Is it any wonder then that we women of India, who are well known under our hard, social and civic disabilities for no look other than that we are women, should have a real advancement for one who had the vision of us much further ahead than most people in India and give to women the same opportunities that men enjoy of service? For, the cramping of the ability to render full and free service of any nation of society is surely to render real progress impossible. But if the usefulness of education to the memory of Kemal Pasha are anything worth, they should certainly appeal to all those who are opposed to social reform to carry out in practice in India what Anu Turk has achieved with remarkable good result in Turkey. And if Mohammedan India means to honour her memory in a practical manner it is their duty toward for the removal of the two main causes of Purdah—a custom which denies to women the rights which are hers by all the laws of nature—a custom which carries within it the seeds of the deterioration of the society which practices it. We honour the Khawassan dead that by following their worthy example, I hope India will be true to the memory of Anu Turk by following in a practical manner her education and respect for women.

Khass Sahib

The Secretary, All India Spinning Association
Almohadd, wrote

Reports submitted from the different provinces regarding Khass who during Gandhi's Rajah, show that the total sales came to Rs. 4,28,652 as against Rs. 2,43,132 in 1937, showing an increase of 74.4% over last year. The figures for the different provinces are as under:

	Province.	1937	1938
1.	Audhra	25,280 £2	26,420
2.	Bihar	15,045	15,207
3.	Bengal	3,516	35,441
4.	Bombay	57,585	1,05,952 £4
5.	Burma	4,000	7,537
6.	Gujarat, Kathiawar	45,115	75,953 £3
7.	Karnatak	7,930	7,988
8.	Kashmir	2,110	4,287
9.	Maharashtra	51,790 £3	50,574
10.	Punjab	4,577	5,514
11.	Rajasthan	5,905	4,980
12.	Sindh	1,448	15,244 £3
13.	Tamil Nad	25,280	28,545
14.	U. P.	18,850	12,211
15.	Other	500 £4	3,008
Total Rs.		2,43,132	4,28,652

- (a) Including Khass sales of Rs. 68,300
(b) " " " " " 27,200
(c) " " " " " 7,500
(d) Approximately
The principal increases are as follows:

(1) Bihar Rs. 35,208 (2) Gujarat, Kathiawar Rs. 30,348, (3) Bombay Rs. 26,512 (4) Tamil Rs. 15,413 (5) Sindh Rs. 13,800 (6) Maharashtra Rs. 11,126

We take this opportunity to express our thanks to the public for their enthusiastic response and to the various Congress Committees, Congress workers, to stay in the Press for the valuable assistance they have rendered in making the programme a success on the progress of the Gandhi Rajah.

M. K. G.

A DETAILED STUDY

[The following remarkable study by Shri Ram, Hyderabad is commended to teachers of primary schools.]

M. K. G.]

The aspect of the Wardha Scheme which has given rise to the greatest amount of criticism and suspicion has been its so-called 'self-improvement' aspect, or in other words its 'productiveness aspect'. So far, the arguments both for and against the economic possibilities of a scheme of education centring round a handicraft were mainly hypothetical — as we had no scientifically recorded evidence which could help us to arrive at definite conclusions.

About the middle of July an experiment was started in the primary school of the Vidya Mandir Training School at Wardha, to teach children in the first two grades through the basic handicraft of spinning on spindles, Gourd and accurate records which can now be used for further discussion on such work have been kept, both for individual and group work.

It is necessary to point out in the first place that the experiment is being conducted under no specially favoured conditions. The pupils are children, taken over from the municipal schools mostly from the urban middle and lower middle classes, who have not been brought up in an atmosphere or tradition of craft work. The teachers are neither expert craftsmen nor specially trained for the new educational experiment. They are from the old staff of the primary school and have received only a heavy training in spinning with spindles and in the technique of correlated teaching. In fact, they are learning the technique as they teach the children. Thus the experiment might be accepted as an average specimen.

There was no set and fixed time-table, as the teaching depends primarily on the opportunities arising from the craft work, but the programme of work followed generally has been as follows:

Proper personal hygiene, spinning on spindles with correlated work, mother-craft and demonstration on social studies and group singing, general corner, spinning on spindles, gardening and group games.

During the programme of correlated work distributed over 34 hours, the time devoted to purely craft work was at the beginning only 40 minutes (30 minutes for spinning and 10 minutes for winding and recording). This period was gradually increased to 80 minutes, and is being gradually increased with the growth of the children's interest in craft work. But the maximum period of time devoted to craft work has been 2 periods of 40 minutes each.

The total number of hours devoted to spinning by each boy was on an average 22 hours in July, 15 hours in August, and 23 hours in September.

As we are concerned here mainly with the productive and not the academic aspect of this educational experiment, we shall not dwell upon the effect of the system of education on the general attainment of the children. We give below the figures relating to the production and efficiency of 20 children between the ages of 7 and 8, the age covered by the Zakir Hussain Commission in the special age for Basic Education.

TABLE 1.—PRODUCTION

No.	Name of Child	Speed (No. of words per hour) at end of month			July		August		September	
		Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	No. of cls.	Hrs.	No. of cls.	Hrs.	No. of cls.	Hrs.
1	Laxma Krishnaswami	26	40	24	357	18	293	5	128	4
2	Silimatha Thilagam	12	33	33	132	12½	184	18	812	26
3	Manasa Desai	32	43	37	191	3	130	25	1200	21
4	Marappa Jacobs	18	36	42	79	4½	360	18	1294	28
5	Pyrami	28	48	58	292	18	185	4	4300	12
6	Ram Nalliah	27	38	28	264	28	364	17	1124	19
7	Thandabai	52	62	62	390	9	458	7	2302	17
8	Parudhayan	19	25	28	126	8	ab	ab	828	25
9	Laxmaswami	28	38	52	225	18	794	18	2900	29
10	Murali	18	48	41	284	12	389	12	593	14
11	Ganpati Das	ab	73	129	ab	ab	1280	18	1770	29
12	Satyawaraya	15	28	25	36	3	165	9	200	4
13	Satyan	28	48	142	1147	20	1120	18	1658	24½
14	Parvi	62	62	64	794	12½	1271	19½	2024	27½
15	Shankarai	43	58	58	608	17½	961	17	2183	17
16	Arathi Prasad	46	38	55	351	18	743	19	2086	29
17	Mohan Prasad	28	41	44	595	19	683	18	979	22
18	Satyan	58	78	95	157	19	661	18	1732	21
19	Harpa Lal	42	66	115	648	20	1494	18	2648	23½
20	Ganpati Ganpati	21	17	40	362	19	481	12	1198	20
21	Shanti Anandabai	30	30	19	282	12	684	20	888	20
22	Harikrishna Shrinivasan	14	26	38	168	15	774	16	1208	12
23	Shreea Niyasala	15	35	44	128	18	458	23	1735	28
24	Ratna Nageswami	18	21	25	252	24	294	19	924	15
25	Vijaya Shankaraswami	23	30	68	208	9	525	18	1252	18
26	Venkat Dattatraya	11	18	22	179	21	403	24	979	29
27	Ganapati Subbarao	48	50	74	292	17	692	18	1814	18
28	Ratna Nageswami	30	30	20	276	19	2018	18	2218	19
29	Venkat Mahadev	34	40	36	338	19	907	27	1958	27
30	Silimatha Shankaraswami	33	37	45	277	12	594	14	1002	18

The findings of this record combined are as follows:

	July	August	September
Highest speed of spacing per hour	30 Times=226 R.	51 Times=268 R.	121 Times=412 R.
Lowest speed of spacing per hour	12 Times=43 R.	20 Times=43 R.	24 Times=65 R.
Average speed of spacing per hour	18 Times=98 R.	44 Times=176 R.	68 Times=216 R.
Highest count of runs	28 counts	28 counts	32 counts
Lowest count of runs	4 counts	4 counts	3 counts
Average count of runs	9 counts	12 counts	15 counts
Total production per month per class of 30 children	75 lots	168 lots	231 lots

If we compare these figures with the standard laid down in the detailed syllabus prepared by the Education Commission, we shall find that both in efficiency and production the attainment of the students at the end of 24 months exceeded the standard fixed at the end of 6 months.

"The average daily speed for the six months should be three-fourths of a lot of ten counts runs in three hours, i. e., 40 words of ten counts runs per hour."

The average speed according to the recorded work for the last 3 months is 64 words of 10 counts runs per hour."

Next we come to the earning capacity as represented by the production—both as a group

and per child. The wages, it must be mentioned have been calculated according to the present rates of the Maharashtra Charitra Sangh.

	July	August	September
Earnings per class per month	2-12-0	2-8-0	4-0-0
Average earning capacity per child per month	2-0-0	2-1-1½	2-5-2
Lowest earning capacity per month	0-6-0	0-6-0	0-5-0
Highest earning capacity per month	2-5-0	2-4-1½	0-5-0

N. B.—The average number of hours devoted to spacing (including reading) each month was as follows:—

July—12 hours, August—15 hours, September—23 hours.

These figures tell their own story and do not need any comment.

* See Indian National Education (Ind. edn.) pp. 51/55

(Continued from page 351)

An Incident and Its Moral

While driving to Sibben, Gandhi's car had a slight accident as a result of which a call was knocked down and partly run over. The local Congressmen accompanying Khan Sahib did not hesitate to throw the whole blame for the accident on opposition to the Government. To Gandhi the readiness on the part of Congress leaders to focus blame on opposition without sufficient ground acquired of consideration and want of clarity which are incompatible with the attitude of non-violence. "The Khuda Khud members have proved their unwelcome tendency for argument. The presence of a packed body of Khuda Khud members in a public meeting makes all the difference between order and disorder. The principle of non-violence requires that they should make the people do, through their power of love, all those things that the police does through the power of the lath and the baton. When the seed of love sprouts forth in our hearts our petty quarrels and mutual bickerings will become things of the past. This incident incident of the call that was accidentally overruled by our motion bus. Love should have prompted the chairman to stop the car immediately so that adequate arrangements might be made for the care and treatment of the injured animal. One of our party showed, what seemed to me, an unwelcome bias in naming the so-called opponents as the deliberate authors of the accident. In non-violence we must not be in a hurry to ascribe motives to the opponent or regard him with suspicion unless we have proof positive for it. When love fills the hearts of the Khuda Khud members we shall have independence. But independence will not come to us till our love shines out in our belief and act."

"We must not come out to the place where the accident occurred," he remarked to Khan Sahib at the end of the meeting "to offer compensation to the owner of the animal and to take the call for treatment to a vet."

"Excuse", replied Khan Sahib and did as he was bidden.

Haripur de Indraprast

Gandhi reached Haripur on the evening of 24th just before a vote on the way, to the famous Sikh shrine of Nanga Sahib where he and Khan Sahib were persecuted severely by the management of the shrine. The scenes of disorder at Dera Ismail Khan were repeated at Haripur. He was taken in a procession through the city under a great canopy to the cemetery and of what he had been given to understand it took more than one hour to get Gandhi's baggage to him, owing to the pass of the people that had besieged the house of his host. The motor car was crushed before we had been there many hours, and the next day

he escaped to Allahabad early in the morning several hours before the time fixed for departure.

A public meeting was held at Haripur on the evening of 26th inst. Here again, a little accident given to Gandhi his car. Before the meeting commenced a letter from head master of the local high school was handed to Gandhi, indicating a polite complaint that the local Congress members had failed to ask for his formal permission for holding their meeting on the school grounds. Commenting upon that, in his speech, Gandhi told the audience that observance of perfect courtesy and a peacefully correct behaviour were as much part of non-violence as some of the other and bigger things which he had been telling them. "Non-violence tell us that we are descended of the Gurus. This may be so but it is not ours to deny to love and do a little in proportion as he advocates non-violence and voluntary discipline, he is completely distinguished from those coarse and selfish he denys. One of the obligations that non-violence places upon us is to respect the rights even of the weakest, even a child."

Stairs in a Tea Cup

A story in a tea cup was caused by a small group of 'non-violents'. They headed to Khan Sahib an address which they wanted to present to Gandhi, but as the meeting had already commenced the presentation could not be given to them. As they left the meeting shouting out unwelcome slogans, Gandhi asked the audience to emphasize the necessity for firmness in the scheme of non-violence. "We must never slide by behaviour, human nature is so constructed that if we take absolutely no notice of anger or shame, the person indulging in it will soon weary of it and stop. We should refuse to transgress against those who tried to create the disturbance which, without their meeting it has brought us a valuable lesson in behaviour. A Saraywala always regards the 'corner' as a potential threat. During half a century of experience of non-violence I have not come across a case of cowardly persisting to the end in the face of absolute non-violence."

Sagart, 21-12-38

Pyawol

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CONTENTS

	Page
In THE FRONTIER PROVINCE—VI	Pyawol 149
THE JAINS	M. K. Gandhi 162
A DETAILED STORY	Arshada Devi 164
NOTES	
THE LATE KHALA, SAG TALA	168
KHANA BAHU	174



HARIJAN

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IN THE PRINCE OF WALES



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Unlike the terra-baked deserts of Rajasthan, Madhya, Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan, the car-baked deserts of Himach are not predominantly Pothohar in its population nor is the Pothohar desert bare or unwooded as is the other deserts. Composed of the hilly tracts of Mandlaik and Abbotabad and the well watered Tehsil of Hamper, the deserts are more or less continuous with the territory of Tainabakhia which was once a flourishing car-baked Hindu kingdom with its capital at Thak, the seat of the famous university in which "British students not only from the farthest corners of India, but also from places beyond the Ganga desert in Central Asia." Gandhi's programme in the desert included visits to the headquarters of all the three Tribals: Aherwal at Abbotabad from Hamper on the morning of 7th November several hours before the scheduled time, he took his host, Mr. Babbar Paramasid by surprise. Seated at a height of 4000 feet above the sea level and surrounded by the uncomfortable beauty of Kagan Valley on the Northern and the peaks of snow-capped peaks on the Munster side, Abbotabad is a charming little spot but for its poor mountains. There are not many places in India that have paid such a heavy price for their first house in non-violence as Abbotabad had to during the Khilafat days. And even today a casual ramble about the town would serve to bring home to any visitor the painful fact that, as in many another hill-station in India, the name craves whitewash is the undertone in this hot house town. All the choicest places are reserved for the military and the richer class. And I was there one morning when an Indian gentleman was not permitted to occupy his own bungalow in the cool town, because the two adjacent bungalows on either side of it, which also belonged to him, had been rented out to Europeans who would not tolerate the presence of a "non-native" within their

Ray's Elton John, heart is always with you among the past. That was totally bright to have it in us when only one morning he took out some of us, younger members of the party to do a little morning drink. "We must work the

"But now that summering," he started as he stepped to one side, only now the moping morning cold outside. The spectacle presented us there by the water, morning side looked as the glory and fulfurling of the only water running was a most inspiring one, while the panorama of snowed retirement which rose one upon one from the gleaming depths of the valleys below came up to the damp pine-clad tops of the surrounding hills really are both before us the clearest triumph of the principle of sublimation in the life of nature, industry and cooperation of millions of human hands in the otherwise dead against the enemy of water that goes on everywhere, among other hills Elias Sahel took us to one of these terraced fields to show us with what industry and the work of preparing here every summer-ride for agriculture is carried on. "The struggle proceeds slowly, gradually, with by work. It may take years to convert the heathen with the unaided labour of the hand-man a trading narrow strip of the field. And yet as soon as the land begins to yield something, the State steps in to share land revenue." It is a most interesting and beautiful picture, "Look now Elias Sahel. If I had the power I would give subsidy for the kind of sublimation work instead of imposing a tax upon it. That is domestic work."

Revised: 10/1/2010

There was a serious moment but in the middle of the field Khan Sahib stated that Dr. Senthil Nayer who accompanied us should rest the patient fully inside the hut and see whether they needed any help. And when the patients returned and told him how he had suggested a simple remedy to one of the family who was suffering from a minor ailment, his joy knew no bounds - "Maharaj, I have promised," he had repeated to Godling more than once during the week, "they are not empty and barren more, I wish to run away from them and to occupy myself with humanitarian service of the poorest in their homes. On our way back we suddenly found him sitting from the party. We discovered that he had successfully found an occupation after his heart. A young Peshwa had been driving an ox loaded with manure. The ox had stumbled and the load had slipped off its back. Moving his struggles to get the manure back upon the animal Khan Sahib had stopped

to help him. He moved the rest of the party too to come and help, and when at the end of it he resumed the attack down the hall it was with a determined feeling of satisfaction that he had begun the day in a manner worthy of a Khudai Khudogar.

A Bad Afternoon

All the important events in the programme at Allahabad were crowded into the second day of Gandhi's stay. At Meerut there was a public meeting on the 8th inst. at which an address on behalf of the subscribers of Meerut was presented to Gandhi and another on behalf of the Khana Committee, Meerut. The latter drew Gandhi's attention to and prayed for speedy abolition of some crushing disabilities and oppression because of the land revenue system that seems to be prevalent in certain parts of Meerut. Today, for instance, under a levy-duty occupancy tenants have (1) to pay to the landlord from 4 to 10 1/2 as, in the region as Mathura even and above the land revenue, (2) to furnish kaper for a certain number of days in the year without any compensation. (The quality of kaper, however, is not fixed according to the heat of the holding but varies with the number of cultivators among whom it may be divided. To take an illustration, supposing five lands in the same of kaper fixed for a holding of 40 Kunds. Then, if on the death of the landlord the holding is subdivided among eight sons of the landlord, each one of them will claim from the occupancy holder five kunds of five kunds by way of kaper.) (3) Indebtedness is laid upon all to the same. Gandhi is completely shocked. In addition to this the address mentioned a number of abuses and illegal exactions, customary and fixed and oppression meted out by the landlords against the cultivators. All was not so short these weaknesses is that even if a fraction of them are true, they constitute a deplorable mis-administration which ought not to continue any longer, especially where there is a Congress ministry.

A Remarkable Address

The address on behalf of the general public of Meerut was perhaps the most remarkable presented to Gandhi throughout his stay. It commenced among other things the following significant words: "You will understand and allow for a little pedantic pride on our part for this way in which we, of the Frontier Province, have taken up and translated into practice your gospel of non-violence. Violence used to be our main preoccupation in this old Khan Sahib Akbar Ghalibian, the great of Afghans, waged as from it, Non-violence may have no special significance for those who are born into that area. But for us Pathans it has provided the specific for our life that we were in need of. The Pathan is therefore particularly fond to understand and appreciate its worth. Islam had prescribed peace as a main-stone in the rule of life and presented the use of force only as an emergency

for the Pathan, like the rest of the Mohammedans, had allowed the exception to occupy the place of the central principle and almost forgotten the central teaching. It was for me, sir, to take us back to this central doctrine that we had nearly lost sight of. We assure you that in a very short time the Pathans of the North West Frontier Province will, without distinction of caste creed or religion, strive to maintain the spirit-head of India's non-violent fight for freedom."

Gandhi exploring asked them that he got great satisfaction by what they had already achieved in the field of non-violence, but believing as he did in the old ways, that from him who gives much more is expected, he warned them that he would not be satisfied till they had fulfilled that promise of achieving through their non-violence not only their own freedom but the freedom of India. He had visited their province a second time to know them more intimately and to understand how non-violence worked in their midst and it was his intention to return to them a third time when he hoped personally to pick up the threads of various problems where he had left them.

Non-Violence is Love

Turning to the Khudai Khudogar earlier he explained to them that the basis of all non-violent activity was to should be love. "It is not enough for us to have the name. One should feel in one's heart warmth of fellow feeling for him." "It has become the fashion these days," continued Gandhi, "to say that society cannot be organized or run on non-violent lines, I am sure on that point. In a family, when a father says his delinquent child, the latter does not think of retaliating. He obeys his father not because of the desecrating effect of the whip but because of the offended love which he means behind it. That in our opinion is an epitome of the way in which society is or should be governed. What is true of family must be true of society which is but a larger family. In a more complicated form the world into warring groups of enemies and friends. In the ultimate secret it is the power of love that sets even in the midst of the dark and stormy world."

"I am told that the red-shirts have an education only in name, I hope the statement is untrue. I know that Khan Sahib is correctly described as the cultivation of the Khudai Khudogar movement with undesirable and self-seeking elements. I share with him the feeling that with thousands of members, unless there are true representatives of the creed which they profess, will only weaken instead of adding strength to the movement."

The red-shirt movement today has diverse meanings of the whole of India and even outside. And yet what it has achieved is only a small fraction of what has to be achieved. I emphatically accept the assurance given by the Khudai Khudogar that they are anxious to understand and practice the doctrine of non-violence in full.

There are tremendous laughs lying before them and as he smiled. The programme of constructive non-violence that I have placed before them is a sufficient warning that a race record will be set and the victory will be a sure one for the non-violence and humanity of the Khadi Khudamans."

Returning to Allahabad at the afternoon Gandhi paid a visit to the local Harijan temple and was pleased to learn that at Allahabad at least the Harijans suffered under no disabilities in respect of the admission of their children to schools and the use of wells and other public amenities. He also visited the Central Girls' school which is the fruit of the labour of love of our ladies at Allahabad.

The Minority Deputation

The minority Deputation met Gandhi in the afternoon to discuss with him the difficulties and disabilities of the minority communities in the North West Frontier Province. What disturbed them particularly was the circumstances that violent crimes had recently increased since the constitution of the N. W. Frontier Province into a separate province. They suggested that in view of the growing menace of minority lawlessness and anarchy in the use of their rights to be provided first to the minority population settled on the border, to facilitate self-protection. They agreed, however, that the problem of cross-border anarchy could be finally and adequately solved only by the majority community being enjoined to its sense of duty towards the minority. Gandhi in reply told them that while he could support their demand that license for keeping fire-arms should be freely issued on application, it would be too much to expect the Government to distribute firearms free amongst the entire border population. They could raise a fund for free distribution of fire-arms if they wanted, but he had his doubts whether free distribution of arms and training in the use of fire-arms would solve the question of cross-border anarchy. If the experience during the recent riot at Peshawar was any guide, such a step would prove to be an expensive policy. During the Peshawar riot, he was told, only one gun in the part of the country was in play although there was no lack of firearms in the city at the time of the riot and once that gun occurred more casualties among the public than among the rioters. He, however, agreed with them with regard to what they had observed about the duty of the majority community. Khan Sahib was trying to persuade the Khadi Khudamans for discharging their duty of protecting citizens whom they made.

The deputations discussed several other things with Gandhi who told them they had better discuss them with Mahdun Akbar Khan and probably Ishaq Khan and others who were deputed by the Working Committee to visit the Frontier Province.

A Word to Muslims

A few remarks in connection with the position of these minority elements in the N. W. Frontier

Province will not be out of place. The total population of the N. W. Frontier Province is 28.7 lakhs out of which 22.5 lakhs are Muslims, 3.9 lakhs Hindus, 479 thousands Sikhs, 394 thousands Christians, 62 Parsis, 11 Jews and 3 Buddhists. Expressed in percentages the population of Mussalman varies from 80% in the Peshawar District to 85% in Dera Ismail Khan. Money-lending and trade have so far been predominantly in the hands of Hindus and Sikhs, who have been, owing to their better education in the past, held more than their share in public service. Of late they have been exposed to growing Muslim competition, and competition has brought in its train the spirit of rivalry which in its turn has served further to provoke the Nemesis that inevitably follows success. The successful Mr. Beharwal who has accumulated a vast fortune out of his military contracts naturally excites the greed of the cross-border Waziri and Mahsud raiders who justify his predatory intent by unconsciously regarding the Mr. Beharwal as the agent indirectly helping to equip the military machine to lead expeditions into his territory. To the Mussalman population, Cofeegharis or otherwise, he gives ground for the complaint that while he has made his fortune in their province and claims protection and special privileges as a member of the majority community, he is anxious only to look to official favour and has never shown any inclination to help a progressive cause either with money or personal service. Talents and efficiency in members of a minority community are likely to become a trap and a cross unless they are combined with a spirit of disinterested service. The majority community will soon learn to love and treasure those if they will use their superior talents and efficiency for service of the province of their adoption. They will only arouse suspicion if there are cries of an aspiration for grabbing positions of wealth and power.

At one place it was complained that the Hindus and Sikhs regarded common work with the Mussalman as polluting. One can only say, if the charge is true, that this is a variety of true religion. An equal regard and reverence for faith other than one's own is a duty everywhere and always. But in the case of a man whose majority that is placed in the midst of an overwhelming majority holding a different faith from its own, it becomes the primary condition of its existence. If however, it is a virtue of necessity for the majority community, it should be the privilege and duty of the majority community to show scrupulous regard for the faith and feelings of the minorities.

What gave the honest satisfaction to Gandhi was the phenomenon that throughout the tour not even the barest crumb of the present majority charged the Khadi Brothers with harboring communal bias or called in question their sincerity.

Session, 29-11-38

Panjab

HARIJAN

Dec. 3

1938

STATES AND THE PEOPLE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The recent resolutions emanating from the various states is a very significant event in the national struggle for independence. It will be wrong to think that such resolutions can be due to the influence of one person or a body of persons or any organisation. It is just possible that the Honorable members of the Congress put the people of the states on their minds and they realised as never before that their destinies depended upon their own labours. But above all it is the clear agent that has brought about the awakening. It is to be hoped that the Princes and their advisers will recognise it and meet the legitimate aspirations of the people. There is no half-way house between total extinction of the states and the Princes making their people responsible for the administration of their states and themselves becoming enemies for the people, taking an eternal vengeance for their labours.

I hope, therefore, the monarch is not one that the British Government are likely, at the instance of some Prince or their Divans, to announce a change in the policy recently advocated by Earl Winterton, about the ability of the Princes to grant responsible government to their people. If any of them have asked the British Government to reverse the policy, they have undoubtedly done a disservice to themselves. And if the British Government agreed to the unwelcome wish, they will perpetrate a dire crime whose magnitude it is difficult to fathom. I want refuse to believe that the British Government can commit such a blunder. Earl Winterton's announcement was but an endorsement of past practice. They are not known to have ever interfered with the states during powers to their people, however wide they might be.

I go a step further. Even as the British Government, as the Paramount Power, are bound to protect the Princes against harm from outside or within, they are equally or a better bound to ensure just rule on the part of the Princes. Hence it is their bounden duty, when they supply the police or the military to any state, to see that there is a proper safeguard against the misuse and that the military or the police will be used with becoming restraint. From Dibrakhand have come to me scores of faithful country stewards by the great wrongdoers under the shadow of the police supplied by the Paramount Power. I asked for evidence in support of some of the unspeakable crimes. And I have enough to write to-day.

Indeed, it is a question whether mercenary mercenaries in the provinces have not a moral responsibility in respect of the people of the states in their respective provinces. Under the constitution, the ministers have no power over them. The Governor is the agent of the Viceroy who is the representative of the Paramount Power. But the ministers in autonomous provinces have nearly a moral responsibility regarding what happens in the states. So long as the states and the people are united, ministers have no voice. But have they none if there is, say, violent epidemics in the areas which, if neglected, may easily overwhelm the province in which they are situated? Have they none when there is a moral epidemic which seems to be raging in Dibrakhand?

I understand that the persecuted people are asking nothing in British India. Can the ministers refuse them shelter? How many can they take charge of? Whatever happens in these states affects the better or for worse the province as a whole. I do believe, therefore, that the ministers by reason of the heavy responsibility resting on their shoulders have the moral right, whether known or not, to assert themselves for the sake of moral peace and decency. They cannot look on with unconcern while the people of the states—as voluntary citizens of the Paramount Power—are being ground to dust as they are in Dibrakhand are expected to be.

One remark in the paper that some consideration has been given to the people of Dibrakhand. I do not know whether the report is true and whether the relief answers the purpose for which the people of Dibrakhand are fighting and suffering. It is, however, irrelevant to the issue raised by me. I feel that the ministers as the Paramount are morally bound to take notice of gross wrongs in the states within their borders and to tender advice to the Paramount Power as to what, in their opinion, should be done. The Paramount Power, if it is to enjoy friendly relations with the provincial ministers, is bound to give sympathetic ear to their advice.

There is one other matter which demands the urgent attention of the states and their advisers. They fight shy of the very name Congress. They regard Congressmen as enemies, foreigners and what not. They may be all that in law. But man-made law, if it is in conflict with the natural law, becomes a dead letter when the latter operates in full force. The people of the states look up to the Congress as all matters affecting their interest. Many of them are members of the Congress. Some like Shri Jyotsnabai hold high office in the Congress organisation. In the eye of the Congress there is no distinction between members from the states and from India called British. It is surely detrimental to the interests of the states to ignore the Congress or Congressmen especially when it is they who seek to render friendly assistance. They must recognise,

"the fact that the people in the states are in many cases guided by the Congress. They know that I am responsible for the policy of non-interference between followed by the Congress. But with the growing influence of the Congress it is impossible for me to defend it in the face of opinion prejudiced on the states. If the Congress feels that it has the power to alter effective interference, it will be bound to do so when the call comes. And if the People believe that the good of the people is also their good, they would peacefully seek and accept the Congress' assurance. It is surely in their interest to cultivate friendly relations with an organization which has for its future, not very distant, to replace the Paramount Power, let me hope, by friendly arrangement. Will they not read the hand written on the wall?"

Sepan, 26.11.38

ILL-INFORMED CRITICISM

Some critics have accused the Wundt Scheme of being destructive of being destructive of the initiative in the student. One has been accustomed to regard the existing method of education as having that defect. And the authors of the Wundt Scheme have cleared for it, among several virtues, the virtue of freeing the student from the cramped straitjacket and allowing ample scope for the play of initiative. But I do not wish to advance my own opinion in favour of the Scheme. During my convalescence a certain latitude is permitted to me for reading I want to summarize here the results of this study in so far as the particular criticism is concerned.

The report of the Committee of the Central Advisory Board of Education appeared in November the Wundt Education Scheme is put out. Among the members of the Committee, several those education ministers of the Congress-governed provinces, were men labor and guidance who have nothing to do with the Congress, among these last being Mr. Arunachal, Director of Public Instruction Punjab, Sir Syarif Pasha Malik, Vice-Chancellor Calcutta University, Mrs. P. M. Mahomed Khan, Commissioner and secretary to the Nizam's Government, and Lady Glegg. This is what the report says:

"The fundamental principle of the Wundt Scheme is education through productive work activity. We emphasize that the Wundt Scheme stresses the educative value of work work. It is necessary to discuss the educative principle of learning by doing. All recent literature emphasizes the principle and all schools with any pretence to be up to date have adopted it. Indeed the education of children through work in its various forms is one of the outstanding features of modern education. The Congressists unanimously agree with the general principle of educating children through purposeful creative activities which should gradually develop into productive work." Among the conclusions, "The

Wundt scheme of basic education is in full agreement with the recommendations made in the Wood-Sidney Report so far as the principle of learning by doing is concerned. This activity should be of many kinds in the lower classes and should have led to a final end the production from which should be suitable and the proceeds applied to the upkeep of the school."

If any more testimony were needed, it is to be found in a recent article by Mr. E. L. King, of the Council of Christian Education, who has written strongly emphasizing the value of "hand-made" education as distinguished from the present "book-made" education. In having done the principle he says: "When man extended the range of his hand with the branch of a tree, the tool came into existence and once and for all a great gain was fixed between him and the Animal. How significant Hand-plus-Tool, a both language and religion make it abundantly clear. We manufacture and manufacture, manage and handle. We have things on hand and at hand; we hand down our laws and customs, speak in off-hand fashion, live (all too often) from hand to mouth." He criticizes the present-day "book-made" education and sets out the positive possibilities of the hand. I summarize his long article which every student must read in essence: (1) "Having shortly before come to the end conclusion that my own education had been neglected, I was ripe for the conviction (when he saw Lord's Table studio) that there was (in hand-work) skill of the highest order, skill only a genius could display, but in contrast a potential possession of every boy and girl, a possession which our bookish education was stubbornly denying them." (2) "Craftsmanship, however unskilled, tends to such appreciation of the work of others." (3) "Even in the economic field the Hand is far on more on of the parade. After a three quarter-century fight with the mill, one-half as much hand-woven cloth sold on the Indian market as machine-made, twenty-five per cent of all China's products were at least made the 'Hand-made.'" (4) "More important than all this is the character-building possibilities in the training of the Hand. To see something, however simple, which he has made, tends to an enrichment of personality." And with this Mr. King makes out a recent plan for "a wisdom of this long-standing wrong done to childhood, the halting as by the book, the pen-and-paper education, making little of other things at present."

H. B.

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OCCASIONAL NOTES

'Autumn Reflections'

Now that the European Crisis seems for the moment to have been averted, statesmen and publicists have begun to reflect about the future. The Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden addresses himself to the task, but evidently turns himself to a consideration of the means whereby "to ensure that England is never placed in a less position again." The aim and substance of his long article is that England should make a supreme effort to be second to the two subjects of vital importance, viz. foreign policy and national defence, and for this purpose sacrifice everything like a memory of all wrongs. The appearance of the last words cannot, he says, by any means, be regarded as "a nightmare that cannot occur," and pleads for national unity to secure civil and military preparedness that cannot be challenged again.

And yet Mr. Eden deplores very much the fact that the changes wrought by the Munich Conference "have in fact been wrought under the threat of force. What is up as we will that raised that curtain." Does he believe that the remedy he suggests will be something different from "the threat of force"? It is a tragedy that what we deplore here and all it means, we will not dare to bid good-bye to the beaten track and return again to where we began.

'White War'

But Commander King-Hall had dared sometimes to leave the beaten track and suggested a remedy which used to be ridiculed hereafter as the plan of an idealist and a visionary. His plan was that Czechoslovakia should be urged by Britain and France to enforce military readiness and practice "passive defence and non-cooperation of the kind resorted to by Germany during the Ruhr's occupation in 1923." Further details of Commander King-Hall's suggestion are then summarized by the Statesman:

"Her ships and fleets, for their part, would also refrain from direct assault on Germany, the methods to be adopted, at any rate at the outset of the campaign, for ensuring the eventual failure of Nazi aggression would be more delicate. Britain, France, Russia, and so many more countries as would join them (including it was hoped the U. S. A.), would announce that they regarded Germany throughout as an outlaw State. Their Ambassadors and Ministers would be withdrawn, all German consuls either then Jews and refugees expelled from their territories, commercial relations with Germany severed and German shipping denied access to their ports. Trade with non-participating countries would be limited in quantity to prevent raw materials from the Democratic bloc reaching Germany indirectly."

But even he returns to the first reference of force: "At the same time while refusing

from armed attack on Germany, the Democratic powers would maintain themselves in a state of full military and civil preparedness. The armed forces would be mobilized, all reserves called up, special War Ministries established, Governments so broadened as to include members of the opposition parties food purchases and distribution controlled and profits restricted. In Britain, a register for national service would be immediately compiled, and the organization of the A. R. P. greatly strengthened and accelerated, bomb-proof shelters in built numbers would be constructed in all big cities covered trenches constructed in the parks and more enforcement of dangerous areas gradually pursued."

Then ultimately there is the collective force of the democracies to be applied against a totalitarian State which has been proved to be a mortal aggressor. The remedy is apparently to be applied in the event of all future aggression against small nations like Switzerland, Holland or Denmark.

While the suggestion goes a certain distance in the right direction, it does not go far enough. If the democracies are content in suggesting a course of "passive defence" to a small nation, why cannot they themselves undertake as a course of moral resistance against the aggressor? That moral resistance would consist of complete non-cooperation by all Democracies with the aggressive totalitarian State.

But again the weakness of the position lies in the words "passive defence." Why should a small nation wait until the passive course is suggested by the larger nations? A small nation conscious of its weakness and the power of its own shield, without looking to even the moral support of the other nations, be resolved to offer active moral resistance - *Stratagem* - and so to be undisturbed, if necessary, in the process. The inherent weakness of the collective aid of the so-called democracies lies in the fact that the hands of these democracies are not always clean. And as life is so low the nation holds that he who seeks equity must come with clean hands.

'Total Participation' of -

But can a nation in the present-day world conditions so isolate itself? Mr. Justice, President of the Council of the League of Nations, said at the opening of the nineteenth session of the Assembly of the League of Nations, that "the individual nation can no longer have security merely through alliances, any more than that the individual householder can enjoy security through protection by his own walls and weapons." That surely is a counsel of despair. No act of policy and separate moral warfare can be regarded as an isolated act. It would be sufficient by its example and compel other nations, big or small, to join in their line with it. The protest towards a "co-operative peaceful human society", which General Smuts declared as the goal of the League of Nations Covenant, does not stop.

pose action in concert by the small nations with the bigger ones. These determinations for the supreme conflict would automatically result in that co-operation. In the meantime as General Smuts said "the light once seen should never sink below our human horizon again." That light is the determination not to rely on armed force but on the force of self-sacrifice. Mr. Jordan made a fervent appeal for the "total prohibition of aerial bombardment." That appeal is nothing worth, as long as war and armed resistance but force will neither know nor break any law. President De Valera described the matter when he said on the same occasion that "the one sacrifice that can be effective we have been so far unable to make. We have been unable, as nations as what side we are, to apply to others the law we must as having applied to ourselves. All history tells us that in the last run it is just as to be truly wise but we seem unable to apply the lesson. The consequences of war are such that the restrictions imposed by it are almost inevitably useless. It was true in the past it will, I fear, be true in the future no matter where in the world." What words these these were not uttered at the Assembly of the League of Nations.

But Mr. Eden talks of England's "great possessions," and says she cannot survive "in a position of military inferiority and civil decadence." Certainly she cannot, not because of her unpreparedness but by very reason of those "great possessions." So long as the so-called democratic countries in has their "great possessions," the way to the Kingdom of Heaven is not for them. The "great possessions" will lead them nowhere but to the vague state of military preparedness. The first step in moral preparedness has to shunning those "great possessions." Then they need fear no aggression of totalitarian States, they will be able to regain some confidence in the smaller States, and successfully endure not only one particular aggressive State but all war and aggression.

Smith, 12-11-38

MC 25

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TOTALITARISM ?

One was an accusation against the Congress of being totalitarian. It is worth while knowing what is meant by "totalitarian."

The Totalitarian States, as Prof. Gilbert Murray has pointed out in his *Hibbert Lectures on Liberty and Censorship* recently published, "reject the whole idea of justice or morality between nations," and decide all conflict "by the contest of threats, not by argument." Quoting the words of Giffels he says, in the *Totalitarian States*, "The only instrument with which one can conduct foreign policy is those and exclusively the sword." Dr. Murray gives a few illustrations of the "new type" of education introduced in these school-books. A history freed from the taint of objectivity is to teach children "the Race questions stand in a dominant place, instilling for children is to dwell happily on misdeeds done by bombing planes, and even grammar distorted into those of passions and love." Another instance, that came from the war-maddened Totalitarian Japan "We must prevent the recovery of the Chinese," says Japan "Let us work their finances by a vast campaign of smuggling protected by our ships of war. Better still, let us start in China, through our own factories and ships under protection of our armies, a vast trade in opium. This will not only provide a revenue for our armies of occupation, it will ruin the health, morals, and self-respect of the Chinese and make them an easier prey. Better still, let us export heroin, which is more destructive than opium and will weaken them more. Then at a suitable time we can pick a quarrel, destroy the universities, spiritual resources, and medical schools, exterminate the leaders of the resistance and whether we annex great powers or not, we shall at least have crippled our enemy, destroyed his hopes, and saved our beloved Japan." A Totalitarian State is a permanent dictatorship, a State in which the war system is permanently established. It was true there has to be a censorship on news from the State, otherwise the enemy might learn things that we wish to conceal. In war time there has even to be a censorship on the expression of thought: thoughts are violent in such a time, and their free expression might cause nervous or discouragement. But under a totalitarian government all news is war news, all knowledge and opinion is seen clearly in its bearing on war and all thoughts are apt to be violent thoughts. Such a government is afraid of all thought, of all knowledge, of all that distances the mind from the main occupation—War. The whole range of knowledge must be censored, perished and suppressed. Every free man assumes that research should be free, if not free to discover truth it is meaningless. But to the war-maddened government free research seems dangerous, and moral unwarlike, and absolutely undesirable. Who knows what the human conscience will say? What to teach

has to be conceded, it is safer to have a people with no conscience, no religion and no morality. It is probably this pernicious all-embracing denial of freedom more than the accompanying acts of physical brutality, which constitutes the deepest and most enduring wrong inflicted by these dictatorships on the human spirit.

If the critics of the Congress shatter in its social, educational, economic or political policy on anything of this unsoundness, all else can say is that they do not want to believe that the Congress is governed by craft and non-violence. They refuse to see that the Congress has no sword to impose its policy on the people and that its authority is only moral. That the Congress may not always live up to the moral easily cannot make a totalitarian Totalitarianism requires a long course of deliberate ruthless training which the Congress has deliberately shunned.

Saikh, 12-11-38

M D

NON-COOPERATORS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Several letters have been lying on my file from Congressmen who non-cooperated during the non-cooperation days. Among them were those who had resigned Government services. Some of these are now appealing for reinstatement. They quote in support my appeal to the public including Government servants to non-cooperate. Among the officers who have, to my knowledge, not appeared for reinstatement are the men who were fired, the relatives who lost their loved-ones, the lawyers who gave up their practice and were reduced to paucity, and the students who gave up their studies and conventional prospects. They think the officers voluntarily undergone was an even reward and demands no further compensation.

If all these were to claim reinstatement from the Congress movement, the latter's lot would be truly miserable and they would have little work to do save that of adjudging claims. They would also have to raise money for discharging claims that even amount to several crores. Moreover it would be difficult for the discharged Government servants who gave up their job whether compulsorily or voluntarily to show that the case of other officers were less hard than theirs.

In my opinion these ex-government servants as a class were the least officers. And if they have been without work all these years, they can hardly become efficient servants of the State. Government service for Congressmen is not an avenue to material advancement it should be an avenue to service. Therefore only those Congressmen may enter Government service whose material value is higher than when they can get from the Government. They can be

employed only when they are wanted. These should be no such thing in Congress programme.

A war, whether violent or non-violent, loses its thrill and its grandeur if the warriors are instead spent all lost. A martyrdom to be worthy of the name stands to lose all without expectation of any compensation in the future. The same has to be understood the opposite meaning. Indeed the Congress machinery will fail to power if men come to it to better their prospects in life. And if the Congress servants are expected to accept personal sacrifices they will be themselves disheartened and bring down the prestige of the Congress in the end.

I hope the reader will not fail to note the difference between this and the restoration of lands which were rudely sold for a song by the prevailing Government administration. These the movement was really possible and was a debt it was like removing a bit of country taken away by the enemy.

If another civil disobedience campaign becomes necessary the Congress will thank fifty times before selling people's land and important persons will not dare to profit at the expense of patriots.

Saikh, 22-11-38

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CONTENTS

PAGE

IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE—VII	Special	127
STAFFS AND THE PEOPLE	M. K. Gandhi	128
ALL-INDIAN CRITICISM	M. D.	129
CONGRESS, NATION	M. D.	130
THEORY OF THE	M. D.	131
NON-COOPERATION	M. K. Gandhi	132

HARIJAN

Editor: MURRAY PETER

Under the Patronage of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

16 Pages

VOL. VI, No. 44

POONA — SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1935

[TWO ANNAS]

A SPORTING OFFER

[The following dialogue took place between a few communist friends and Gandhiji. I must say that Gandhiji has made several allusions to brutal and less momentous things. But his character made the dialogue an imaginary one. Pyrrhic.]

Some communist friends said to Gandhiji, "We confess, we do not understand what it is exactly you want for. We oppose you, not seriously because we always differ from you but because we do not know your mind and so regard your actions with vague fear and distrust. Fear would become easier if we understood you. So we have come to you. Possibly you too might find that some of your opinions about so-called violence, if you know us."

And by way of illustration, they cited the resolution on civil liberty that had been adopted by the A. I. C. C. in Delhi and which had mentioned the march talked of walk-out on the part of a group of members. They could not understand why the 'high command' should be so anxious to maintain that resolution through the house in spite of strong protest.

"I mean confess, Gandhiji replied, "that I did not like the walk-out. Did it mean that you wanted the Congress to condone incitement to violence?"

"No," retorted the communist friends, "we have agreed and agreed made it clear that we do not want any condonation of violence or incitement to violence. What distresses us is this. Whereas there was enlargement of civil liberty on Congress taking office, since the Haripur Congress, civil liberty has actually suffered curtailment under the Congress ministries. We are driven to feel that this cry about abuse of civil liberty has been raised merely as a government protest to shield the ministers, some of whom have been behaving exactly like the old bourgeoisie."

"I am more than glad," replied Gandhiji, "that you have come to me, because you have done so the real subject. I must confess that I am the sole author of that resolution. It is based upon unimpeachable evidence in my possession. But you should have known from my writings that they were meant to help ministers to avoid action against those who have resorted to violence and even actually committed it. Instead of ministers taking action against them my purpose was to create public opinion against violence, speeches, writings or acts. The resolution was a subterfuge

to hide action. I want you to accept my assurance that I would not screen a single minister who meddles with civil liberty in any contrary to Congress resolutions. If you have things to say, I am prepared to give you full satisfaction or ask him to resign."

"We feel puzzled," interposed one of them. "You have said that concrete measures should be used to put down incitement to violence. Is it right to use Government violence to check the so-called incitement to violence by Congressmen?"

"The question is badly put. But my answer is there. There should be no Government violence. But if a man kills a little child and robs it of its possessions and if I deprive him of the liberty to repeat the performance, I would not call my act violence. It would be violence if my act was meant to be a punishment."

"I would like to make my position clearer still. You cannot have the cake and eat it. Assuming that there has been violence of speech, it has to be stopped for the Congress as the Congress ministers. I have suffered the former course. The resolution was in pursuance of that spirit. Of course you may question the validity or sufficiency of proof in the possession of the Working Committee. In that case, you could have called for proofs and accepted the complaint subject to the production by the Working Committee of the proof in its possession. If you admit that violent words or writing does not come under the protection of civil liberty, there should have been no walk-out. Surely he who runs may see that in the Congress provinces a horde of speech and writing is allowed such as has never before been censored."

"All the same," interposed one of them retorting to the main subject, "We cannot reconcile ourselves to the fact which the high command has persistently driven against us. We have put ourselves under Congress discipline. We have joined the Congress because it is the only body that can run a popular movement. If we misbehave, we may be put out and should have come with the people. As people's party we must move with the people, or go out. These ministers, on the other hand, are seeking to set themselves above the people to make themselves immune to democratic influence. We are wedded to no dogma. Tell us what we can do together in immediate practice. Our means may differ but practice will count."

"You should also admit," said Gandhiji, "that neither the resistance nor, I think, my article makes mention of socialist or communist violence as an monopoly of any one party. I know Communists who are neither socialists nor communists but who are frankly despisers of the cult of violence. Communists, I know socialists and communists who will not have a fly but who believe in the universal brotherhood of manhood and of production. I rank myself as one among them. But here I am not thinking of myself but of others whom I have the good fortune to know."

"What you have said, however, makes it clear to me that you do not put the same stress as I do on the means. But I understood your argument. Our hands are working at cross purposes. I want to occupy a corner in your hearts, if I can. But some of you have told me flatly that it is impossible, for they look at things from opposite sides. The utmost they can do is to interfere and because they credit me with some capacity for socialism and influence over the masses. Now I make a sporting offer. One of you or all of you can come to me in Japan when I return there, study me, use all my papers, look at the correspondence, ask me questions, and decide upon the course you would adopt in your dealings with me. There is no secrecy with me. My mission is to convert every single Indian to my view of the instant of liberation. If only this happens, complete independence is ours for the having."

They next questioned Gandhiji as to the possibility of the Committee Party being liquidated. "We do not want violence," they explained. "It is true that we have not made non-violence our creed. We are not pledged to non-violence at all times and for all time to come, but for the time being and in the immediate future we see no necessity for violence. Our method is thus, just now, this must be that of the Congress. We are forced at present to function as a secret organization because we are under law. If the law is removed, the necessity for secrecy should cease. For the time we can only give the assurance that should we in the future find it necessary to drop non-violence, we shall make a clear and open declaration about it."

"If you mean that you do not as a party believe in violence," Gandhiji replied, "then you should make that statement. All your literature that I have studied clearly says that there is no independence without resort to force. I know that there is a body of communists who is slowly working round to non-violence. I would like you to make your position absolutely plain and above board. I have it from some of the literature that passes under the name of communist literature that secrecy, camouflage and the like are regarded as necessary for the accomplishment of the communist end, especially as communism has to engage in an unequal battle against capitalism which has organized violence in its back and tail. I would, therefore, like you, if you can, to make it plain that you do not believe in three things I have mentioned."

The communist friends promised to send Gandhiji an unqualified statement setting forth the position of their party.

"You may think over what I have said," remarked Gandhiji, in pointing as they were to go, "keep yourself in touch with me, correct me when you think I go wrong, and try to understand me. Do not distrust me. When you have doubts express them fearlessly. And I assure that we have the discussion at our. But I should be glad to think that we part with the determination to understand one another and try to meet ideas." Pyarelal
Nagpur, 4.12.38

DYNAMIC NON-VIOLENCE

I am not writing of the Non-violent Movement as we had in India a short while ago and which was labelled by some of our great men and by European statesmen as a doctrine of apathy and surrender. I am referring to the Non-cooperation that is being talked of in Europe today. We heard Commander King-Hall suggest not "passive defence" but a form of non-cooperation is a crisis of the kind Europe had in September last. Here now is Dr Gilbert Murray using the very term "Non-cooperation" without the slightest hesitation and he used it a year before this crisis. In his Hibbert lectures, given in October and November 1937 he makes a fervent appeal to the nations that stand for "Monday" to stand together, or rather, to come together, in order to rebuke civilization which shows everything else, stands for justice and reverence for moral right. "What part in such a world can those of us play for whom Monday is not a moving corpse but a living spirit?" he asks. And his answer is Co-operation and Non-cooperation. Co-operation "with one another in the things of peace", and "abstain absolutely to co-operate with the makers of war". This Non-cooperation he has described in some detail. Using Randolph Bourne's word he says it is the principle of "quarantine", or "the rule of absolute non-cooperation in the case of aggressive war. As soon as any Government is convicted of committing or preparing that international crime the rest are to withdraw all their co-operation, in whatever manner and to whatever degree may be most wise and effective to exclude its goods from their ports, to sell it no arms, no oil or so much, no materials of war...No doubt it demands a sacrifice from each nation, the complete sacrifice of long made and the unpleasant sacrifice of proffering the friendship of a weak nation to that of a strong."

This is all very good and it is gratifying to observe that there is at least an effort now being made to think along the right lines. But even here one cannot help noticing a certain amount of shrinking from going to the root of the matter as we shall presently see.

Dr. Gilbert Murray reverts to the three words of the end of the essay and thus summarizes the proposition: "For as wise believe in Liberty

is a living spirit, the task that lies ahead, however difficult, is one about which we must try to think clearly. Some were that sure to realize we are already wrong. We must not become the pupils of the mobocracy, and through our religiousness against militarism acquire the warped ourselves. We must not become their slaves by submitting to their will, acquiescing in their intrigues and trying to cast them into the League of Nations by abandoning all that the League of Nations means. We must not become — and that is the greatest danger — a mixture of pupal and victim, hardly militant about our own immediate interests or rights, and indifferent or subservient about those of the rest of the world." That too is a sound proposition. If we may put it in other words — no violence, no coercion. What then is the corollary? The inescapable corollary is active, dynamic non-violence, whether others join you or refuse to do so. But Dr. Gilbert Murray would seem to shrink from this corollary. "Neither," he says, "can we fly the refuge to pure pacifism. If we believe that sacrifice is good, let us sacrifice ourselves, not our neighbors. To undertake solemnly and with an air of religious duty never to defend even brother against wrong if the wrong-doer was armed force seems to me to be a denial not only of liberty but of civilization itself. With all deference to the good avowed, I would say that this is a mixture of the principle of dynamic non-violence, for what is described here is not 'pure pacifism', but pacifism; or, as he puts it, subservience about the rest of the world. That pacifism must be achieved by all nations believing in the rejection of the doctrine of violence. Dr. Gilbert Murray seems to recognize and yet not recognize this at the same time. "The only safe road," he says, "is a straight road. On a straight road no one ever has his way. The nations that for the sake of peace are ready to live according to law and accord peace to others are a vast majority. They have vast economic and military strength. Their united will would be, I think, irresistible so long as it operates along peaceful channels for liberal and lawful ends. Therein lies the first. Dynamic non-violence consists not of no economic strength, nor the strength of numbers, but of all in military strength. To talk of operating along peaceful channels with a consciousness of one's economic and military strength is voided militarism! Dynamic non-violence relies entirely on moral strength, on its refusal to shrink from the path of justice and its readiness to accept its consequences in full. It is only this non-violence, no matter how 'colored' or individual, that can save a nation and her weaker neighbors."

But this talk of "united will" is a delusion and a snare. "There has never yet been the slightest difficulty," says Dr. Gilbert Murray, "in determining the aggressor, and in a world of which 90 per cent or even 70 per cent really

wished to put an end to war, not merely to escape war themselves while helping other nations to destroy each other, such refusal of co-operation would be absolutely effective." Now the latest crisis has shown how difficult it was to determine the aggressor, and that it is no use talking of 90 per cent or 70 per cent really wishing to put an end to war. To talk of "united will" where every nation has had its share, has or more, of crime and injustice and wrong, is moonshine. "Is looking through the bloodstained history of modern civilization," says Dr. Murray, "one can find no darker crime than the treatment of what are commonly called the 'lower' races by the 'higher', or, more accurately speaking, of the races without the resources of modern civilization by those who possess them," and he says that "experience" for this crime is "insolent on an illiberal world." The crime is still rampant, as we see from the diabolical persecution of the Jews in Germany, and the still more diabolical persecution of it. But what does that show? It shows that the talk of collective or united responsibility, — for that is what a united will must open to — is a delusion and a snare.

And how is "economic and military strength" consistent with moral strength? Economic strength may either mean the strength of one's own economic resources, that is self-sufficiency, or it may mean the strength of trade and commerce based on independent enterprises. Any nation talking of morality and justice and "liberty" (Dr. Murray's later phrase) must shed this last kind of economic strength, for that contains the seeds of rampant war. And as for military strength, the talk of a peaceful solution while one is armed cap-a-pie, sounds nothing short of hypocritical.

It is no use evading the issue. It is between moral strength and material strength, and whether there is talk of an aggressive war or not — though so long as there is persecution of any kind there is enough aggression — any nation that is determined to salvage civilization must decide once and for all to depend on its moral strength, and for that purpose must (1) disarm completely, (2) shed its ill-gotten economic and territorial gains, (3) apply liberally "justice, the muscle-worker" (Bingle) in all national and international affairs, (4) prepare itself in all the arts of peace, and (5) noncooperate with all nations that stand for militarism. These are the essentials of dynamic non-violence.

But whether that is done or not, a glorious opportunity presents itself to the peacemakers. Here is a concrete, sacred, serious effort to think about the right line, but there is a good deal of groping. It is, however, no small gain that there is that effort. Let the pacifists, that is to say the believers in dynamic non-violence, combine to bring home to their masses the implications of the technique and compel it to act up to a Leq

them not want and other nations get them. The charge of violence is unwarranted, and even if it is made by them who the rule inverted Ministry is not a collective crime. While it would welcome the co-operation of the whole world it should be content to act on its own individual strength. That individual strength is no violence, for the strength is not the strength of one but of the Prophet and, of man (oneself and God) in other words, not the strength of man's weak, narrow self but of Truth or God.

M D

H A R I J A N

Dec 14

1938

HOW TO POPULARISE KHAND

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

A valued khadi worker wrote a letter to Khadi which fairly rained me.

"Compared to well clothed khadi is not an economic proposition a series of prices. To compare with well cloth you have to drop the cost of hand weaving, carding and spinning. Even for self-spun, therefore, it is not a proper proposition. No doubt you have evolved new economies of khadi. But still the people at large appreciate them, khadi cannot be universal. Even the Congress members do not understand or appreciate your new machines. In the common market, will you not push khadi studies and even the members and Congressmen in general? Your last note to be so strong that you would struggle, we go a note came per day to question for right khadi labour and skilled work, if we poor workers will let you. Finally we do not get your last note."

There is no doubt that khadi cannot compete with well cloth, it was never meant to. If the people will not understand or appreciate the low priced khadi it will never be universal. It was then meant for the aid of weaver people and crafts. And if it is to be nearly the lifeblood of a basic reference, like the A.I.S.A., must mean a mass of effort if not something much more.

But khadi has a big reason. Khadi provides dignified labour to the millions who are otherwise idle for nearly four months in the year. Even apart from the remuneration the work brings, it is its own reward. For if millions live in comparative affluence, they must die spiritually, mentally and physically. The spinning wheel automatically raises the status of millions of poor women. Even though, therefore, well cloth was to be given gratis to the people their true welfare demands that they should prefer to have it in preference to khadi, the product of their labour.

Life is more than money. It is cheaper to kill our aged parents who can do no work and who are a drag on our slender resources. It is also

cheaper to kill our children whom we do not need for our national freedom and whom we have to maintain without getting anything in return, than we neither kill our parents nor our children, but consider it a privilege to maintain them no matter what their maintenance costs us. Even so must we maintain khadi in the presence of all other cloth. It is the issue of life which makes us think of khadi in terms of price. We must raise our status of khadi economy. And when we have reached them from the point of view of the national well-being, we shall find that khadi is never dead. We must suffer depletion of domestic economy during the transition stage. At present we are labouring under a heavy handicap. Cotton production has been restricted for the sake of Lancashire and, if you will, for the sake of Indian mills. Prices of cotton are determined by the price in foreign lands. When the production of cotton is determined in accordance with the demands of khadi economy, cotton prices would not decrease and, in any case, will be, in effect, lower than today. When the people, either through State protection or through voluntary effort, have achieved the habit of using only khadi, they will never think of it in terms of money, even as millions of vegetarians do not compare the prices of fish foods with those of non-fish foods. They will spare neither their right fish foods even though they may be offered free.

But I imagine that very few Congressmen have this living faith in khadi. The members are Congressmen. They derive their inspiration from their surroundings. If they had a living faith in khadi, they could do a great deal to popularise it.

Khadi was an integral part of the original Swami programme of 1920. In 1921-22 thousands of Congressmen appeared from hundreds of platforms that Swami for the millions depended upon the spinning wheel becoming in every village. The late A. B. Ghoshan used to say, at the numerous meetings they addressed, that without the charkha in every cottage and the loom in every village there was no freedom. Mahatma Mahomed Ali used to say in his picturesque language that our charkhas were our instruments of war and the mass of guns turned out by them were our ammunition. He said this with a conviction that went home to his audience. But the faith of those early days was not universal. Congressmen in general have ceased to connect khadi with Swami. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru has called khadi the luxury of our freedom. For how many does a loom that means? If Congressmen could have this belief, khadi itself would be current coin. Freedom is never dead at any price, it is the breath of life. What would a man not pay for living? The Congress flag was designed to represent not civil disobedience which is but a phase, but it was designed to represent the elements of freedom in background is khadi. The spinning wheel covers and sustains

it. Its culture show how necessary communal unity is for the attainment of freedom. Given the fulfilment of these conditions, social development and the suffering it implies may not be at all necessary. To want black is for not to want freedom.

Given a full-hearted acceptance of this meaning of black, I am able to say what the Congress members and, for that matter, all the ministers, black workers and Congressmen can and should do.

There may be a minister whose sole business would be to look after black and village industries. There should, therefore, be a department for the purpose. The other departments will co-operate. Then the Agricultural Department will frame a scheme of decentralisation of cotton production, survey the land suitable for cotton production for village use and find out how much cotton will be required for its province. It will even erect dams as suitable means for decentralisation. The States Department will make purchases of black available in the province and give orders for all cloth requirements. The Technical Department will not themselves to develop better wheels and other instruments of hand production. All these departments will keep in constant touch with the A. L. S. A. and the A. L. V. I. A. using them as their experts.

The Revenue Minister will devise means of preventing black against tax and corporation.

Black workers will work unceasingly and unceasingly the law governing the status of black and seek to make it more desirable, more attractive and believe themselves to be responsible for discovering means of making black universal. God helps only those who are ever watchful and who devote all their talents to these means.

Congressmen in general will spread the gospel of black among their neighbours by themselves wearing it; not occasionally but habitually, by wearing themselves, and by helping black workers whenever they are called upon to do so.

Sagun, 4-12-38

A. G. Gannon

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Shri Dhanooji Das request respectively to non-Brahmin people and non-Hinduised people not to take part in Sanyasana as untidy and deserve to receive heavy response. It is the opinion of Sanyasana that those who are suffering should show after it. Cases can be considered when what may be termed Sanyasana Sanyasana may be legitimately applied. But so far as I see there is nothing in the Rajkot or Hinduised Sanyasana to warrant outside participation, indeed it is likely to achieve the opposite. The idea underlying Sanyasana is to convert the wrongdoers to consider the issue of justice to him, to show him also that without the cooperation, direct or indirect, of the wrongdoer the wrongdoer cannot do the wrong intended by him. If the people in either case are not ready to suffer for their cause, no outside help in the shape of Sanyasana can possibly bring any deliverance.

Sagun, 5.12.38

M. E. G.

DR. MOTT'S SECOND VISIT

A. Douglas Young

Goodhope's time has been full with visits from a number of Christian Missionaries who are in India to attend the forthcoming conference in Tinian (Madras). Among these was also Dr. Mott, who is to preside at the conference.

Some of the members of Harpur will remember Dr. Mott's visit to Sagun in December 1935 and my two articles therein. I perfused them with a brief sketch of the life and work of the great evangelist as a sort of background to the conversations between Dr. Mott and Chudalap. In the profile I shall mention a few more facts.

His visit again to Sagun after nearly two years serves but to strengthen the impression one gained of his personality. He is now 71, but he has lost none of his old vigour, and as he knows the secret of a well-regulated life one may hope that he will easily finish a century of fruitful life. Son of a big lumberman and meant for a legal career, he refused to choose either of the two careers and early made up his mind to dedicate every power of his body and mind to "increase love among the world, through deeds after decade, for the Kingdom of God." In his quietest pursuit of his mission he has declared his social position. He was offered the Presidency of Princeton University when Woodrow Wilson resigned the post and later became President of the United States. He was offered by President Wilson the post of the Ambassador to China. Thus too he declared and he has gone from one end of the earth to the other to serve Christianity. With characteristic precision and love of figures his biographer counts the number of countries he has visited and the miles he has covered. "As a conservative estimate," writes Mr. Basil Mathews in 1934, "the total of Dr. Mott's journeying reaches 1,700,000 miles, or the equivalent of fully six complete times round the world. His social journeys round the world have been four." Governor of the World's Student Christian Federation, and its General Secretary for many years, he has also long been Chairman of the International Missionary Council and President of the World's Alliance of the Y. M. C. A. Throughout his long life he has been a student, professorship in the contents of his mission to which every one of his miles bears a dedication, and with that sole purpose he has visited and endeavoured to know and understand the workings of the minds of men like Tolstoy and Musyri, Chudalap and Karamy, has addressed millions of students of all faiths and made a point of visiting all important centres of every faith, with a view to study the appeal behind every one of those faiths. A tremendous orator, he has assumed helpful relations with many organisations for social, educational and religious betterment throughout

the world, and he "expresses the fact" within a period stretching over forty years, he assumed a relation of more responsibility toward mankind as a man comparatively uneducated at 300 million dollars for Christian and philanthropic work in every continent and nearly every nation on earth." Rapidly simple and obvious in his beliefs from his childhood, he has lived to spread throughout the student world the gospel of a pure and dedicated life. His life of child-like regularity allows him time to attend personally to his vast correspondence, to maintain a regular diary of his daily tasks, of books he has read and men and places he has seen.

No Advance in Action

When Dr. Moss came to Saigon two years ago he confused himself almost entirely to the question of "the unspeakable in India and how the Missionaries could help rather than hinder Gandhi's task of the removal of the idol. The documents noted with Gandhi's emphasis assure you, based on evidence in his possession, that "what the Missionaries are doing today does not show spirituality. Dr. Moss agreed that the clearest motive should be always detected and that true Missionaries should serve people "whether they become Christians or not." But he wanted to see the liberty "to preach and teach." Gandhi held that preaching and teaching could be best done through one's life which alone should be allowed to speak; that there should be no preaching to people but to people who sought light and guidance from you, and finally that it should be addressed to people who could understand.

Dr. Moss did not resolve these fundamental questions during that visit, but wondered if the world, including the world of missionaries, had advanced since they had last met. He was going to preside over the deliberations of the International Missionary Council meeting in Madras during the month, and he wanted to share with Gandhi the plans of the meeting, and wanted Gandhi's "criticism and judgment on things to be discussed at the Convention." In his graceful way he said: "I have thanked God with every remembrance of you, and have always felt that you were more and more needed than at this hour. I look upon you as a prophet and warrior and you have appealed wonderfully even to people who have not seen you. We are confronted with possibly the most fearful period in history and we want to put out all the influence that God has given you. The conviction is growing on me that our race and racial problems can best be solved in an international context. The world would seem to have been humbled since we last met. The conscience of the world is awakening, there is a worldwide awareness and desire that we should in this anti-racializing world get closer together and that is why I am again in India,—India which has got more to teach us than any other country, not excepting China."

"India," he added, "is a land of great faith and marvellous language and tradition, and we want all the help we can get. This is a unique Convention where 34 members of the younger churches of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and 34 of the older churches of Europe, America and Scandinavia will be represented by over 400 delegates. We want this to be a help and not a hindrance to India. I have always been inspired by the unique, distinctive and God-inspired contributions of your writings in *Resque* and I have come to seek your guidance. Am I, I ask, right in thinking that this tide has turned a little bit on the great things you inspired in me? First was the matter of the Communal Award and the parts of it, that you vividly brought before me for Christianity in India. Second was the great disaster of the Christian movement, in connection with the perpetration of its faith, taking advantage of the foolishness of people, in order to augment the number of its adherents. Third was the question of the wise use of money. We have had a scientific study made of the economic basis of the church in Asia and Africa. Fourth was the question of untrustworthiness. It is not confined to India. It is made some of the so-called churches and in Germany it is pointed with reference to the Jews and in America with reference to the colored people. Now this is what I want to know: Is there not a warning of this tide? Is there not a deeper recognition of these evils? Have we been going the right way on these problems?"

Gandhi:—What I have noticed is that there is a shift in the right direction so far as thought is concerned, but I do feel that so action there is no advance. I was going to say 'not much advance,' but I deliberately say 'no advance.' You may be able to give military sentences of men here and there, but they do not count. Right conviction to be of use has to be translated into action.

Dr. Moss:—Take the first question, viz. that of the Communal Award. Has there been no progress?

Gandhi:—No progress at all.

Dr. Moss:—I have been studying the manuscript of the life of K. T. Paul, to which I have been asked to write a foreword. (Don't you think there has been an advance since his time?) The martyrdom of the Roman Catholics is horrible, but what about Protestant Christians?

Gandhi:—If Protestant Christians see it on one of the questions, they can have the sword changed, so far as they are concerned. But there is no solid action in the matter.

Dr. Moss:—I did not know that they could have an exception made in their behalf.

Gandhi:—They can.

Dr. Moss:—Take the new question. Is not taking advantage of people's foolishness being avoided now? I mean say I was terribly pained to read of the Mc Gowan incident and greater

relieved to know that the misunderstanding has been cleared up.

Gooding—Even on this question, while some friends I agree are in earnest, so far as action goes, there has been no change.

Dr. Mott—You mean to say there is not action enough?

Gooding—No, there is no action at all. I have plenty of evidence to prove what I say. I do not publish all the correspondence I get. Mr. A. A. Ford, whom you may know, expressed a confidence some time ago. The proceedings were excellent. Their resolutions were half-hearted. As far as I am aware, there was no unanimity about any definite action.

Dr. Mott—I was encouraged by a resolution of the National Christian Council which seemed as pure intention and pure practice.

Gooding—You may cite the resolution but you will not be able to show corresponding action.

Dr. Mott—I understood. Without action no decision is anything worth. This lesson was burnt on my mind even as a student when Pope's great essay on the *Science of Character* helped me more than anything I had read.

Gooding—I assure you you will find confirmation of what I say. I would say that there is not even concrete recognition of the danger of taking an undue advantage of people's faithfulness. They will never give up what they call the right of man conversion.

Dr. Mott—They are now talking of conversion of groups and families. I am not quite clear, though, as to what in detail means the word "group" implies.

Gooding—I am quite clear. It is mass conversion called by another name.

Dr. Mott—That is strange. How can groups or families be converted in mass? Conversion is my study for persons, none first with my father than my older sons, then youngest sons, then I. It is an individual matter, a matter entirely between me and once God.

Gooding—So it is. On the matter of untouchability, I may tell you that for years I could not carry conversion to my own wife. She followed me willy nilly. The conversion came to her after long experience and practice.

Dr. Mott—is dealing with the belief of things we should use the proper methods. But you will pardon me if I hesitate, that I am hopeful of the tale having turned. Concerning Christian leaders to my knowledge are not only thinking of these things honestly but sincerely addressing themselves to bringing right practice.

Dr. Mott—On the third question of the use of use of money I am sure of encouragement.

Gooding—But it is a matter of necessity. The Indian Christians are thinking ahead and of doing things themselves. They are talking of their own responsibilities and saying, "Thank God, American money can't come."

[Then came a rather long digression on the wise and proper use of money. The report had suggested their attention on the occasion of the last year too and Gooding had put the matter more forcefully when he said: "I think that you cannot serve God and Mammon both, and my fear is that Mammon has been sent to serve India and God has remained behind, with the result that He will one day have His vengeance." He had made it also clear that that there was all the difference in the world between money given and money earned.]

Dr. Mott—But your own example proves that there are uses of money. What do all the organizations I see this morning carry?

Gooding—You see a contradiction between my theory and practice? Well, you must see the background. With all my experience and ability to collect money I am utterly indifferent to the matter. I have always felt that when a religious organization has more money than it requires it is in peril of losing its faith in God and putting its faith on money. There is no such thing as too or enough use of money. You have simply to come to depend on it. You don't even depend on bread, and baptize with God around you won't pay and God gives your bread.

Dr. Mott—I am saying this at some length as I want to understand you and not to misquote you.

Gooding—Then I will illustrate what I say by two striking illustrations. In South Africa when I started the Serapunga march there was not a copper in my pocket, and I went with a light heart. I had a cinema of 300 people to support. "No fear" said I. "If God wills, He will carry it forward." Then money began to come from India. I had to stop it, for when the money came my mission began. Whereas they were content with a piece of bread and sugar, they now began asking for all sorts of things.

Then take the illustration of the new educational experiment. The experiment I said must go on without aid from any monetary help. Otherwise, when my death the whole experiment would go to pieces. The fact is the moment financial sickness is cured, spiritual bankruptcy is also cured.

Dr. Mott—But you wisely used the money.

Gooding—Not moral, but honest, and even the dog, under God's Providence, has use to go home.

[I may add, for the sake of Dr. Mott, that on the matter Gooding's view is derived from his view of *apartheid*—non-possession, which in substance means that 'you may have material in position or use material things but the secret of life lies in never wanting them.' Money will come for an object to which you are prepared to give up your life, but when there is no money you will not want it and the object will be earned on, perhaps all the better for want of it.]

Then came the last question of unscrupulousness. Dr. Meier wondered if there was no questioning of the conscience all the world over. There had been in and besides racial hatred between groups in America, conversations refusing to go to hotels where the Negroes were not accepted, there were Christians in Germany who had gone to prison for protesting against the inhuman treatment of the Jews. There was gold coming out of France. What about India?

Gandhi—No advance in action, I say again. The French are a fair race. The racial feeling instead of declining is rising in South Africa the tide of prejudice is rising high, declarations made by former Ministers are being disregarded. Similar scenes come from East Africa. But I remain an optimist, not that there is any evidence that I can give that right is forced to prosper, but because of my unshakable faith that right wins precept in the end.

Dr. Meier—Well, in South Africa too are there not people like Hoffmann and Edgar Brookes? There is certainly a turn of the tide on the part of certain individuals.

Gandhi—It would be wrong to draw conclusions from a handful of individual instances. Our optimism can come only from our faith that right must ultimately prevail. But on this matter, as I have said, there is no advance in the thought world, but not in action.

Dr. Meier then stated that most of the great advances of the human race were traceable to the initiative of individuals who had consistently and unflinchingly made unpopular causes popular and triumphant.

THE SECOND DAY

II

How to Fight National Gangsterism?

Dr. Meier began the next day with these preliminary remarks: "You put in your question equal way your views on the questions I asked. I value it more than I can say. I was impressed by your imagination that there was a certain amount of advance in thought but not in action. It is a great thing that so many leading minds have begun to think about these vital questions in an advanced way. I could show you, too, that there are certain things actually occurring on foot. But, today, I want to engage your attention on another matter. What to do with 'gangster' nations if I may use the expression frequently used? There was individual gangsterism in America. It has been put down by strong police measures both local and national. Could not we do something similar for gangsterism between nations, as witnessed in Manchuria—the infamous use of the opium poison—in Albania, in Spain, in the sadistic means of Austria, and then the case of Czechoslovakia. Now, in this connection, let me say, I was deeply impressed by what you wrote on the Czechoslovakian crisis and on the Jewish question. Can we bring something like international police into being?"

Gandhi—The question is not new to me.

Dr. Meier—I prefer not.

Gandhi—I have to deal with identical questions with reference to conditions in India. We have had to quell riots, command and labour. The Ministers have used military force in some cases and police in most. Now what I intend that the nations could not help doing so, I also said that the Congress Ministers had proved themselves handtraps with their stick-in-the-mud, I mean their avowed weapon of non-violence. Even so, I would say in reply to the question you have asked, viz. that if the law of the world had not embraced the spirit of non-violence, they would have no more guarantee in the orthodox way. But that would only show that we have not got far beyond the Law of the Jungle that we have not yet learnt to appreciate the message that God has given us that in spite of the teaching of Christianity which is 2000 years old and of Hinduism and Buddhism which are older, and even of Islam (if I have read a single), we have not made much headway as human beings. But what I would understand the use of force by those who have not the spirit of non-violence in them, I would have those who know non-violence to throw their whole weight in demonstrating that even guarantee has to be met by non-violence too, ultimately. Force, however partially used, will lead us into the same morass as the fate of Hitler and Mussolini. There will be just a difference of degree. You and I who believe in non-violence meet me at the critical moment. We may not despair of reaching the hour even of guarantee, even if, for the moment, we may seem to be striking our heads against a blind wall.

How may Minorities Help?

Dr. Meier's next question was, "How may the Minorities and Christians in general help in constructive activities like the village industries movement, the new educational movement, and so on?"

Gandhi gave some personal reminiscences which I omit. The substance of what he said was:—They should study the movements and work under or in co-operation with these organisations. I am happy to be able to say that I have some valued Christian colleagues. But they can be counted on one's fingers. I fear that the vast bulk of them remain unconverted. Some have frankly said that they do not believe in the village movement or the education movement as they are conducted by the associations you have named. They evidently believe in vocationalisation and the western type of education. And the Minorities as a body perhaps fight shy of movements not conducted wholly or predominantly by Christians.

If I get in my movement the hearty and active co-operation of the 5000 Protestant Missionaries in India, and if they really believed in the living power of non-violence as the only force that

comes, they can help not only India but perhaps in afflicting the West.

Dr. Moss—Happily there are a goodly number amongst them who are eye to eye with you.

Gandhi—I know.

Dr. Moss—I think the Congress movement has great force and every missionary should consider how he can be most helpful to it.

Creative Experiences

Dr. Moss next asked a few personal questions. "What have been the most creative experiences in your life? As you look back on your past, what, do you think, led you to believe in God when everything seemed to point to the contrary, when life, so to say, spring from the ground although it all looked impossible?"

Gandhi—Such experiences are a multitude. But as you put the question to me, I recalled particularly one experience that changed the course of my life. That fell on my last seven days after I had arrived in South Africa. I had come there as a poorly educated and selfish student. I was just a boy returned from England wanting to make some money. Suddenly the doors who had taken me there asked me to go to Portora from Durban. It was not an easy journey. There was the railway journey as far as Chatsworth and the coach to Johannesburg. On the train I had a first class ticket, but not a bed ticket. At Marburg where the buildings were used the guard came and turned me out and asked me to go to the "tin compartments. I would not go and the train seemed very leaving me shivering in the cold. Now the creative experience comes there I was afraid for my very life. I entered the dark waning room. There was a white man in the room. I was afraid of him. What was my duty, I asked myself. Should I go back to India, or should I go forward, with God as my helper, and face whatever was in store for me? I decided to stay and suffer. And God put me through the rest during this very journey. I was severely assaulted by the coachman for my moving from the seat to his door and me."

Dr. Moss—The manner, the days after days you received beatings into your soul.

Gandhi—Yes, that was one of the violent experiences of my life.

Dr. Moss—I am grateful to you for sharing this experience with me.

God Appears in Action

Dr. Moss—What has brought deepest meaning to your soul in difficulties and doubts and questionings?

Gandhi—Living Faith in God.

Dr. Moss—What have you had unbelievable

manifestations of God in your life and experience?

Gandhi—I have seen and believe that God never appears to me in person, but in action which can only answer for your dilemmas in your darkest hour.

Dr. Moss—You mean things take place that cannot possibly happen apart from God.

Gandhi—Yes. They happen suddenly and unreasonably. One experience stands quite distinctly in my memory. It relates to my 21 days fast for the removal of untouchability. I had come to sleep the night before without the slightest idea of having to observe a fast the next morning. At about 11 o'clock in the night something woke me up suddenly, and came voice,—rather an whisper, I cannot say,—whispered, "Then must go on a fast." "How many days?" I said. The voice again said, "Twenty-one days." When does it begin? I said. It says, "You begin to-morrow." I went quietly off to sleep after making the decision. I did not tell anything to my companions and after the morning prayer I placed on their heads a slip of paper announcing my decision and asking them not to argue with me, as the decision was irrevocable.

Well the doctors thought I would not survive the fast, but something within me said I would, and that I must go forward. That kind of experience has never in my life happened before or after that day.

Dr. Moss—Now, you surely don't trace such a thing to an evil source?

Gandhi—Surely not. I never have thought it was an error. If ever there was in my life a spiritual but it was then. There is something in deepest satisfaction of the flesh. It is not possible to say God first to that unless you already the flesh. It is one thing to do what belongs to it as a temple of God, and it is another to deny it what belongs to it as to the body of flesh.

Silence

Dr. Moss concluded his visit in 1936 with a question on silence. He had done so during a brief brief visit to Ahmedabad in 1929 and during this visit too he asked if Gandhi had continued to find it necessary in his spiritual quest.

Gandhi—I can say that I am an everlastingly silent man now. Only a little while ago I have remained completely silent nearly two months and the spell of that silence has not yet broken. I broke it today when you came. Nevertheless I go into silence at some time every evening and break it in the morning at 3 o'clock. I broke it to-day when you came. It has now become both a physical and spiritual necessity for me. Originally it was taken to relieve the sense of pressure. Then I ceased even for wrong. After, however, I had practiced it for some time I saw the spiritual value of it. It radically shifted across my mind that that was the time when I could best hold communion with God. And now I feel as though

*For a detailed description of this incident read Gandhi's *Autobiography* Vol. I Part II Chs. VIII-IX, pp. 317-326.

I was naturally back for silence. Of course I may tell you that from my childhood I have been used for my silence. I was silent at school and in my London days I was taken for a silent dance by friends.

Dr. More—In this connection you put me in mind of two texts from the Bible:

"My god, be deaf silent unto God."

"Speak, Lord, for Thy servant heareth."

I have often sought silence for moments even during my rosiest time. I have had seasons to me wrought for this purpose, though of course the value has now reduced even a net verage of the privilege of silence was used to enjoy on the boat. But silent prayer is not a monologue, but a dialogue, and God speaks to us only when we are silently ready to listen to Him.

But the time was up and there was a cluster of visitors already waiting. Dr. More therefore left, saying: "I am sorry to have overstayed my time. I lose all sense of time when I am with you. I am more grateful than I can say."

Separa, 3-12-28

H. D.

Notes

Harpas Welfare in Tatanagar

I have before me a full and lengthy report of the function performed at Tatanagar by the Bihar minister, Shri Jagat Choudhary, of opening the new extension of the Dhatkadi Harpas School. The manager, Shri J. J. Ghanty, who takes a personal interest in Harpas welfare, in the course of his address requesting the minister to perform the opening ceremony, among other things said:

"It is a matter of gratification that the demand for education amongst the Harpas population has continued to be on the up-grade, and I am sure Shri Jagat Choudhary on behalf of the Steel Company that the laudable activities of the Bank Singh have always had our support. Towards the Mahabans Harpas School, which was completed in 1916 at a total cost of Rs. 1,300 and was opened by Shri A. E. Dhill on the 15th of January 1917, the Steel Company made a contribution of Rs. 500 and later provided 90 new papers for the learning of the School.

To this Dhatkadi Harpas School, the Company gave Rs. 50 as cash and 50 pieces of new paper free of cost, to enable it to launch its work.

It was found, however, that the accommodations provided at the Dhatkadi and Mahabans Harpas schools was inadequate to the needs of the Harpas children. The Bank Singhs therefore decided to build two extra classrooms for children and also two blocks of quarters for teachers. The Steel Company made a contribution of Rs. 1,000 towards the cost of these extensions, and agreed to give a special grant of Rs. 50 per month towards the running expenses of these schools.

It is my sincere wish that the Harpas children should take advantage of the excellent educational facilities provided by the Steel Company for all the children in the town, and also that there were no separate classes or schools for the Harpas children. I understand the Harpas community consider this object incapable of achievement in the existing social circumstances of India, but I hope that, before long, all class-distinctions will cease and the Harpas children will attend the same schools and receive the same education as the other children of the town."

Separa, 4-12-28

From America

An American friend made the following letter accompanying his visit:

"You may be interested in the following poem as one more sign that there are kindly eyes in America watching the wonderful progress made by your great country since the world war. It was written two years ago, when we secured the news that the untouchables had been admitted to the public temples in Tatanagar. You will see, I hope, notwithstanding my use of the word 'light', I refer exclusively to non-violent fighting, the only kind capable of accomplishing lasting good."

To All Who Fought Untouchability

You, who beheld the mechanisation wrong
Which brought of God's dearest blessing the door
To God's great mercy, though its gates were
Dark with all failures, you who, having laid
Blood round from the huddled and beaten through
The dashed hopes of those who hoped no more,
Struck out, and struck again the monster hour
Inevitably slain, brutally slain
You now, brave fighters, are the only ones
Left to mark in your hearts last, the ghosts
Of your dead comrades leave round your feet
While we, the calmed, true, clean-headed ones,
With affable deacons lead your hosts,
And busy what we dare not help destroy.

Separa, 6-12-28

H. K. G.

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INDIAN LANGUAGES IN THE COLONIES

(By C. F. Andrews)

One of the most interesting studies is to note which may perhaps be called the tenacity of Indian languages to survive in the different colonies abroad where Indians are assembled in great numbers. The conditions for such a survival are often of the most precarious character and I have known many examples in my travels from one colony to another where the younger generation has lost altogether the use of the Indian mother tongue.

In addition to the *mother language* which may be spoken at home, there is only one *lingua franca* which in different forms and many combinations holds its place with English as a common medium. This may rightly be called Hindustani if that name may be used for a speech which no one now would recognize as pure Hindi or pure Urdu, though both languages have come to compose it. The recognition has chiefly been caused by the introduction of 'pidgin' English. To give a single sentence instead of 'How does he pay' we tend to get at 'Tip.' When children are given it as a means, even for an Englishman like myself, to learn these strange expressions because they are pronounced in such a fashion that at first they are hardly comprehensible.

In the old days of indenture, Indians in Fiji divided themselves into two categories, *primo-wala* and *klakla*. A *'primo-wala'* was one who came out under an agreement, or indenture. '*Klakla*' meant one who was free. The word '*primo-wala*' had come into use as frequently as '*Klakla*'.

Such was the case of things when I first visited Fiji along with Mr. W. W. Freeman. It seemed to us then, that the Indian languages would soon become altogether lost as a *'pidgin'* of '*pidgin'*' English. But a quite remarkable reversal has taken place. During a great deal of the efforts of the Army Service and also of the punishment by the Inspectors of Indian Schools, Mr. A. Macmillan, the Hindustani that is now known as simple and grammatical. Also in the Nadi District where a large number of settlers from South India have made their homes, a special school for Fijian children has been maintained with splendid enthusiasm. I am not sure even about the future developments but provision has been made to teach Fijian children their own language and Urdu is taught in Muslim schools. Compared with what we found in 1925 an excellent improvement can be recognized.

Hard is another area which I have often visited and here the most striking thing has been to see how the Tamil mothers seek, at all cost, to preserve the mother tongue in their own homes. Ceylon has its own place among the considerable number who had emigrated as workers from the west coast of India, before the door was shut against all further emigration.

None from the west coast came out to the indentured laborers. Almost none in fact came from the United Provinces as compared with the much larger number who emigrated from the west of India. Yet for the purpose of public meetings a simple Hindustani has been found serviceable in practice. When I have said that, as far as I was able to do so, the chairman has sometimes called for a *Shukla* resolution, first into Tamil and afterwards into Cingalese, but, not seldom, what I said has been allowed to pass unperceived, on the assumption that it was understood by practically all who were present.

In British Guiana and Trinidad, the home language has been Hindi, for the vast preponderance of settlers have come from the U. P. and not Hindu. There are very few from South India, therefore the question of finding a common language hardly arises. In the schools of Trinidad, the Hindi language has been far better taught than in British Guiana, where the mother tongue of the children has been curiously neglected. It has often seemed to me, from my own personal experience in the different colonies, that the new whom were teachers and from India were most needed was British Guiana. I would specially say that some Indian women teachers should find their way out, whose mother tongue was Hindi. The best method of getting forward might be for one or two Indian schoolmasters, who could train Indian girls to be teachers in their turn to offer their services to the British Guiana Government for work in the Women's Training College at Georgetown. At present, the number of Indian women born in British Guiana who offer themselves to be trained as teachers is very small indeed. The teaching of Indian children is taken in hand by the women of other races and though I would not for a moment disparage what is thus being done, often at a great sacrifice, there is obviously some quality peculiarly Indian which they cannot impart and therefore the proper Indian complement is lost by the younger generation.

I shall not soon forget what a pang it gave me, when I visited one of the smaller islands of the West Indies and went inland to visit a group of people who had originally come from India. I found that they could not speak one word of their mother tongue and also had given up Indian dress and Indian ways.

It is my hope soon to go out to Mauritius which is the one island to which Indians have gone, that I have not yet visited. Though I have been asked to go many times, I have not yet been able to do so. I wonder what I shall find when I get there! The language problem, so I hear, is further complicated, not there because the basic speech of the island is not English, but a form of Creole French, which many of the Indians have learnt as their mother tongue.

In East Africa, whenever I have been there, it has been quite easy to make myself understood by using simple Hindustani, even though the majority came from the west coast and speak

Gujarat State, 1935, is still a considerable element of borrowing to and from the Arabian Sea,—as there is also on the other side of India across the Bay of Bengal,—there is no tendency at all to shape the mother tongue or to speak English in the houses. Thus, on the whole, both in East Africa and also in Malaya the language problem does not arise in so acute a form as it does in such a desert group of islands as the West Indies or Fiji.

Wardha, 1.12.38

A I V I A TRAINING SCHOOL

From the report of the certificate-giving Inspection of the Training School I call the following:

"Senior Vidyalakshmi Patel presided at the annual gathering of the A. I. V. I. A. Training School for village workers, which was held at Mahanadi Wardha, on Thursday 15th November. There was a large gathering present, which included the Hon'ble Dadasaheb Shastri Shukla, the President of the Central Province and Hon'ble Khushabhai Alakh Shukla Khushabhai the President of the A. I. V. I. A. The Superintendent, Mr. J. P. Patel, in the course of his speech welcoming the President and the guests and among other things:

"The Great Satish Vajpayee today sympathises at third year. During this time we have educated ourselves a little in the teaching of industrial and hope to progress still further in some years.

The industries that are taught at present are Paper-making, Oil-pressing, Bee-keeping, Gun-making, Pottery-making and Flea-making. The course of the Vidyalakshmi is for five months. During that course either of the major industries of Paper-making or Oil-pressing is taught. The rest of the industries take one month each to be taught.

Small Industries Bee-keeping and Pottery and Hygiene are also taught in addition to the above industries.

"In admitted students we mean above is to see that after finishing the course here they devote themselves to some form of village service. Therefore as far as possible we admit only those who are already doing some sort of manual work and who may be in need of more training or those who are sent by some institutions. With this end in view we have fixed the limit of 22 years of age for admission so that the students who come to us will be comparatively young.

"The instruction is given through the medium of Marathi-Khushi. Therefore the students get a little training in Marathi-Khushi. In our kitchen one Woman and a Harjan, chosen by students, are working. Thus they get a little training in the removal of unsatisfactory and some diseases. Kitchen work including grinding, cleaning, cooking and washing is done by the students themselves. Thus they lead an industrious life

here and learn the meaning of labour. The direct result is that their mind health during their stay here.

"If the Vidyalakshmi is the only training workers every year who are trained in this way and who will settle down in villages, we hope to see a network of village workers spread out in India in due course.

"The Secretary Mr. T. B. Mehta's report contains the following interesting items:

"For the session just closed, we had admitted 48 students. The following is the number of students received:

Madras Government	12
C. P. Government	8
Bombay Government	1
Guernsey Government	1
British India	1
Private Fee	1
Total	24

"Of the others who were private students 8 received scholarships from the Association and 16 were accepted from various fees. The rest were private students.

"According to the Central Province, the distribution of students is: Andhra 5, Bihar 4, Burma 1, Central Province 5, Gujarat 6, Karnataka 3, Kerala 3, Maharashtra 2, Tamil Nadu 7, and the United Provinces 5.

"It will be of interest to those engaged in educational work to know that we have so arranged our time table as to develop not only the hand but also the mind of the student. We have allowed time for theoretical training as well as along with the industrial training our students may exercise their intellect in the industries of their choice, and not become merely mechanical workers. All the processes in the industries are carried on by the students themselves without the aid of any hired labour. This enables them to understand the various processes properly and also enables them to find out ways and means of increasing the amount of designs involved.

"During the period, 14 students left the Vidyalakshmi while 24 students appeared in the examination. Of these 5 students have acquired more than 80% marks and 13 are entitled to certificates of merit, while 15 students are entitled to pass certificates. There are five other students who have failed in theory but have passed the practical test. They have been awarded certificates for voluntes. The results show that the percentage of pass is as high as 75%.

"I would advise the management to keep a register of all certified students, to keep a living contact with them and carry on with them a kind of post-graduate correspondence class. So far as it is humanly possible not one of the students should lose touch with the old set of his discipline because he has left no training.

M. K. G.

IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE VII

A Sharp Lesson

The programme at Alibonhad concluded with a public meeting at which several addresses and a consolidated paper of the IHS were presented to Gandhiji on behalf of the whole district. Ranganay was asked to state the proceedings by the circumstance that the framers of the address had allowed their pen to run over with their feelings and indulged in language of wild hyperbole to greet Gandhiji when they described as 'the greatest man on earth.' Gandhiji in a reply which was full of delicate humor gave them a fervent response, for their use of unsubstantiated language, which they are not likely to forget for the rest of their lives. "I thank you for the address that you have presented to me," he began. "You have in your address expressed your gratification at having in you made the greatest man on earth." I wondered as I listened to your address as to what this gratification could be. Certainly it could not be I. I know too well my shortcomings. There is a celebrated story told about Jesus the great law-giver of Athens. He was asked by Crito, who was reported to be the wisest man of his age, to name the happiest man on earth. Crito had foolishly hoped that Jesus would name him. But Jesus replied that he could say nothing as no one could be adjudged happier before his end. "It concerned Gandhiji. "Jesus found it difficult to pronounce on a man's happiness during his lifetime, how much more difficult it must be to adjudge on a man's greatness! True greatness in the world is not found set upon a hill, for the vulgar crowd to see. On the contrary, thy seventy year's experience has taught me that the only great are often those of whom and of whose greatness the world knows nothing during their lifetime. God alone is judge of true greatness because He knows men's hearts."

More Verdicts

Quoting again from the address he continued, the verbatim: "Not only the inhabitants of Alibonhad" you have said 'but even the sea, the woods, and the stars have been eager to have a glimpse of me!'" "Am I to condemn my good friends?" he asked. "Has your eye been all to itself a lot of sea, woods and stars which do not share upon. Wait! In Japan? In Kathiawar we have a class of people known as Sheti or professional liars who make it their job to eat the pittance of their auditors for money. Well, I want tell you Sheti." A voice from the audience protested, "We had to pay money along with the address." But Gandhiji was not to be put off so easily. He continued, "Better still, I want you to realize the mistake of indulging in hyperbolic phrases of your leaders. It neither helps them nor their work. I would like you once for all to forget the practice of presenting ludicrous addresses

As these words were said, I for one have no doubt as to what both men God has sent tells me he dressed away in vain thankfulness. If an address were to be presented I would like it to be dispassionate of the defects and shortcomings of the Congress of the address so that he might be helped to turn the worthless message and word them out.

"Ever since we arrived in this province I have been trying to inculcate to the Khatia Khodwas the doctrine of non-violence in all its uncompromising completeness, sharing not a jot, holding back nothing. I do not claim to have understood the meaning of non-violence in its entirety. What I have noticed is only a small and an insignificant fraction of the great whole. It is not given to imperfect men to grasp the whole meaning of non-violence or to perceive it in full. That is an attribute of God alone. The Supreme Ruler who suffers no second. But I have constantly and ceaselessly revised for over half a century to understand it and to practice it in my own life. The Khatia Khodwas have no doubt as a more brilliant example in the practice of non-violence in the extent to which they have understood it. It has saved them several thousands. But they desire now to move a step further. Their conception of non-violence has to be broadened and their practice of it, especially in its positive aspects to be made fuller and more intense. If they are to come out successful in the final hour, Non-violence is not mere disarmament. Nor is it the weapon of the weak and the ignorant. A child who has not the strength to wield the knife does not practice non-violence. Non-violence then is the unswerving non-violence is a unique force that has come into the world. He who has not learnt to find it is to be a weapon infinitely more potent than brute force has not understood as true means. The non-violence cannot be 'taught' through word of mouth. But it can be inculcated, it can be born through the grace of God, it cannot be taught properly. It is noted that today there are one lakh of Khatia Khodwas who have adopted non-violence in their creed. But before them as early as 1920, Khatia Sabah came to recognize as non-violence a weapon the mightiest in the world, and he chose was made. Eighteen years of practice of non-violence have only strengthened his faith in it. He has seen how it has made his people braver and stronger. The prospect of losing a salary job used to terrify them. They had different temper colors. As these words were said my faith in non-violence today burns brighter than ever. People say to me, 'your programme of non-violence has been before the country now nearly for two decades, but where is the promised independence?' We say it that although the creed of non-violence was professed by millions, it was practiced by few few and that too merely as a policy. But with all that the result that has been achieved is sufficiently striking to encourage

me to enter on the experiment with the Khadia Khidmatgar and God willing a will succeed."

The Journey Back

Gandhi left Ahmedabad to return to Satara on the morning of 14th November. On his way, he paid a visit to the famous archaeological museum of Taxila. The journey was done under the shadow of impending peril. Four weeks of the closest partnership in the common quest of non-violence had brought Gandhi even so much closer to Khan Sahab and his Old Guard of Khadia Khidmatgar. Khan Sahab was busy settling final details in consultation with Gandhi, about his future programme of work and asked that the fresh commitments now which he was about to enter left little chance of his long cherished dream of a Bahamani state among the warring hills of Shival and Jhelum being realised. "Mianwan, this is what I have been telling the Khadia Khidmatgar since your arrival," I heard him say. "You have made the cause of the poor poor man. But what have you done to remove that poverty? You have pledged yourself never to violence, but have you gone among your opponents and tried to win them by your love?" He narrated to Gandhi a few of his experiences which showed how deep the spirit of non-violence had burnt itself into him. A Mianwan friend from the Punjab loved himself in his company. During a year's journey, "He was full of amazement at me saying that I had understood the spirit of Islam by preaching non-violence to the Pathans. I told him that he knew not what he was saying and that he would never have called him that if he had seen with his own eyes, the wonderful transformation that the message of non-violence has worked in the minds of Pathans to whom it has given a new voice of national solidarity. I used chapters and verses from the Koran to show the great emphasis that Islam has laid on Peace, which in its copying sense, I also showed to him how the greatest figures in Islamic history were known more for their forbearance and self-restraint than for their ferocity. The reply rendered him speechless." He then described how on another occasion he was accused of having a dislike of the hills of Khadia Khidmatgar to help the Hindus to subdue the Mohammedan population. "I was advised by several friends to meet a representative of the great Maf, but I refused. 'I have not yet sufficiently penetrated the Frontier masses,' I told them. 'To think what I might do will probably be as a par with what suddenly the magic fell, as a result of our silent service, they learn to know better. I will wait.' He mentioned to Gandhi an incident of non-cooperation days in the N. W. Frontier Province which made him a little epic of non-violence. At Chanderla the Khadia Khidmatgar had organised a public meeting. Before long the military arrived on the scene and ordered them to disperse, which they naturally refused to do. A little charge was then ordered and

was followed by the order to open fire. But all that had little effect. The people refused to budge and remained sitting unperurbed. The military were taken aback. They were not prepared for such calm determination on the part of the Story Pathans. They hung back after the first few rounds. A big crowd had formed round them. His nephew Sahibullah Khan was there. "When is a you want," the officer commanding asked him. "Nothing," replied Sahibullah. Dr. Khan Sahib's son. "Allow me to depart. Give no way, I decided was the military officer. And they went without by the vast mass of people."

Satara, 25-12-38

Faridul

PESHAWAR KHADI EXHIBITION

At Peshawar on the 13th ult. Gandhi performed the opening ceremony of the Khadi Exhibition, the first of its kind in the North Western Frontier Province that was organised by the People's branch of the All India Spinners' Association. The Exhibition was held with the full support and co-operation of the Frontier Government. Among those who rendered particular help were His Highness the Governor in charge of Industries, and the various officials connected with the Health, the Industries, the Agriculture and the Finance departments. Khadia Khidmatgar supplied a corps of volunteers. All the Mianwan and a large section of the press, especially the *Indus*, attended the Exhibition.

Frontier Khidmatgar and Dr. Gopalchand Bhargava, the agent of the People's branch of the A. I. S. A., in their joint address, introducing the All India Spinners' Association, made some striking remarks which are worth quoting here:

Some Telling Figures

"The All India Spinners' Association has over 625 production centres and 450 Khidmatgar in different parts of India and Burma. It was serving 4,028 villages in different parts of the country in the year 1932, in the year 1937 their number increased to 70,284. In the current year the number of villages served will be somewhere near 20,000 at least. During the year 1936 there were 1,13,489 registered spinners and weavers working under the Association, in the year 1937 the figure rose to 1,81,094. In the current year the number of registered spinners and weavers working under the Association will come to nearly 4,00,000. The total production in the year 1936 was 25,75,968 yards while in the year 1937 it rose to 30,13,303. During the half-year ending with June 30th in the current year, the production has been over 24 lacs and the figure is sure to go over 26 lacs. In the year 1937 Rupees 7 lacs were distributed by way of wages and this may be at least doubled this year."

"Bumbar and Akhmedabad mills with a capital of Rs. 20 crores of rupees are providing labour

for 1,75,000 men while the A. I. S. A. with a capital of Rs. 100 is providing labour for over 1,60,000 men (including workmen employed by co-operated centres). Further, while it requires only Rs. one to Rs. three to buy a spinning wheel and give employment to a worker, it costs Rs. 60 to put up one spindle in a mill and one man can manage 200 spindles so that a sum of Rs. 12,000 will be necessary to give employment to one man.

The following table figures would illustrate the strides that the country has made towards the goal of self-sufficiency, under the impetus provided by the Hindu movement, during the Covid Disobedience movement:

After Covid Disobedience	In progress of Rs.	
	Year	In progress of Rs.
	1941-42	175
		85
	1942-43	225
		95
	1943-44	300
		95

Before Covid Disobedience	In progress of Rs.	
	Year	In progress of Rs.
	1939-40	125
		45
	1940-41	145
		45
	1941-42	165
		55

Production in India	Production in India
Mills	Mills
Imported from Europe	Imported from Europe
Mills	Mills
Production in India	Production in India
Mills	Mills
Imported from Europe	Imported from Europe
Mills	Mills
Production in India	Production in India
Mills	Mills
Imported from Europe	Imported from Europe
Mills	Mills

The Common Bond

Still more striking was the Premier Minister's reply to those critics who have tried to dub the Association as a communal organisation.

"Our critics have themselves admitted that Charitra Seva is merely a Hindu organisation. The following figures giving the communal proportions will show that people of all communities

without distinction are working under the Association.

	Spinning	Weaving	Total
Hindus	1,07,750	5,529	1,13,279
Muslims	50,236	1,662	51,898
Christians	15,545	3,763	19,308
Other communities	505	—	505
Total	1,73,986	10,954	1,84,940

"Within the last 12 years of its existence it has distributed over Rs. 40,00,000 in wages. This has been possible when only a very meagre proportion of our people have taken seriously to khadi. What wonderful possibilities there must be if all or even a good majority take to it."

Premier Minister's Hope

Referring next to the neighbouring anti-Congress Government of the Punjab, Premier Sahib concluded:

"The Punjab Government which, by the way, is an Congress Government has been forced, by the lack of funds to exempt khadi as the only specific for financial relief at Home, where it has succeeded Rs. 25,000 for spinning spinning centres and I understand they are going to increase the amount further."

"The day is not far when the most sceptic will be forced to admit that the khadi is the only specific for India's life." Premier Sahib ended with a passionate exhortation to establish a khadi centre in every town and village of the North Western Frontier Province.

Time Swastika

Gooding in his western message to Hindustan, which was printed and distributed among the masses, made some most interesting observations on Swastika. "Do not be misled by names," he warned his listeners. "A piece of Japanese cloth cannot become Swastika merely by being labelled 'Swastika.' Only an article that is wholly manufactured in India by the hands of millions of villagers and out of raw materials grown in India deserves the name of Swastika."

"Khadi alone, it will be seen, fully satisfies the test, all other cloth is a minority of Swastika. Just as there can be no dress without the sun, so there can be no genuine Swastika without khadi."

Indeed by the test, Swastika is left far behind in the race for Swastika. There is only one Khadi Swastika here and that too is being run at a loss. I hope that the result of this Exhibition will be to put the Khadi Swastika on a firm footing, and to preclude the possibility of its having to close down."

A Word to Muslims

Declaring the Exhibition open, as he did, speech Gooding gave some plain talk to the Premier Minister and Congress M.L.A.'s for not wearing khadi. "Dr. Gopaband," he observed, "has shamed the Ministers for the help that they are giving to khadi work. He has said that, whether all

the Ministry nor all of the Congress M. L. A.s have no khadi as tailored wear. Some wear it only in the Assembly. Some do not do even that. That is contrary to both the spirit and the letter of the Congress constitution. Even the ministers have yet to become khadi-clad. If they all take to khadi, the one lakh of them will in less than six years make the whole province khadi-clad. This province is rich in the resources for the manufacture of khadi but is rather lag in respect of khadi work usually done.

First should Not Be Last

"I would like you all to visit the Exhibition as a spirit of inquiry and study. Khadi organisation work, unlike wool or silk industry, does not require lakhs of capital and highly specialised technical staff. Even a layman can take it up. I hope that this first Khadi Exhibition at the Frontier Province will be followed by many more in the near future."

The Khadi Court

The Exhibition was held in a school building which was tastefully decorated with arched hangings. Seals and boxes were supported by ingeniously put-together tables, writing desks, and benches. The walls of the khadi court were hung with instructive notices explaining the economics of khadi, and numerous were displayed of pieces of different varieties of khadi and an analysis of their cost of production to refute the charge of profaneism that is sometimes levelled against the Association. The latest patterns of khadi from the finest Andhra to chark had clothing from upper India, and all the various lines from cotton, to wool, shawls and pieces from all parts of India were duly represented. Local manufactures were represented by a first variety of woollens, elegant handwoven shawls and linen materials which are amazingly cheap for their quality and softness from the Kargil Valley in the Hindu Kush and Choral which swing so very soft from that is found here showed the immense possibilities of the growth of woollen industries in these parts.

Taken to Heart

November 5th was celebrated as the 'Ladies' Day' when the khadi court proved itself to be so popular as to take them by storm. They came in their thousands, quite a fair sprinkling among them, with notebooks and pencils in hand and showed their keen interest in khadi by taking down notes of the more striking of the khadi notices. The sales exceeded all expectations and all but in the ladies' section were exhausted, more having had to be ordered for telegraphic supply from the Punjab. In the afternoon the girls proved rather stiff and was requisitioned for feminine work.

Other Courts

Next to the khadi court in popularity was the technical court where all the processes invol-

ved in the manufacture of khadi were demonstrated. Of special interest was a modified spindle holder which spun in a bare spindle turned by a hand-coated wheel. It cost only 2 annas and increased the revolutions of the old style Purnia charkha from 30 to 140.

Paper manufactures and different varieties of palm and cane paper were shown in another section. The Government departments of Health, Agriculture and Industries also had brought their exhibits. A comparative study of a clean and well-planned village and an ill-planned one was provided by clay models. There were also clay models of a village house, an orchard and cultivated fields.

Record Sales

The response to the Exhibition was fine. The cash standing passed on to the organisers was a number, in payment of over a nominal fee is found to go a long way towards meeting a number of genuine wants. The cash on the first day was so great that admission had to be closed to all except women. Even so there was a lot of pure cashing and window cashing. The khadi sale for the six days amounted to over Rs. 4,000 which is considerable, considering that the average annual sale of khadi over the last decade in the local Khadi Board has never gone beyond Rs. 4,000.

The expenses of the Exhibition, leaving aside the normal expenses such as railway fares, freight, accommodation, etc., amounted Rs. 250 only. Out of this should be deducted the expenses on demonstration notices and charts as there are permanent ones which we will not cover with the Exhibition.

Signatures: M. D. G.

Purnia

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CONTENTS

		Page
A. SPECTING OFFER	Purnia	265
DYNAMIC NEW VENTURE	M. D. G.	266
HOW TO POPULARISE KHADI	M. K. Gandhi	268
DR. MATH'S SECOND VISIT	M. D. G.	269
INDIAN LABORERS IN THE		
COUNTRIES	C. P. Andrews	270
ATVLA TRADING SCHOOL	M. K. Gandhi	276
IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE—VIII	Purnia	277
PUNJAB KHADI EXHIBITION	Purnia	278
NOTES		
A. CARTON	M. K. G.	289
HARISH WILKIN IN		
TANJAVUR	M. K. G.	294
FROM ANDHRA	M. K. G.	294



HARIJAN

Editor: HANSEET DEEM

Under the auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

8 Pages &
Education Supplement

VOL. VI, No. 45]

POONA — SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1935

[TWO ANNAS

REPLY TO GERMAN CRITICS

(By H. K. Gandhi)

I was not prepared for the exhibition of wrath from Germany over my article about the German treatment of the Jews. I have myself admitted my ignorance of European politics. But in order to commend my presumption to the Jews for the removal of their many ills, I did not need to have an accurate knowledge of European politics. The main facts about the atrocities are beyond dispute. When the critic over my writing has exhibited and comparative calmness has returned, the most truthful German will find that underlying my writing there was friendliness towards Germany, never any ill-will.

Have I not repeatedly said that active non-violence is unconditional love—*filium-feling*? And if the Jews, instead of being helplessly and of actively non-resistant, adopt active non-violence : a. *filium-feling* for the Gentle German deliberately, they cannot do any harm to the Germans and I am as certain as I am of these things that the honest German heart will melt. Great as have been the Jewish contributions to the world's progress, this exposure act of theirs will be their greatest contribution and war will be a thing of the past.

It pains comprehension why my Germans should be angry over my utterly innocuous writing. Of course, German critics, as others, might have ridiculed it by saying that it was a woman's effort doomed to fail. I therefore welcome this wrath, though wholly unexpected, against my writing. Has my writing gone home? Has the writer felt that my remedy was after all not so ludicrous as it may appear, but that it was eminently practical if only the beauty of suffering without retaliation was realised?

To say that my writing has rendered neither myself, my movement, nor German-Indian relations any service, is surely irrelevant, if not also unworthy, implying as it does a threat, and I should rank myself a coward if, for fear of my country or myself or Indo-German relations being harmed, I hesitated to give what I felt as the innermost recesses of my heart to be cast per os and avert advice.

The Berlin writer has surely evidenced a novel doctrine that people outside Germany may not criticise German action, even from friendliest motives. For my part I would cer-

tainly welcome the interested thought that Germans or other outsiders may sincerely about India. I do not need to speak for the British but if I know the British people at all, they, too, welcome outside criticism, when it is well-informed and free from malice. In this age, when distances have been obliterated, no nation can afford to ignore the fabled frog in the wall. Sometimes it is refreshing to see ourselves as others see us. If, therefore, the German critics happen to see this reply, I hope that they will not only revise their opinion about my writing but will also realise the value of outside criticism.

Septem. 8-12-35

Hindu-Muslim Unity

I read suggestions about a memorial to the late Mahatma Shastriji. As soon as I learnt about the wholly unexpected death, I wrote to some Muslim friends sharing with them my innermost thoughts. One of them writes thus:

"There can be no two opinions about the extreme urgency and essential necessity of a sincere and lasting Hindu-Muslim unity. And the sooner it is brought about the better it will be for all concerned. Delay in this matter can only be fraught with consequences which nobody can contemplate without serious concern. The present drift may lead to most tragic developments which must, if at all possible, be avoided. I know that Shastriji was in his own way genuinely anxious to bring about real Hindu-Muslim understanding, and nothing will please him, apart from that, to know as it must be known that one of the objects after which he moved in this world was at last achieved. There may be people who may doubt this, but knowing him and the working of his mind most intimately as I do, I can assert it with confidence."

I sincerely endorse the opinion that in spite of his exhortations at times to the contrary, deep down in the Mahatma was the same longing for peace for which he used to speak and work eloquently during the Khilafat days. I have no doubt whatsoever that the tragic memorial to his memory will be a year's demonstration on the part of both the communities to bring about not a paper-unity but a heart-unity, based not on suspicion and distrust but on mutual trust. No other unity is worth having. And without that unity there is no real freedom for India.

Septem. 12-13-35

H. K. G.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION ON STATES

The following is the text of the Congress Working Committee's resolution on Indian States:

The Working Committee welcomes the awakening of the people of Indian States in many parts of the country and considers that as a hopeful prelude to a larger freedom comprising the whole of India, for which the Congress has laboured.

The Committee supports the demand for civil liberty and responsible government under the aegis of the Rulers in the States, and expresses their solidarity with these movements for freedom and self-expression.

While appreciating that some Rulers of States have recognised this awakening as a healthy sign of growth and are seeking to adjust themselves to it in co-operation with their people, the Committee regret that other Rulers have sought to suppress these movements by banning peaceful and legitimate organisations and all political activity and, in some cases, resorting to cruel and inhuman repression.

In particular the Committee deplores the attempt of some Rulers to seek the aid of the British Government in India to suppress their own people, and the Committee asserts the right of the Congress to protect the people against the unwarrented use of military or police force lent by the British authorities for the suppression of the legitimate movement of the people for responsible government within the States.

The Committee desires to draw attention afresh to the resolution of the Harpers Congress which defines the Congress policy in regard to States. While it is the right and privilege of the Congress to work for the attainment of civil liberty and responsible government in the States, existing circumstances impose certain limitations on this work, and consideration of prudence prevents the Congress from interfering expansionally and directly in the internal struggles in the States.

This policy was conceived in the best interests of the people, to enable them to develop self-reliance and strength. It was also intended as a measure of the goodwill of the Congress towards the States, and of its hope that the Rulers of their own accord would restrain the spirit of the States and satisfy the just aspirations of their people. Experience has proved the wisdom of this policy. But that was never conceived as an obligation. The Congress has always reserved the right, as it is its duty, to guide the people of the States and lend them its influence. With the great awakening that is taking place among the people of the States, there must be an increasing identification of the Congress with the States people. The policy laid down by the Harpers Congress, which has been so ably and staunchly watched, must continue to be pursued.

While, therefore, the Working Committee welcomes the movements in the States for the attainment of responsible government, they advise the people not belonging to the States concerned against taking part in civil disobedience or the like. Participation by such people will bring no real strength to the movement and may even embroil the people of the States concerned and prevent them from developing a mass movement on which strength and success depend.

The Committee trust that all movements in the States will adhere strictly to the fundamental Congress policy of non-violence.

ADVICE TO TRAVANCORE STATE CONGRESS

Gandhiji issued the following statement to the Press on the 10th inst.:

"Having attended the programme of the President of the Travancore State Congress, I am now able to tell the public what advice I gave the delegates that saw me on November 13 and 14. I told them that their cause would be damaged by persistence in the charges against the Dewan and that the question was not one of the truth or otherwise of the charges. It was one of political weight. Allegations were made that the struggle was personal. The demand for responsible government made a impression and raised it to a high level. I could not be a party to the conduct of a struggle which was savage and without mass and energy in pursuit of a personal matter to the exclusion of the more important one of Swamy. If they concentrated on the allegations, responsible government was bound to recede into the background.

Though my conviction about the correctness of my advice was unshaken, the members were to be guided by their own, if it conflicted with mine, for the burden of conducting the struggle rested on them. I also told them that if violence continued, no matter how it occurred, they were bound to suspend civil disobedience, for violence on the part of the public, even though inspired, showed that the State Congress influence was not adequate. This in no way meant suspension of the struggle. It meant merely a change of the emphasis on the instruments. An instrument of permanent value was a constructive programme. The employment of civil disobedience had well-defined limitations and required suspension in the occasions demanded."

NOTICE

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MANAGER

CROSSING OF THE RUBICON

The passing of the Mahadev Temple Entry Bill by the Madras Legislative Assembly last week was rightly described by the Premier as the crossing of the Rubicon after which the compass of the whole province would necessarily follow. One of the outstanding reasons why the Mahadev Deities was specially selected was that the question for temple entry for Harijans has been stronger there. It was there that Shri Kelappan Nair underwent a fairly long fast by the opening of the Guruswami temple, so was there that a careful and complete referendum was taken under the direction of no less a person than the Premier himself, and yet it was a district that was considered to be more orthodox-ridden than other districts in India.

The Bill differs from the Bombay Bill in radically as the conditions in Bombay differ from Madras. For a long time it had been represented in Bombay that the existing law stood in the way of reformer trustees who were keen on throwing their temples open to the Harijans. The Bombay Bill enabled the trustees to throw their temples open wherever they were in a majority and they desired to do so. As a result, scores of temples have been opened to the Harijans in the Bombay Province and more are being opened. In Madras the conditions with regard to the trustees are not so easy. The bulk of the worshippers may want a temple to be thrown open, and yet the majority of its trustees may not be so inclined. The Mahadev Temple Entry Bill therefore goes to the root of the matter and makes the opening automatic on a clear expression of a referendum of the worshippers.

A great feature of the Bill was that some of the opponents of the Bill were invited to be members of the Select Committee and their task after part in expressing amendments. The Premier spared no pains in carrying conviction to those who were opposed and in meeting arguments for amendment and in satisfying those who were that argument appealed to him. The result was that in a house of 200 members there were only two "objection" members who were opposed to the Bill and these also were opposed for varying reasons and represented special considerations.

One of the arguments advanced by one of the two members was that India was a deeply religious country and that therefore such a legislation would outrage the religious sense of the people. The Premier said it was for the very reason of its being a religious country that the legislation was badly needed. "It is because our people are deeply religious," he said, "that it is not enough that we give Harijans schools, roads, wells, hospitals, houses or jobs. It is necessary to give them religion also which we have denied, which it was wrong for us to deny and which we seek to remedy by this measure. If people will agree and co-operate, it is because our country is truly

and deeply religious that this measure is so important. Shri Krishna Rao states the well-known maxim, fundamental fact that our country is deeply religious and asks me to consider that certain consequences arise from that. I ask him to consider that certain opposite consequences flow from the opposite fact, viz., that because our country is religious we can succeed in nothing unless we deal with matters of religion properly. The Bill provides for our going to the people, when we want to introduce the reform, getting their opinion definitely, and so definitely that they could have a say in as to whether a particular temple should or should not be opened. Our country is deeply religious, and religion involves a little bit of superstition, fear and fanaticism along with true religion which certainly is embodied in our faith. We will have to remove the difficulties arising out of that superstition, fear and fanaticism... Therefore it is that I say that it is not enough to put a general question as a mandate at the time of the general election, but that it is necessary to put it when we deal with particular facts, and that is why the Bill has been shaped in this form... We depend on the Government's proclamation not for convincing them as to whether temples should be opened, but to help them in removing the fear from the mind of the people in regard to the temples."

Another argument, which is often advanced, was advanced on this occasion also, viz., that the Harijans did not care for temple entry. One like Shri Kappagaddan, who has thrown himself into the movement for the past twenty years, and treated the Harijans as his own flesh and bone, not because the Harijans want it, but because he has been feeling deeply pained, had no difficulty in meeting this weak argument. "This argument," said he, "was wrong. Devan Bahadur Sankaran was right in considering that it was the duty of Caste Hindus to look after temple entry, and right also in thinking that it was his right to sleep a share, as it were, in a public road, in a school, and in the service of the country. But his word did not prove that temple entry was not important or necessary, it only proved the relative duty as between Caste Hindus and Harijans in the matter. Therefore it was that Caste Hindus felt more concerned in the matter than those for whom entry was provided in the Bill. It is the duty of Caste Hindus to "bother" about it, and Devan Bahadur Sankaran was right in saying that Hinduness should be judged by what they do. If Hinduness should go wrong and if considerations of Hinduness should not bother about it, Devan Bahadur Sankaran said it would not be his concern. It is necessary that Caste Hindus should do their duty in the matter, and if the reform is postponed further, Hinduness would be asked to live as the Harijans were concerned."

Shri Munuswami Pillai rightly described the day as a milestone day in the annals of the leadership of the province. It was so for many

means. The Bill passed into law shows a further confidence in our people towards complete independence, and if the Bill is given effect to properly and in the right spirit of non-violence, it may mean victory not only of the rest of the provinces of Madras but of the rest of India. The passing of the Bill also means the implementation of the pledge given by the Premier to some of the Sanyasins of Madras who wanted to leave quickly and whom the Premier had appealed to leave slowly, as he promised that proper legislation would be introduced before long. The passing of the Bill also means, I hope, the ending of the unfortunate differences between Shri Sanyasidattam and Rao Bahadur Ranga, who heartily supported the Bill and thanked the Premier, and at the conclusion of the proceedings went up to the Premier, shook hands with him, and said, "I shall swim with you." Surely we have to work in union with Congress who are working less than our best and best.

Bengal, 12-12-38

M. D.

H A R I J A N.

Vol. 17

1938

SOME QUESTIONS ANSWERED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

French have sent me two newspaper cuttings containing my appeal to the Jews. The two cuttings suggest that in recommending non-violence to the Jews as a remedy against the wrong done to them I have suggested nothing new, and that they have been practicing non-violence for the past two thousand years. Obviously, so far as these cuttings are concerned, I did not make my meaning clear. The Jews, so far as I know, have never practiced non-violence as an article of faith or even as a deliberate policy. Indeed, it is a serious question that their ancestors crucified Jesus. Are they not supposed to believe in me for an eye and tooth for a tooth? Have they no violence in their hearts for their oppressors? Do they not want the so-called democratic powers to punish Germany for her persecution and to deliver them from oppression? If they do, there is no non-violence in their hearts. Their non-violence, if it may be so called, is of the helpless and weak.

What I have pleaded for is non-cooperation of violence of the heart, and consequent active resistance of the hand generated by the great non-cooperation. One of the cuttings says that favourable public opinion is necessary for the working of non-violence. The writer is evidently thinking of passive resistance conceived as a weapon of the weak. I have drawn a distinction between passive resistance of the weak and active non-violent resistance of the strong. The latter can and does work in the teeth of the fiercest

oppression, but it ends in evoking the widest public sympathy. Sufferings of the non-violent have been known to mark the darkest hours. I make bold to say that if the Jews can summon to their aid the real power that comes only from non-violence, their Hitler will bow before the courage which he has never yet encountered in any large measure in his dealings with men, and which, when it is exhibited, he will own is infinitely superior to that shown by his best storm troops. The exhibition of such courage is only possible for those who have a living faith in the God of Truth and Non-violence, i. e. Love.

Of course, the critics can reasonably state that the non-violence preached by me is not possible for masses of mankind, it is possible only for the very few highly developed persons. I have combated that view and suggested that, given proper training and proper guidance, non-violence can be practised by masses of mankind.

I see, however, that my remarks are being misunderstood to mean that because I advise non-violent resistance by the persecuted Jews, for instance, I expect or would advise non-violence by the democratic powers on behalf of the Jews. I hardly need to answer the fear, surely there is no danger of the great powers relaxing from action because of anything I have said. They will, they are bound to, do all they can to free the Jews from the inhuman persecution. My appeal has force in the face of the fact that the great powers feel unable to help the Jews in an effective manner. Therefore it is that I have offered the prescription which I know to be reliable when taken in the right manner.

The most relevant criticism, however, which I have received is this. How do I expect the Jews to accept my prescription when I know that India, where I am myself working, where I call myself the self-appointed guard, has not accepted it as yet. My answer is, 'Should we say that we expect nothing? I belong to the category of the blessed, in this case at least. Having got the prescription and heard what of an efficacy, I felt that I would be wrong if I did not draw attention to it when I saw cases where it could be effectively applied.'

Hitherto I have refused to deal with European politics. My general position will remain the same. I presented my remedy almost as suggested to me in the case of Aliponam. The case of the Czechs and the Jews became more vivid to me than the case of the Aliponam. And I could not restrain myself from writing. Perhaps Dr. Khan was right when he said to me the other day that I must write more and more articles like those on the Czechs and the Jews, if only because they meet and me at the Indian struggle. He said that the West was never more prepared than now to listen to the message of non-violence.

Bengal, 9-12-38

THE HALF-YEARLY REPORT Of The Secretary of The Hindustani Talimi Sangh

May to November 1933

The activities of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh during the past six months can be divided mainly under the following heads:

1. Experiments in Basic Education and development of the technique of correlated teaching through the best crafts of spinning and card-board work,—has primarily through spinning.
2. Preparation of suitable educational literature.
3. Propaganda.
4. Taking necessary steps for the acceptance of the programme of Basic National Education in the seven Congress provinces.

1. Experiments in Basic Education

Valya Mander Training School Wardha. The first experimental centre where an attempt was made to put the scheme of basic education into practice was the Valya Mander Training School,—organised by the C P Government at Wardha and opened by Mahatma on April 21, 1933. The experimentation of the educational work of the institution was handed over entirely to the local members of the Sangh, and a tech-nique of co-ordinated teaching both for the training of pupil teachers and the teaching of children in the practical school is being evolved from the experience of day-to-day work, under the guidance of Vinobha. The two basic crafts selected for training are spinning with the table and card-board work. Careful and accurate records of the work of the pupil teachers and the children have been kept and can be used now as a basis for further research as experimental work. Some educational literature is also being prepared as the result of the experience of the past six months.

Training Centre—Jama Mela Idman, Delhi. The second institution to be opened was the teachers' training centre at Jama Mela Idman, Delhi, under the auspices of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh. The centre was opened on the 1st of August 1933 with 27 pupil teachers, both Hindus and Mussalman, representing different provinces and states, and the three basic crafts selected are (1) spinning, (2) gardening and (3) card-board and wood work. This experiment is being conducted under the direction of the president Dr. Zakir Husain, and Dr. Saad Anwar, M. A., P. B. D., has been placed in charge of the training institute.

Training Centre—Andhra Janya Kalashala, Madras. Another institution started not directly under the auspices but under the inspiration of the

Hindustani Talimi Sangh is the teachers training centre opened at the Andhra Janya Kalashala at Madras. This institution is unique in the fact that it was created entirely as the result of voluntary enthusiasm, and the students are all non-secondary. Sri Rajagopal Rao, I. A., who spent two months at Wardha in the Valya Mander Training School to study the practical working out of the scheme, has been placed in charge, and Dr. Parthasarathi Srinivasaya is taking a keen interest in the work.

The movement and atmosphere of the place are both very congenial as it is located in a rural area away from the town in the midst of a colony of warriors, and both the students and the teachers have taken up the experiment with enthusiasm as persons, in the great undertaking. The three basic crafts selected are agriculture, spinning and card-board work. There is also a basic school attached to the centre where the teaching is done entirely by the pupil teachers.

Training School, Panna. The fourth training centre of basic education in start work was the training school at Panna, which though an institution under the Bihar Government, has been working in close consultation with the Sangh. Two members of the staff, including the headmaster, attended the short course of training at Wardha and the Secretary and Smt. Asha Devi spent two days at Panna when the institution was started, to organise the students work in the light of the experience gained at the Valya Mander Training School. The two basic crafts selected are spinning and gardening, and the programme of work followed is so general that the same as in the Valya Mander Training centre.

Basic School. This is a regular training centre. The first basic school where this scheme was put into practice was not a rural but an urban school. The experiment was tried in the first two grades of both the Marathi and the Hindi version of the practising school at the Valya Mander Training School, and the results of this experiment carried out by the teachers of the practising school have been very encouraging both as regards efficiency in the basic craft selected, and the general development and adjustment of the children.

Another voluntary institution which deserves mention is a basic school recently opened in the village Thadar in the Mysore State—a village where intensive constructive work has been done

for a number of years by Congress workers. This experiment, which fills all the necessary conditions laid down in the report of the Zakir Husain Committee, was started by Shri Ramachandra Rao with the help of a few educators in Mysore who are interested in the introduction of basic national education in the state. Spinning has been adopted as the basic craft, as the village has already a good record of khadi work. Thirty children of seven years of age have been educated and the teachers have voluntarily agreed to keep the children in school for seven years, and there is every possibility of this experiment proving a success.

An experiment in basic education has also been started with the children of the first two grades of the district board school at the Begun village with spinning as the main as the basic craft. This experiment is being conducted in the headquarters under the direction of Shri Asha Devi and careful and complete records of the children's work and general development are being kept.

The short courses of the experiment started both as a result of Government action and of private enthusiasm, is an indication that basic education is no longer a theoretical scheme, but has begun to function in different parts of India as a practical programme of national education. The three basic crafts of spinning, gardening and craftwork have been accepted as mediums of instruction, and a technique of correlated teaching is being slowly evolved in the different experimental centres. The next step necessary is the coordination of these educational experiments and the preparation and publication of the necessary educational literature.

2. Literature

The first book published by the publication committee has been the report of the Zakir Husain Committee with the detailed syllabus under the title of *Basic National Education*. This book has passed through two editions, and the third edition in English and the Hindi and Urdu editions are in press. A new edition of the book with syllabus for new basic crafts is under consideration by the syllabus committee.

After the syllabus the next need felt was for handbooks, both general and special, for the guidance of teachers of basic education. To fulfil this need the following handbooks are being prepared by the publication committee and will, it is hoped, soon be published:

1. A complete handbook for teachers giving both the general principles underlying the new scheme of education and the specialized instruction necessary for correlated teaching—to be edited by Prof. E. G. Harjarian.

2. A handbook for teachers in spinning—to be written by Shri Vinodha.

3. A handbook for teachers on craftwork—to be written by Shri Laxminchandra Shukla.

4. A teachers' handbook in agriculture—to be written by S. R. Khan.

5. A programme of correlated studies for the first year of the basic course with spinning as the basic craft.

Besides these handbooks for teachers, the Shrihs also propose to publish from the 1st of January 1939 a monthly bulletin called the *Nai Talim* both in Hindi and Urdu. This will be the official organ of the Shrihs and will also help, it is hoped, in co-ordinating the work of the different experimental centres.

3. Propaganda

A certain amount of propaganda, though not much has been carried on by individual members of the Shrihs and also by the Secretary, through lectures, conferences and writings. It appears, however, from the heavy correspondence and the demand for literature that a certain amount of sustained and organized effort has been created in the movement, and what is necessary now is not propaganda, but an attempt to transform this interest into a constructive programme of work. A certain amount of educative propaganda, however, is still necessary to correct misunderstandings and maintain solid representations.

4. Steps Taken by Congress Governments

We next come to an account of the steps taken by the adoption of the scheme of basic education in the seven Congress provinces and the progress of the scheme in each province.

The first step taken in this direction was the meeting of the delegates appointed by the Hindustani Talim Shiksha with the Prime Minister at Ranchi on 12th May 1938. At this meeting the ministers expressed their willingness to introduce the scheme in their provinces, but requested their ability to do so through the lack of trained workers. The representatives of the Hindustani Talim Shiksha, therefore, undertook to take immediate steps for the training of provincial organisers and workers.

As a result of the conference a short training course was organised at Wardha for the educational officers and organisers from the Congress provinces from 15th to 30th June. Four provinces, viz., Bihar, Orissa, N. W. P. Province and Bombay, sent 15 delegates, and the staff of the C. P. Vidya Mandir Training School at Wardha also attended the course. The programme of work consisted of lectures by the local members of the Zakir Husain Committee, discussions, observations of teachers' work and practical work. At the end of this course a syllabus for an elementary course of teachers' training for six months was drawn up, and a programme of work for the introduction of basic education as an experimental scale was prepared and sent to the Education Ministers of the seven Congress provinces. Of these 15 delegates, the two sent by the Government of Bihar have been absorbed by the basic trained cadre,—one as the head,

master and the other as a member of the staff. Of the three deputed by the Government of Orissa—one, the principal of the training college, has been appointed a member of the basic education committee and is doing active work in connection with the introduction of the scheme, and another is undergoing further training at Wardha for taking up work as a supervisor. The two deputed by the Bombay Government have returned to their respective duties. It is to be hoped that they will be utilised by the Government in the three basic training schools proposed to be opened from January 1940. The four officers deputed by the N. W. F. Government, on their return, submitted individual reports on the machinery of the scheme of basic education for the N. W. F. Province, and the steps necessary for its introduction as an experimental measure in the province. The Government has taken no official action on their reports to our knowledge, so far, but the delegates have kept in touch with the headquarters, and have been doing some propaganda work for the scheme in their private capacity.

The following is a short account of the progress of basic education in each Congress province during the last six months.

Central Province. C. P. was the first province to take action in this direction. In March 1938, a syllabus committee was appointed to draw up a syllabus in keeping with the resolution of the Haripur Congress on national education, both for children and for the training of teachers. With Dr. Zakir Husain as President and the Secretary of the Taluk Singh as one of its members, the committee has completed its report which will soon be published. In the meanwhile an interim syllabus was published and a training centre was opened on April 25 with 100 students. This institution with the attached pre-training school was the first experimental centre where the principles of basic education through textbooks was put into practice. The training course has been extended further for the two months of November and December, while school buildings and equipment are being got ready for the opening of the Vidya Mandir. It is hoped that 100 schools will be ready by the end of December and will start work with the new year. The next proposal is to turn the training school into a training centre for all the normal school teachers in the province, and then transform all the normal schools in the province into basic training schools as soon as possible.

A committee consisting of C. P. educational officers and local members of the Hindustani Taluk Singh has been formed by the Government to guide the work of the training school at Wardha.

Bihar. An education reorganisation committee was appointed by the Government, to consider the re-organisation of education in all its branches. Three members of the Hindustani Taluk Singh are on the committee. This committee has not yet

completed its work. In the meanwhile preliminary steps have been taken for the introduction of basic education. A training centre with 60 students and eight teachers, has been started in the training school, Patna, for a six months' emergency training course, and a compact area has been selected for experiment in the District of Champaran, Darbhanga where 20 basic schools will be started from March 1939.

Orissa. A conference of Congress workers, non-official educationalists, and members of the Education Department was called on 11th September at Bhubaneswar and meant for introducing the scheme of basic education in the province as an experimental measure, and the Secretary was requested to attend the conference.

As a result of this conference, a basic education committee consisting of both official and non-official members has been appointed by the Government, with Shri Gopabandhu Choudhury as president, to take the necessary steps for the introduction of basic education in the province, and a permanent basic education officer has been appointed to act as the secretary of the committee. Seven workers have been selected by the Government and sent to Wardha for six months' training as training school teachers and supervisors. One of the party is Shri. Anantapada Choudhury, the daughter of Shri Gopabandhu Choudhury, the only lady teacher undergoing training.

A training school with one year's course will be opened in April 1939, and 25 basic schools will be opened in April 1940 in a selected compact area.

United Provinces. The U. P. Government appointed a committee to consider the reorganisation of education in all its branches, and two members of the Singh—the President and Ashwari Nathulal—were members of the committee. The report of the committee is not yet available. It appears, however, that the principle of education through a basic handbook has been accepted for the seven years of basic education.

In the meanwhile two training centres for training teachers of basic education have been started, one for men teachers at Allahabad, and the other for women teachers at Benares. To the knowledge of the Hindustani Taluk Singh, no other steps have been taken regarding the introduction of basic education in the province.

Bombay. The Bombay Government appointed several committees for the reorganisation of education. The Secretary was invited to represent the scheme of basic education before the committee on national education. Otherwise, there has been no representation of the Singh on any of the committees. The reports are now published and given in their usual form with the report of the Zakir Husain Committee.

The Government deputed five normal school teachers for the short training course at Wardha, and has recently appointed a basic education

continue with a permanent office on special duty for the introduction of basic education as an experimental measure in the three linguistic areas of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Karnataka.

The Secretary of the committee and the Deputy Secretary to the Education Department have both visited the headquarters to discuss the plans for the introduction of basic education in the province. The Government proposes to open three training centres in the three linguistic areas for a six months' temporary course and to open 30 basic schools in three selected compact areas in the three linguistic provinces from August 1939.

A local board school in village Thana, Dist. Kaira, has been handed over to Shri Narsinh Parikh, a member of the Sangh, in September 1938, as an experimental centre in basic education, and all necessary expenditure has been sanctioned by Government.

Mahar. The Government has deputed three trained teachers including the headmaster of a training school to inaugurate 2 months' training at Wardha, for November and December 1938, and proposes to open a training centre for a six months' training course from January 1939.

Shri C. I. Varley, Parliamentary Secretary to His Minister for Education, recently visited Wardha to study the practical experiment of basic education being conducted in the Valva Munda Training School.

Statement of Account of the Maharashtra Taluk Sangh, Sangli, for the half year ended the 31st October, 1938.

Receipts		Expenditure	
Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.
54,202	0 2	Subscriptions.	
		Rs. 14,000 Through Grants.	
		" 5,800 Govt. grs. conv. by	
		Dear Allowances.	
		" 305 Miscellaneous	
		Rs. 20,105	
102	2 2	Returned from Grants: Sangli, Wardha	
19	2 0	Maintenance.	
1,100	14 6	Grants credited and balance accounts.	
55,423	4 0		

North West Frontier Province. The North West Frontier Government deputed four delegates to the short training course at Wardha. To our knowledge, it has taken no other steps for the introduction of basic education in the province.

Kashmir. Besides these Congress provinces, valuable work for the introduction of basic education has been done in the case of Kashmir under the able guidance of Prof. Sargison, the person D. P. I. An education reorganisation committee appointed has completed its work and the report will soon be available. A two weeks' selection course was arranged by the Education Department for a select group of teachers and officers of the Department with the object of acquainting them with the principles, methods and philosophy of basic education, and a training school has recently been started to train teachers of basic education.

§ Headquarters and Staff

The headquarters have been shifted from November 1 to the village Sapeon, District Wardha, C. P., and the permanent staff at present consists of Shri E. W. Arjunayyasham, Secretary and Shri. Asha Devi, Secretary, Publication Committee.

The progress of basic national education during the past six months has fully justified our expectations. What is necessary now is trained workers and intelligent co-operation from the general public and these in control of area and province education.

Receipts		Expenditure	
Rs.	P.	Rs.	P.
6,006	2 0	Investment in Govt. grs. notes.	
181	14 8	With the Bank of Mysore	
6,187	12 8	Balance.	
423	5 0	Office furniture and equipment.	
148	7 0	Library	
174	12 3	Salaries	
884	3 3	Traveling Expenses.	
117	7 0	Propaganda	
280	6 3	Stationery, postage and printing.	
1,000	0 0	Grant to Jyoti Mili Trust, Cawnpore, Delhi	
1,147	0 0	Grants received and balance accounts.	
9,091	11 0	Cost on hand.	
17,671	0 0		

Sangli, 4-23-38

E. W. Arjunayyasham
Secretary

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RED TAPE

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

A distinguished Indian, who had been visiting ministers Kher and Munda working at breakneck speed, told me the other day how they wanted to have died, and warned me that the nation would have them before their time, if I did not prevent them from overworking themselves. I wish I had the influence over them which the dead could not wish. If I had, I would certainly prevent them from committing suicide by action. What applies to these two ministers applies to the others. A few days after the visitor, came a high official who has been specially entrusted with responsible work by Shri Kher. He said, "I want to thank Shri (of course he used 'Me') Kher's executives. But I do not know how I am to give him satisfaction. I believe I have always been a conscientious worker and kept myself busy. But now since the advent of the Congress ministry our work has increased. For they put themselves no rest and give us none. The result is an ever-increasing pile of files. It is almost impossible to clear the desk from day to day. And now I have been given work which demands thinking out and planning. I spent weeks. And I do not know what to do with these files." I promptly answered, "Burn them." I meant it too.

The third visitor, who followed quickly after the second, was a secular friend. He said "We are much overworked. Your article on the walk-out has added to the misunderstanding. I assure you we want to help, not to hinder, the Congress work and the ministers reserved to ourselves the right of administrative autonomy. But look at our difficulty. There is the Karachi resolution and the Congress manifesto. We honestly feel that the promises made in these about economic relief are not being fully carried out. I do not want to undertake the Congress ministers' difficulties. But even otherwise, with the problem won't do. There are forces at work which no one can stop. Advantage is being taken of the situation to put up the masses against the Congress. The masses have the vote. They are becoming otherwise conscious of their power. And if we do not take care, the Congress may one fine morning discover that it had let its hold (at least temporarily) on the masses."

I agreed in passing with the friend and I said, "The reason for despatchism is plain to me. You have a philosophy of your own. The Congress ministries today are not of the secular line. They are supposed to be of the Gandhian line, whatever it may mean. Now, yours is a clear-cut programme. You have instructions to go by. But I myself do not know what is the Gandhian line. I am relying on my untrained ear. I have to take frequent soundings. If such is my pitiable condition, the ministers' is much worse. They are so tied down to Red Tape that they have no time to think. They have

no time to see me or discuss things with me and, what is more or worse, knowing their condition, I have no heart to refuse even letters on them. And I want not speak at them through the columns of Harijan."

I have touched on many topics in the foregoing paragraph. But my main purpose in this article is to deal with Red Tape. If the ministers are to cope with their new responsibility, they must discover the art of burning Red Tape. The old order could only live by and on Red Tape. It will strangle the new order. The ministers must see people on whose goodwill alone they can trust. They must listen to petty and obscure complaints. But they need not keep a record of all these or the letters they receive nor even of all the decisions they give. They have only to keep sufficient record to rethink their necessity and to preserve continuity of promise. Much of the departmental correspondence must cease. The ministers are not responsible to the India Office several thousand miles away. They are responsible to the millions of their masters who do not know what Red Tape is and care little. Many of them can't read and write, but they have primary wants to be fulfilled. They have been accustomed by Congressmen to think that immediately the Congress comes into power there won't be a better world in all India nor a pecked pigeon who wants to cross himself. The ministers have to give their time and thought to such problems, if they are to do justice to the trust they have undertaken. If they are of the so-called Gandhian line, they must find out what it is, not from me but from within by searching inward. I may not always know what it is. But I do know that if it is properly envisaged and followed, it is rational and revolutionary enough to modify all the real wants of India. The Congress is a revolutionary body. Only an revolution is to be distinguished from all the other political revolutions known to history. Whereas the previous ones have been based on violence, this one is deliberately non-violent. If it was violent, probably much of the old forms and practices would have been retained. But, for the Congress most of the old forms and practices are taboo. The most potent is the police and the military. I have admitted that so long as Congressmen are in office and they cannot discuss peaceful ways and means of preserving order they are bound to make use of both. But the question ever present before the ministers must be, is such use admissible, and if it is, who is it to? If, as a result of their enquiry, —not after the old style, costly and slow, after that not useful, but an enquiry costing less thorough and effective—they find that they cannot run the State without the aid of the police and the military, it is the clearest possible sign, in terms of non-violence, that the Congress should give up office and again wander in the wilderness in search of the Holy Grail.

Bhavnagar, 9-12-38

IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE IX

"Where there is no knowledge of the past,
There is no vision of the future."

—Khalil Gibran

Taichia

(1)

Gandhi's rounded off his tour of the Frontier Province by a visit to the ruins of Taichia before returning at the railway station of that name for Wuzhu. And most appropriately too before the tour of the Frontier Province would have been incomplete without a, if I may write of the closest connection with Buddhahood and his Khanda Khudwasas were needed to bring home the fact that the non-violence movement of the Khanda Khudwasas is not a mere superficial movement or a temporary and passing phase, but is an organic development arising as more necessity of their moral existence, it needed a visit to Taichia to dispel another notion which is all too universal about the Far East. It has been objected by some critics that non-violence is but a mere growth in the North Western Frontier with but little chance for flowering in that corruptible soil. It is little realized that for over one thousand years, the flower of Buddhism flourished in these parts as all we possess glory. The whole of the West and the Kabul river valley and the region beyond and across Afghanistan right up to Khanda is even today across thick with the remains of Stupa, monasteries and palaces, and similar Buddhist sites that tell their own tale. It was by way of Taichia and Gandhara that Northern Buddhism spread to China. And when the present-day Khanda Khudwasas upon the pledge of non-violence in thought, word and deed, be it only following in the footsteps of his forbears who meditated over the meaning of "with all this" is the clustered peace of the ancient university town of Takshashila in the company of the Chinese pilgrim students who flocked there from across the Gobi Desert.

Thanks to the labours of Sir John Marshall and the amateur archaeologists like Conradi, Delmonch and Cunningham before him, we can take a leap across the centuries and with a little imagination connect to ourselves in all its vivid and colourful detail the most fascinating page in the history of the Frontier Province. Twenty miles from north-west of Rawalpindi and immediately to the east and north-west of the railway junction of Taichia are the three distinct ruins, the remains of ancient Takshashila as it was rebuilt and shifted from place to place in the course of time. There is a mention of Takshashila in Mahabharata in connection with the serpent sacrifice of Janamejaya. Arrian has referred to it as a great and flourishing university town—"the greatest school of all the cities which lay between the Indus and Hydaspes (Jhelum) and famous at that time and during the

centuries immediately following, for its arts and sciences of the day."

Indian and Siring

In addition to these three city sites there are a number of detached monuments, mainly Buddhist Stupa and monasteries, that are scattered over the face of the country. Of these Gandhara visited the remains of the Buddhist monastery at Indian, Perched on the top of a hill 300 feet high, this monastery at one time provided an ideal retreat to the members of the Buddhist Sangha and student pilgrims who had pledged themselves "to abstain altogether and live laborious days". Its dominating position on the hill with its wide exposure of view its calm isolation, and its "cool and quietness" no man here appealed unreservedly to the aesthetic sense of these people who regarded free contemplation with nature as its unclouded and unimpeded freedom as an essential aid to meditation. The monument consists of a monastery and with it two Stupa courts on different levels. The Stupa courts are open quadrangles with small cloisters and avenues running about its sides, and intended to serve as dormers for each僧人 in the monastery upon the open quadrangle is surrounded by ranges of small cells for meditation and study. One can hear the laughter of these people as they walked their food their refectory, bathhouse, the walls at the bottom of the hill from where they looked down, and the path by which they used to lead to the contiguous town of Brachia to obtain what is the cells may be seen the earliest pots and cups for drinking water left just as they were used by the monks two thousand years ago. Some of the finest and best preserved specimens of Gandhara art are to be found in the monastery.

A short distance from it are the excavated remains of Siring, the second of the three city sites where Takshashila successively stood in the early years of the 3rd century B.C. It is surrounded by a square wall 6,000 yards in its circumference and from 25 to 30 feet thick. Up hill and down dale it comprises enclosing within its perimeter three walled and perpendicular ridges of the Harpal river, besides an isolated flat-topped hill. The city according to Greek accounts was as big as Nisibis and contained a temple of the Sun and a royal palace. It is laid out on a symmetrical plan. The streets are narrow and irregular after the style of Greek cities of those days. And the houses, we are told, had the appearance of being one-storied, but had in reality basement rooms under ground. In 400 A.D. Fa Hien found the walls as well as the great Buddhist monasteries almost still relatively vigorous and flourishing. The Buddhist arts and culture reached their zenith in the period of the Mauryan Empire and fell before the ruthless and wanton destruction of white Huns about 450 A.D.

The Living Past

Visiting these remains after a visit of the ruins in the museum that have been

recovered from these misadventures, one could easily picture to oneself in all its rampancy down the life that the people who once changed these wandering streets and inhabited these dwellings lived—the clothes they wore, the food and food and drink they ate from or used for cooking. The golden money, pouring dala and big earthen stumps just from 3 to 4 feet high which were found in potteries and stoves were so nearly like their counterparts in the Indian villages today that, if surreptitiously released, they would defy detection. In the museum one found clay cups and toy soldiers and models, but as it was, from scenes of the ancient lands they played with them, and which any village child today would most surely have stolen away from him, while the music and the rest of the paraphernalia that were employed in the performance of domestic ceremonies seemed so familiar as to make one feel that if by a trick of H. G. Wells's time machine one could jump into one of these households while their ceremonies were proceeding, one could take part in them without any feeling of strangeness. Even their little houses have been handed down to us in the form of models, murals, scenes and such other articles of value, may spend regular hours and college and school and gold and silver jewelry. "Just like what my mother used to wear," exclaimed Gurdip, with an affectionate sigh, as a pair of heavy silver anklets was shown to him by the curator.

Early of the Greeks

What were the thoughts that these people thought, the beliefs they held, the customs and ceremonies that regulated their society? Xenophanes, Aeschylus and other Greek writers, who accompanied or followed in the wake of Alexander's march, have left a contemporaneous account of the laws and customs and ceremonies into which the Hellenic doctrine of non-violence blossomed forth. Here individual freedom occupied a central place in the social order. "Of several, considerable customs existing among the Indians," records Aeschylus, "there is one prescribed by the ancient philosophers which one may regard as truly admirable. For the law ordains that no one among them shall, under any circumstances, be a slave but that, enjoying freedom themselves, they shall respect the equal rights to it which all possess. For those, they thought, who have learned neither to dishonor one nor change as others will when the life has adapted for all necessities of life, for it is fair, fair and reasonable to increase laws which bind all equally, while allowing property to be unequally distributed."

Special care was taken of foreigners and strangers and their status was equally protected with those of native citizens. Officers were appointed whom duty it was to see that no foreigner was wronged. "Should any of them lose health, they and physicians to attend him and take care of him otherwise, and if he dies they

bury him, and deliver over such property as he leaves to his relatives. The judges also decide cases in which foreigners are concerned with the natives and make laws chiefly on those who take under advantage of them."

Some High Lights

Many was unknown and complicated legislation, suggested for by the law. "The Indians," says one of the classical texts recorded by Ma Chiao, "neither put out money at usury, nor know how to borrow. It is contrary to established usage for an Indian either to do or suffer a wrong, and therefore they neither make contracts nor require securities."

And this another fragment: "Among the Indians, one who is unable to secure a loan or a deposit has no remedy at law. All the contract can do is to blame himself for trusting a rogue."

The practice of medicine was fairly common, but women alone, particularly of a concubine nature, was regarded as an unbecoming and corruption of the flesh to be restrained by self-control. Kallisto, the Indian sage, who fell from grace and accompanied Alexander on his march back from India, having got across dryness found himself to death by succumbing to a fatal germ in spite of the Macedonian's personal medicine. "Cure," we are further told, "were effected rather by restraining diet than by the use of medicines. The remedies most esteemed were opium and plaster. All others were considered to be of a great measure pernicious."

While fighting was not altogether abolished, it was restricted according to the warrior class. The odorous class, which was "the most numerous than the others," was exempted from fighting and other public warfare. Nor would any woman coming upon a husband's or his work on his land, do him any harm, the men of this class being regarded as public benefactors, are protected from all injury. The best then remaining uncovered and producing heavy crops, supplies the abundance with all the resources to make life enjoyable.

What a remarkable echo this of the following by Kerytus about the post-day Persian Persians: "When fighting amongst each other, the Persians of these parts never interfere with or repeat the habits of each other, nor do they spare their women or children, or their parents or strangers within their gates, and such might serve as an example to nations having claim to a higher state of civilization."

Far away in Panchajanya Kerytus the same, not, repeated from his birthplace of Persia, appeared an economic order that was based upon the principle of "unto the law." Hear the following from his *Archaeology*: "Those women who do not see out of their houses, those whose husbands are given abroad and those who are orphans, or girls men, when obliged to work for their subsistence, be provided with work (spinning our threads)

in the country through the medium of maid servants of weaving establishments. These women who can present themselves in the weaving looms shall as soon be enabled to exchange their spinning the wags. Only so much light as be enough to weave the threads shall be kept. If the superintendent looks at the faces of such women or talks about any other work, he shall be punished with the fine announced. Delay in rearing the water shall be punished with uttermost consequence likewise when wages are paid for work that is not completed."

Teas for Today

About half a century later Teas came under the operation of Ambedkar's edicts, some of which can be seen today at Shillongpore. Here are a few passages from them which might well serve as leading texts for the masses of the north today.

"The practice of virtue is difficult, but those who practice virtue perform what is difficult." "To do evil is easy." "I therefore punish after my appointment I have created enemies of religion (saints). They are with Warden and with Brahmins, with the rich and the poor and the aged, the Yarnant, the Goodness and with other (saint) persons. They bring obstacles to him who is in letters, to remove his obstacles and deliver him, because he has family to support, because he has been victim of death, and because he is best with me."

The following is about administration of public justice.

"This is what I have done. At all seasons, during meals, during repose, in the outer apartments, in the sacred chamber, in my rooms in the garden, everywhere, allows returned with information about the affairs of my people come to me, and I dispatch the answers relating to my people. Thus I have directed that wherever there is a division, a quarrel, or the assembly of the clergy, it should always be reported to me, for there cannot be too much activity employed in the administration of justice." "In momentary activity and the proper administration of justice like the rest of public good." "All my endeavours have been for the welfare, — to pay the debt due to my people."

Here is a passage of a Preamble policy to our ruler Navar was it could mean badly than under

"It is with the object that the religious scriptures has been received in order that our men and problems may not think that conquest by the sword deserves the name of conquest, that they may see it as nothing but destruction and violence," that the established borders should not be changed at all, that they should that we should receive from our lawgivers, our justice."

And the grandeur of all these the following about religious tolerance

"It is true the preachers of essential virtues differ in different sects. But there is a common base and that is goodness and moderation in language. Thus one should not seek one's own sect and deny the others. One should not despise them without cause, but should render them as every creature the favour that they deserve. Seeking thus, one promotes the welfare of one's own sect while serving others. Serving otherwise one does not serve his own sect and thus deserves to be shamed. And showing less attachment to his own sect and with a view to promote it, seeks it and denies others, only dishonours himself to his own sect. Hence contented with a sentiment, to that all sects and how to bear the belief of each others."

Finally, let me give the following text which all votaries of Hindu-Muslim unity and co-existence will do well to ponder

"The program of religion among men is secured in two ways, by positive rules, and by religious sentences which one can inspire in them. Of these two methods, that of positive rules is of poor value, it is the expression in the heart that best prevails. Positive rules cannot be what I prefer, — when, for instance, I prohibit the slaughter of certain animals or lay down other religious rules as I have done to a large number. But it is wholly by a change in the sentiments of the heart, that religion makes a real advance in acquiring a respect for life. It is with this view that I have promulgated the scriptures, in order that it may induce for my own and my grandson." "For, by following the path one reaches happiness here below, and in the other world. Whichever the Holy word, on pillars of stone, let it induce with minute care."

To which we can only say 'Amen'.

Separa, 11-12-38

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CONTENTS

Page

REPLY TO GERMAN CHURCH	M. K. Gandhi	361
WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION ON STATES		363
ADVICE TO THIRUVARUR STATE Congress	M. K. Gandhi	367
CHANGING OF THE FORTUNE	M. D.	369
SHORT QUESTIONS ANSWERED	M. K. Gandhi	369
FOR TAMIL	M. K. Gandhi	369
IN THE FORTRESS PROVINCE—IX	Prasadi	373
NOTE:		
HINDU MUSLIM UNITY	M. K. G.	383
RECEIVING SUPPLEMENT		1-4



HARIVAR

Editor: MANADIV DESAI

Under the direction of The Harivar Book Shop

16 Pages

VOL. VI, No. 45

POONA - SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1933

[TWO ANNAS]

NON-VIOLENCE THE ONLY WAY

(By Richard Gregg)

[I share with the reader the following letter from Mr. Gregg the author of several books on peace and non-violence. He is an international and economic student of world events. The reader may know that Mr. Gregg was in India long enough to study these books. M. K. G.]

Those two articles of yours in *Harivar* on the Czechoslovak situation, and denouncing war in Europe have my entire agreement and approval. I am sorry that there are still members of the Working Committee who think that freedom of any group or nation could be won by bargaining to prevent violence. Can they not see that the hour when the British Empire goes to rest, fascism becomes established in every corner of it by virtue of the experience of modern totalitarian war, and that democracy is never voluntarily abandoned, no matter what the promises may be at the start? In view of the myriads of violated promises during the last half-century of the World War, how can they believe that a promise gladly given by a group in danger of its life, can possibly be fulfilled when its fulfillment means death? The kind of change of heart you seek by Sayings could hardly take place in such an atmosphere of fear and hatred.

The spectacle of what is happening in Europe does not at the last open my faith in non-violence. All that has happened in the past seventy years points up to the fact that violence does not win anything worth while, and that wherever it prevails it makes unstable. Who ever has won the World War,—the Allies or Germany? Who believes that the conditions now being established in Germany and the east of Central Europe by means of violence will be permanent? Nor can Japan create stable conditions in China by her present tactics.

Modern war is very different from even that of 1844-45. The use of airplane bombing with high explosives, incendiary and poison gas, plus non-aircraft guns, means that the bombers have to fly so high that they cannot aim accurately. Hence, modern war is not only vastly more destructive, it is also vastly more indecent in its methods. In former wars the women, children and aged were mostly unharmed and at home, and able to carry on most of the fabric of

normal life. Now they are even more defenceless than the soldiers. There are no longer any front line trenches. Everyone is, in effect, on the trenches. A war general always kept certain troops in reserve, and never threw them all into battle. But modern nations are compelled to throw the entire nation into danger of destruction. There may be no reserve to rely on, and no established civilization after a modern war.

A modern thousand bomb cannot be quenched by water. It burns at a temperature of about 2800 degrees and melts its way through steel beams and other sides of solid concrete casemates. Not even Japan has shown the full horror of modern war. Incendiary bombs have been used three only times, probably as an experiment by the Germans, and gas bombs not at all. The Germans developed a new and terrible form of attack from the sea, in which the planes rose to a great height of about 20,000 feet where they were invisible from the ground, and at a distance of about 35 miles from the city they were coming in, they shut off their engines, thus becoming scarcely seen and impossible of detection by even the most delicate sound scanners. They crossed the 35 miles and dropped high explosive bombs upon the city of Brestle without the slightest warning. I have seen photographs of the results. Deliberate massacres among that form of attack are absolutely modern. Modern war is not men fighting against men, it is men, women and children exposed to the random violence of machines and chemicals. To pretend to fight that is not humanity has utter folly. I do not mean to pile on the horrors. I mean to point out that Sayings is the only weapon left. Science and machinery have really ended nations. Some stupid people say we can win it and say my mother European war. It will only result in destruction such that only the humble duck-shaped men and women will be left to carry on the torch of human culture. Nothing worth while can be defended or maintained or promoted by modern war.

I pray that you may be able to keep India out of internal war whatever. It is only possible to help you with some unorganized friends. I am sending you a little book by a distinguished British scholar, Bernard Russell. It is called *Which Way To Peace?* Is it to be first war, then the return of modern war mostly

by quotations from the experts. Then he proceeded to run each of the proposed ways out,—collective security, independence, alliances, the policy of expediency, want of principle,—that is, want for democracy, to and war, to and fascism, to promote any given political principle. His analysis is clear and expert. Against his will he was driven to the conclusion that complete pacifism is the only possible practical policy. He does not develop the possibilities of Saragolish at all, nor leaves the matter there. And he is not a religious man at all, and is far more generous about human nature than you or I. I remained at so you is a brilliant and thorough piece of analysis, and likely to be helpful to you if you are going to discuss this topic further.

I have also read and agree with your article "What Are Some Assumptions in History of October 22. Let me tell you how modern scientific methods have acquired knowledge which backs up the faith of a Saragolish.

A great English neurologist named G. Elliot Smith and his followers and collaborators have deeply studied the evolution of the human brain and nervous system and compared it diligently with the corresponding evolution of the nervous system of animals. It has been proved beyond doubt that man is the only animal in whom the nerves of sensation do not end in the lower nerve centers along the spine, nor in the lower portion of the brain called the cerebellum which controls all involuntary movements, nor even in a further advanced part of the brain called the corpus striatum, but go on through and past these to cerebrum, the true part of the brain where we do our thinking. Also, in connection with the first, involuntary system, as distinguished from involuntary conscious movements, is situated also in the cerebrum, the part where we do our thinking. This second fact is proved not only by the anatomy of the nerves, but also by the fact that the human baby, as distinguished from the young of most animals, cannot walk at birth but has to wait in patience and often until it acquires an unreflected pattern of walking. After we learn how to walk we do not despise that doorway to our lower nerve centers it will sometimes in activity of the cerebrum, even though baby makes its control unconscious user of the same. This is proved by the fact that when that part of the cerebrum is organically and physically injured by an accident to the head or by degenerative disease there, then such a person can no longer walk, even though all the rest of his brain and nervous system is sound.

From this I deduce the conclusion that by his very anatomy, by the structure of his nervous system (in which all men of 'all races and nations are alike), man is compelled to seek the truth, to find what will work in his life here on earth with other men, to learn all the subtle forces as well as the obvious and readily observed forces that play upon and control our mortal life.

No doctor can choose human anatomy. It means of course that, since man is thus controlled by his thinking, if he makes an unreflected error, it may mean appalling losses and suffering. But it also means that to consider what doctors may come upon him, man has to pick himself up and search on again for a more complete and accurate vision of the truth. Man's spiritual nature and his emotional nature are also a part of the truth. Nietzsche and Freud have the same nervous system as democracy or communism. To me this gives a further strong basis for optimism, and for faith in Saragolish. I submitted the dedication of mine to a distinguished physician who is in close touch with all the modern research in the and other medical fields, and he not only thought my conclusion was right, although he preferred to state it in terms of a very high degree of probability, just as cautious scientists are now using the law of gravity only as a very high degree of probability.

By way of historical examples of the Saragolish's faith that non-violence will be effective even against people trained in modern military ideas, it is interesting to know that the few Quakers in Germany have been mistreated with less than any other religious group, apparently because the German people remember still with gratitude the relief work of the Quakers toward the Germans during the war-torn days of the Allied blockade after the war. Also I have read in the actual history of a prisoner in a Nazi prison, who later escaped, that a great service rendered by one of the prisoners to the Storm Trooper guards of the prison resulted later in their secretly saving his life when he was being turned by the officers in charge of the prison.

While it has not yet been tested for a whole nation, I believe that disciplined Saragolish by a considerable number of people in a nation can win its freedom, and with this method can go on to build a better civilization for mankind to emulate and thereby save the world.

It seems to me that the Western nations are mistaken in condemning Germany with such moral indignation, for Germany's deeds now are the natural result of the way the Allies treated Germany during and after the war, by such methods as the nine months' naval blockade of Germany which caused the death by starvation of nearly a million German children and women, and similar starvation in Austria, and the impossible financial exactions levied as pretended punishment on Germany, and all the other wrongs committed that Germany alone caused the war, and the humiliation of many other wrongs forced upon her and her leaders. It has caused in Germany a loss of moral feelings and shaking aimed at insanity. It is both as well as wrong to condemn an entire people for his sins, especially if I have caused his insanity. A Chinese proverb says that a wise person sees other people as he makes Germany is the mirror held up to the Allies, in which.

after a lapse of time, they are using the reflection of the evil within themselves. They read with horror, but their hearts, if it was understood, would be directed at their own dehumanities and dehumanities.

To jump to another aspect of the European situation, a number of keen observers, both in America and in Geneva, have missed from reading the British White Paper and comparing it with Lord Runciman's speeches and other stories in the news that they believe that two weeks before Hitler's Nuremberg speech, Runciman had told British German leaders that he was going to recommend to Chamberlain that Czechoslovakia should be demembered and that this was unacceptable to Hitler, who then knew that Chamberlain was tied to what Runciman would advise, so that Hitler knew that he could demand war and compel Chamberlain to yield. Without all the supporting evidence which I do not have space here to add, that may seem like an unbelievable state of affairs. I can say assuredly, however, that the great majority of American opinion is that the British Tory Party believe that if Hitler's passage was severely shaken or he were defeated in a war, Germany would have a revolution and become Communist and that Communism would turn the British ruling class more than Moscow or France. Therefore Chamberlain was ready to do anything to avoid war. That is, that the Tory party has put its class interest above its imperial interests, and has compelled France to follow suit. I look for a long period of black reaction in England and France.

To put the matter in another form, it seems to me probable that the modern methods and weapons of war have threatened the safety of the ruling classes as much as that of the masses, both directly because of the indestructibility of modern weapons, and indirectly because of the much greater danger of revolution and destruction of civilization by war. The weapons will be kept as a means to control the masses (an English girl who was in London at the time of the war told me that the panic in the last kind of London because of that of an raid was unusually great, though of course no machine was allowed to be made in the papers). The means of control can be made to adopt any sort of measures under the guise of protection against the rule. If the weapons are used, they will be turned not against another class but against the working class. Capitalism is in its period of decline and is desperate. As long as violence is threatened, the holders of power will do nothing to keep their position of relative control, even though it means a general impoverishment in which they are share. Only by means of full-fledged Dictatorship, can they be saved, I believe.

Well, you can see that I do not have much hope for Western civilization, Your beliefs are going to be proved true much faster than

anyone conceived likely. Your programme of Sarayanda, Khash, Harjan reform, Hindu-Muslim unity, village education, and general education through handicrafts, is not only absolutely sound, it is the hope of India, and the hope of the world. For there is coming a great economic breakdown in the West which will make India as much needed there as it is in India.

Because of these beliefs I want to write this additional book on which I am now working as an attempt to develop suggestions for methods of training in non-violence better than any possible, answering questions and doubts of the programme, introducing the philosophy and the methods, and showing the importance of manual work. It cannot cover it all, but as in the other programme, I am trying to put it all in Western terminology and concepts. In the chapters of former modes of sentiment and action, I believe there is very good seed for a few new philosophies of a better way of moral living and the way shows how to bend it about. Action in Western literature is necessary for this writing. I hope that such a book could be useful in India as well as in the West.

Perhaps I am mistaken, perhaps I am deceiving myself, but anyhow for this purpose I am trying to live, taking a risk of possible moral harm to myself, and a risk that you may break out and prevent my getting this written or published. If I am mistaken I will pay for it in my own and increasing misadventures.

I do want to come again to India to see if I can help there. I cannot dominate myself from India, nor do I want to. Believing as I do that your movement is the hope of the entire world, I feel that as soon as I can get this book done I can themselves help into my own country last by trying to help strengthen the movement in India. Just how soon I can get away, I cannot tell. I want to see you and be with you again. Please say to me that I do not mean instantly. I am trying to use my abilities for you in the best way I can see, be much unable and suffering come from people being unable to think clearly on these problems. I am trying to clarify thoughts.

I have a number of ideas as to how possibly I might be of use after I get there, but they would all be subject to the needs as they actually are at that time. Even if I could not help much I would like to be there.

A Correction

In the last issue of Harjan, on p. 378, Col. 1, line 3, read "non-violence" instead of "independence".

The Power of Non-Violence

(By Richard Gregg)

A book which has interested many in the West to non-violence.

Price Rs. 1, Poshis 7 Ann. 4-10.

Which Way to Peace?

By Herbert Read

Price Rs. 3-3-6, Poshis 4 Ann. extra.

Available at Harjan Office—Page 4

Notes

Complaint against Congressmen

I have a letter from the Bangor Khadi Bhandar and another from Kanpur, complaining that Congress committees have certified khadi which was discredited by the A. I. S. A. There is no doubt whatsoever as to the truth of the complaint. I have copies of the certificates issued by two Congress bodies. Congress committees should know that these certificates are forged. The only authority that can issue certificates about khadi is the A. I. S. A. No Congress committee has been, or can be, given the right unless the Congress resolution concerning the A. I. S. A. is changed.

There is no such thing as certified khadi. It is impossible to certify every piece and every article made of khadi only shops and persons can be authorized to sell khadi approved by the A. I. S. A. The original definition of khadi has been broadened to cover an elaborate wage for the manufacturers of khadi. Those who sell any khadi deprive khadi workers of the wage that the A. I. S. A. has, of its own accord, created for them. Let it not be said of any Congressman and Congress committee that they are interfering with the vast experiment in nation-building that the A. I. S. A. is conducting and which bids fair to put life and lustre in the dried bodies of millions of natives whose no agency comes even now nor yet day I hope, declares, that the Congress committees and Congressmen will not only not interfere with the work of the A. I. S. A., but will give them full-hearted co-operation in numerous organizations of the A. I. S. A., especially in the sale of khadi. If there was a world-wide increasing demand, it would be possible to provide constructive work in every remote area.

Sepora, 18-12-59

"Hindustani" Only

A Madras friend who calls himself an old Congress worker says:

"The Times of India, in its issue of the 13th September last, published an abstract of your article from the *Herald* under the caption 'Congressmen's Heavens! The angry expression you have given of the passion caused by the anti-Mohd agitation in Madras and the use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act is remarkably accurate. I have no doubt that the word *agitation* you have chosen in the agitation will go a long way in misjudging them and that they will be brought round to the right way of thinking. But in this connection I should like to draw your attention to an anomaly which seems to have crept in inadvertently regarding the 'Rashtrabhadra' in India. To the best of my knowledge the Congress resolution on the subject contains the word 'Hindustani' and not 'Hindi'. Yet, yourself, in all your speeches and writings, have always used the word 'Hindustani'. It

is curious to be surprised that a majority of Congressmen here, in connection of the Congress resolution, have used the word 'Hindi'. The use of the wrong word has given rise to considerable misunderstanding and confusion among the members of the different wings of the Congress. To my mind it should be neither 'Hindi' nor 'Urdu', and all Congressmen when referring to the Rashtrabhadra should use the word 'Hindustani'.

I endorse the suggestion wholeheartedly. Rashtrabhadra has only one name, i. e. Hindustani.

Sepora, 19-12-59

M. K. G

NON-VIOLENCE AND WORLD CRISIS

Disappointed Guests

The International Masonic Conference that opened at Tambaram near Madras recently brought a stream of disappointed visitors into our order. Several of them met Gandhiji by appointment in the village retreat at Sepora to have an exchange of views with him on the eve of the conference. Among them were Rev. William Paine, Secretary of the International Masonic Council; Rev. Leslie B. Moss, Secretary of the Conference of Masonic Societies in North America and an influential Church leader; and Dr. E. Smith of the British and Foreign Bible Society in London, who besides his massive work, is an authority on Anthropology; and Dr. John Mein, described by Rev. J. Z. Hodges as "the ablest Roman of them all" whose talk with Gandhiji has already been detailed in these columns by M. D.

Their Concerns

The concern that filled them was, "How can humanity be saved from the impending international crisis that threatens to plunge us into an era of hate and violence?" None, perhaps has "conclusion" been exposed to such a naked challenge of human fate or experienced in dealing with it as Dr. Mein put it such a "humanism of impotence" as today. Not that humanity has not before known the phenomenon of the passage of barbarism. The records of violence that coverpage the earth in the wake of Tamerlane or Attila and his hosts was not unlike what threatens the world today. But then the nations of the West had not yet known the "weapons of the spirit", which today we was discovered to meet the menace. The tragedy today is that although these nations received the message of Jesus 2,000 years ago they never entered it on anything like a universal scale and therefore never find themselves bankrupt in the face of the impending doom. And as men of light and feeling among them find the urge to seek a non-violence of their teaching in the light of present-day problems and how effectively to apply it to them.

India's non-violence movement has thus by sheer contrast come to occupy a world significance. Gandhiji's vast friends were, therefore, naturally anxious to study and understand the

never speaks of his non-violence and put him mauling questions regarding the nature and meaning of his faith, and power and being and silence, and non-violent resistance as motivated by him as an uplifter to the problem of international anarchy and "progressive amongst nations". And finally they sought his advice as to how necessary effort, which they represented, could be coordinated with India's non-violence movement for the achievement of the common goal.

Leaving out the last question, which was unfortunately dealt with in the course of the talk, already reported, with Dr. Mott, I shall try to sum up here Gandhiji's answers to various questions that were discussed with him by the visitors, and supplement his remarks, where necessary, to further elucidate his standpoint, by his utterances since.

The Question of Motive

Going to the very mechanism, one of the questions asked Gandhiji: what his motive in life was, "the thing that leads us to do what we do", whether it was religious, or social or political.

"Purely religious," replied Gandhiji. "The was the question asked me by the late Mr. Montagu when I incorporated a disclaimer which was purely political. 'How you, a social reformer,' he enquired, 'have found your way into this world?' My reply was that it was only an extension of my social activity. I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a mass of 'squalid and busy signifying nothing'."

"Seeing the influence you would over the people," he was next asked, 'may we enquire whether it is the love of the cause or the love of the people that moves you?'

"Love of the people," was Gandhiji's unhesitating reply. "Cause without the people is a dead thing. Love of the people brought the problem of international anarchy early into my life. My mother said, 'You must not touch this boy, he is an unapproachable.' 'Why not?' I questioned back, and from that day my search began."

No Exclusion of Politics

"You would expect us Christians to copy your example. Should we allow our religious motives to plunge us into politics?"

"Those who come from different parts of the world into the country cannot say," replied Gandhiji, "'we shall have nothing to do with the politics of the country.' They would not

be true to their faith if they bargained with the Government in order to supersede their fellow-feeling with the people. Supposing the Government does a grievous wrong to the people of the soil and the missionaries are told that they must not lift a finger to prevent it, surely, the least they can do is leave the country by way of signalling their displeasure at the perpetration of the wrong. If a missionary goes himself out for service, opportunities will come, whether it may be in the economic sphere, otherwise in the social, and then it may be in the political field. You cannot then say, 'I shall confine myself to this or that work and do nothing else.' When I went to South Africa I knew nothing about that country. I was bound to my chair only. Yet, within seven days of my reaching there, I found that I had to deal with a situation too terrible for words."

Non-violence the Supreme Law

Gandhiji was once asked in what relation his non-violence stood to the Pacifist attitude, "which we Westerners are trying to adopt without much success." It seemed strange to find masters of religion asking Gandhiji, a layman, to explain as to whether and how moral force could make its impact against the materialist world.

"Is my opinion," replied Gandhiji, "non-violence is not poverty in any shape or form. Non-violence, as I understood it, is the softest force in the world. Therefore, whether it is materialism or anything else, if non-violence does not provide an effective antidote, it is not the active force of my conception. Or, to put it concretely, if you bring me some criminals that I cannot answer, I would say my non-violence is well defective. Non-violence is the supreme law. During my half a century of experience I have not yet come across a situation when I had to say that I was helpless, that I had no remedy in terms of non-violence."

The Jews and Non-violence

"Take the question of the Jews as when I have written. No Jew need feel helpless if he takes to the non-violent way. A friend has written me a letter objecting that in that article I have assumed that the Jews have been violent. It is true that the Jews have not been actively violent in their own persons. But they called down upon the Germans the curses of mankind, and they wanted America and England to fight Germany on their behalf. If I let my adversary, that is of course violence, but to be truly non-violent I must love him and pray for him even when he hates me. The Jews have not been actively non-violent or, in spite of the misdeeds of the Germans, they would say, 'We shall suffer at their hand; they know no better. But we shall suffer not in the manner in which they want us to suffer.' If even one Jew acted thus, he would raise his self-respect and have an example which, if it became infectious, would save the whole of Jewry and leave a rich heritage to mankind besides."

China's Ordeal

"What about China, you will ask. The Chinese have no designs upon other people. They have no desire for territory. True, perhaps, China is not ready for such aggression, perhaps, what looks like her pacifism is only weakness. Is any man China's or not some non-violence. Her putting up a valiant defence against Japan is proof enough that China was never intentionally non-violent. Thus she is on the defensive in no manner in terms of non-violence. Therefore, when the time for coming to some non-violent case, she failed in the test. This is no criticism of China. I wish the Chinese success. According to the accepted standards her behaviour is strictly correct. For when the position is envisaged in terms of non-violence, I must say it is unbefitting for a nation of 400 millions, a nation as cultured as Japan, to repel Japanese aggression by resorting to Japan's own methods. If the Chinese had non-violence of my conception, there would be no use left for the latest machinery for destruction which Japan possesses. The Chinese would say to Japan, 'Bring all your machinery, we present half of our population to you. But the remaining two hundred millions won't lend their hand to you.' If the Chinese did that, Japan would become China's slave." And in support of his argument he referred to Shelley's celebrated lines from *The Mask of Anarchy*: "Ye are many, they are few."

Stand ye calm and settled,
Like a forest that endures,
With folded arms and heads which are
Weapons of unrequited wars.

And if down the tyrants drive
Let them ride among you then,
Slab, and crush, and smother and heap—
What they like, that let them do.

With folded arms and steady eyes,
And limbs fast, and less surprise,
Look upon them as they die
Till their rage has died away.

Then they will return with shame
To the place from which they came,
And the blood that shed will spout
In hot flashes on their cheek.

Now the Lame after slumber
Is unsupportable under—
State your claims to such like dew
Which as sleep had fallen on you—
Ye are many— they are few

Mechanical Warfare and Non-violence

"It has been objected, however," said Gandhiji, "that non-violence is all right in the case of the Jews because there is personal contact between the individual and his persecutors, but in China Japan comes with an impregnable gun and aeroplane. The person who runs death from above has never any chance of ever knowing

who and how many he has killed. How can non-violence combat aerial warfare, seeing that there are no personal contacts? The reply is that in that behind the death-dealing bomb there is the human hand that releases it, and behind that will, is the human heart that was the hand in motion. And at the back of the policy of terrorism is the assumption that terrorism if applied as a sufficient measure will produce the desired result, namely, lead the adversary to the tyrant's will. But supposing a people make up their mind that they will never do the tyrant's will, can violence with the tyrant's own methods, the tyrant will not find a work for while in its own work his terrorism if resistance food is given to the tyrant, a time will come when he will have had more than he left. If all the men in the world held conferences together and resolved that they would no more fear the man but all men use his method, the man would live. I have actually seen a rat play with a mouse. She did not kill it, certainly but held it between her paws, then released it, and again pounced upon it as soon as it made an effort to escape. In the end the mouse died out of sheer fright. The rat would have derived no upon if the mouse had not tried to run over it. Hence the lesson of non-violence from my wife, when I tried to bend her to my will. Her determined resistance to my will on the one hand, and her quiet submission to the suffering my stupidity involved on the other, ultimately made me ashamed of myself and saved me of my stupidity in thinking that I was born to rule over her, and in the end she became my teacher in non-violence. And when I did in South Africa was her an extension of the role of Satsangika which she unwittingly played in her own person."

What about Dictatorship?

But one of the women objected: "You do not know Hitler and Mussolini. They are incapable of any kind of moral response. They have no conscience and they have made themselves impervious to world opinion. Would it not be playing into the hands of these devils if, for instance, the Church following your advice condemned them with non-violence? Seeing that dictatorships are removed by definition, would the law of moral conversion hold good in their case?"

"Your argument," replied Gandhiji, "presupposes that the devils like Mussolini or Hitler are beyond redemption. But behind a non-violence is based on the assumption that human nature is its source is one and therefore unfailingly responds to the attraction of love. It should be remembered that they have up to now always found only response to the violence that they have used. Within their experience, they have not come across organised non-violent resistance on an appreciable scale, if at all. Therefore, it is not only highly likely, but I hold it to be inevitable, that they would recognise the superiority of non-violent resistance over any

display of violence that they may be capable of putting forth. Moreover the non-violent technique that I have presented to the Church does not depend for its success on the goodwill of the defense, for, a non-violent resister depends upon the unfailing assistance of God which comes him through his difficulties which would otherwise be considered insurmountable. His faith makes him indefatigable."

The visitor stated that these defenses were rather free from being false, but simply take possession of what they want. In the circumstances what are non-violent resisters to do?

"Suppose," asked Gandhiji, "they come and occupy mines, factories and all sources of natural wealth belonging to the Church, then the following can take place: (1) The Church may be mobilized for disobedience to orders. That would be a glorious victory for the Church and the halting of the fall of Germany; (2) The Church might become demoralized in the presence of overwhelming force. This is a cosmic concern in all struggles, but if demoralization does take place, it would not be on account of non-violence, but it would be due to absence or inadequacy of non-violence; (3) The third thing that can take place is that Germany might use her own possessions for occupation by her surplus population. That, again, could not be avoided by offering violent resistance for we have assumed that violent resistance is out of the question. Thus non-violent resistance is the best method under all conceivable circumstances."

"I do not think that Hitler and Mussolini are at all so very indifferent to the appeal of world opinion. But today their fanaticism and satisfaction in defining world opinion because some of the so-called Great Powers can come to them with clean hands, and they have a swelling sense of injustice done to their people by the Great Powers in the past. Only the other day an German English friend asked to see that Mein Germany was England's sin and that it was the error of Versailles that made Hitler."

Visitor: "What can I as a Christian do to contribute to international peace? How can international struggle be broken down and non-violence made effective for establishing peace? Subject nations apart, how can nations at the very be made to disarm themselves?"

Gandhiji: "You as a Christian can make an effective contribution by non-violent action even though it may cost you your all. Peace will never come until the Great Powers consciously decide to disarm themselves. It seems to me that recent events start from that belief on the Great Powers. I have no explicit faith—a faith that today seems brighter than ever, after half a century's experience of unbroken practice of non-violence—that mankind can only be saved through non-violence which is the central teaching of the Bible as I have understood the Bible."

Creeds of Hope

Visitor: "You have said that so far as India is concerned you are hopeful that it will work to non-violence. What are the creeds of this hope?"

Gandhiji: "If you ask for outward proof, I cannot give any. But I have an intuitive feeling that the country is not going to slide to anything else. You must remember that just now I am filled with what I saw in the North-West Frontier Province. I was not prepared for what I saw. They are in dead earnest about the thing, and there is a deep-seated sincerity in their hearts. They themselves are light and hope in non-violence. Khushboo told me that before that it was all darkness. There was not a hand but had its blood hands. They lived like apes in a den. Though the Pathans used to be always armed with knives, daggers and rifles, they used to be terrified of their superior officers, but they should lose their jobs. All this has changed now with thousands. Blood hands are becoming a thing of the past among these Pathans who have come under the influence of Khushboo's non-violence movement and, instead of depending for their livelihood on pilfering jobs, they have turned to the soil for cultivation, and soon they will turn to industry if their promise is kept."

Prayer and Intercourse

Visitor: "What is your method of worship?"

Gandhiji: "We have some worship morning and evening at 4:30 A. M. and 7 P. M. This has gone on for years. We have a recitation of verses from the Gita and other accepted religious books, also hymns of some with or without music. Individual worship cannot be described in words. It goes on continuously and even unconsciously. There is not a moment when I do not feel the presence of a witness whose eye never ceases and with whom I strive to keep in tune. I do not pray as Christian devotees do. Not because I think there is anything wrong in it, but because words won't come to me. I suppose it is a matter of faith."

Visitor: "Is there any place for supplication or prayer?"

Gandhiji: "There is and there is not. God knows and answers our wants. The Deity does not need my supplication, but I, a very imperfect human being, do need His presence as a child that of its father. And yet I know that nothing that I do is going to change His plan. You may call me a fanatic, if you like."

Visitor: "Do you find any response to your prayer?"

Gandhiji: "I consider myself a happy man in that respect. I have structured His lacking in response. I have fixed His answer at hand when the horizon seemed darkest—in my solitude in jail when it was not all smooth sailing for me. I cannot recall a moment in my life when I had a sense of desertion by God."

Separa, 22-23-38

Pyawadi

H A R I J A N

Vol. 24

1938

PROHIBITION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Prohibition in the Congress provinces is not going on to the extent to which it was conceived. It is perhaps so high of the measure. Public opinion is not mature. Congress opinion is equally dormant. Congressmen do not seem to see that prohibition means new life for many millions. It means new and valianted sources of moral and material strength. They do not realise that honest prohibition gives a dignity and prestige to the Congress which perhaps no other single step can give. They do not see that prohibition of alcohol means identification with the masses and a resolute determination to refuse to have anything to do with the drink concession. Even such a confirmed prohibitionist like Rajag has not had the courage to set apart the drink income purely for the purpose of fighting the drink evil. He has proved in this matter too cautious for me. Congressmen have learnt to spend no less too dear for winning freedom. Our freedom will be the freedom of slaves if we continue to be victims of the drink and drug habit. Is any one too much to establish complete prohibition in all the provinces?

And yet our drink ministers during up prohibition programmes is a proper house spirit. They think of their duties. I wonder what they will do if all the wine-bibbers and opium-eaters suddenly give up their drink and drugs! They will manage somehow, it may be answered. Why will they not do so voluntarily? Surely, men are in doing the right thing voluntarily not compulsion! The Bihar Government did not come to a deadlock, when the earthquake swallowed more than their annual income. What do the Governments all over India do, when famines and droughts upon people and materially reduce the state revenue? I maintain that the Congress Governments break the spirit, if not the letter, of their pledge, when they delay prohibition for the sake of revenue.

They can and must make no honest attempt to raise money by fresh taxation. The drink tax is most prevalent in urban areas. It is in these areas that they can resort to fresh taxation. Prohibition gives direct help to the employers of labour. They can surely afford to bear the loss of revenue caused by prohibition. The few months of prohibition in Ahmedabad have put money into the pockets both of the employers and the labourers. There is no reason whatsoever why the employers should not pay for this inestimable service. Many other sources of revenue can easily be thought of.

I have not hesitated to suggest a grant or at least a loan, without interest, from the Government of India where it can be proved that the raising of additional revenue is not a practical proposition.

The only valid reason for not having immediate prohibition is want of previous experience and hence the need for caution. I viewed the Bihar experiment in this light. The Madras Government wanted to take the first step with great deliberation and did not want to take any risk of failure. The success of the Bihar experiment should be sufficient encouragement to go on with the whole scheme. But it is not impossible to understand the desire of each Government to go in for prohibition in steps so as to have local experience. It was for that reason that the Working Committee fixed these parts in the period to bring about complete prohibition. The time is running fast. And if India is to be free of the curse within the period fixed, there should be no delay for want of money or for fear of deficit in revenue. And if the programme is prosecuted with single-minded zeal, there is no doubt that the other provinces and the states will follow.

Surat, 14/12/38

DISTRICT BOARDS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It has often been borne in upon me that District Boards and Municipal Councils are organisations involving a waste of time upon the people's money. This became patent to me during the non-cooperation days in Ahmedabad. I had then advised the people that, if they boycotted their council or whatever it was called, they could do their own sweeping and lifting and conduct their schools without fee and without much expense and avoid wrangling with the burghers.

The result of my remark became clear to me a few days ago when a member of the Surat District Board came to me, showed me a circular issued by the Board, and asked me for my blessing on their scheme. The scheme was extra-ordinary. There are about forty members of the Board. I went from memory. They have really no work except to meet at regular intervals and hold debates on certain items of expenditure. As the Board has a sweeping Councils majority and in some of the members are conscientious, they do not know how to use their time for the service of the people. The Board has no income whatever adequate for the expenditure required to keep all its departments in good order and condition, especially the roads. The circular, therefore, contained a programme advertisement that the members and the officials would work during the National Week in April as road repairs, etc. On the strength of the promise that something is better than nothing, certainly the National Week idea was commendable. But it was not good enough for me. I said, "If you want my blessing, you must begin work now and not merely for one week as a holiday, but for the whole term of your office and regularly as if you were members of the

paid staff—we devote ourselves with your donations and other obligations. In other words, you should consider yourselves not a seasonal service. You will meet officially only so many times you meet, but never to hold long debates or wrangle over petty appointments and the like. For your real and solid work would be unimpaired. You would take pride in having first class roads which you will have built yourselves. You will run your schools efficiently. You will use that your district has for proper supply of water, and your fields are well irrigated and grow crops that are useful from the national standpoint. You will teach the people proper methods of sanitation and ensure voluntary participation by winning the people from the dark habit. You will run night schools for adults. If you are an expert about your duty, you will be too few for the task. You will set an example to the other boards and you will justify the choice of the electors. The result will be that the electors themselves and the others will become a voluntary brigade of workers who will revolutionize the life of the people around you. If you take to heart what I am telling you, you will find at once that you cannot do without hand-pinning, hand-carving, hand-spinning and hand-weaving. This will give full occupation during leisure hours to every boy, girl, man, and woman who is not disabled for labor below, and you will immediately add a good few tons of savings to your income as a district. When you have achieved this programme you will have no blueprint. I shall become your advertising agent. If you cannot do this, do not play with your work by having a spectacular demonstration of your holiday programme."

I fear, however, that the District Boards in India will not gain approval of the programme of voluntary service I have sketched above. I, therefore, suggest that at least the Congress provinces have a model and coved legislation containing municipal, local and district boards as the basis of efficiency. I would have these elected, but there would be very few men and women capable of doing administrative, planning work. Each one of the members will have his work cut out for him. I should impose the services of the paid officials side by side with the elected members who will be at once their masters and co-workers. That is how the latent genius of people of my nation. The Congress is a revolutionary body in the widest and the wisest sense. It must be regional. All its activities must be derived from its creed of non-violence. There must be a perfect chain linking the smallest to the highest unit after the same pattern, so that he who runs may neither be an assassin whole degraded to serve the mass purpose. The programme sets moral mood and will in the Congress,—not the mood and will of one man but the mood and will of many men and women acting as one mind and one will.

Section, 24-12-38

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

The Working Committee passed the following resolutions at its strong last week at Wardha.

1. The Working Committee has received reports from various parts of the country to the effect that some membership registers contain the names of deceased persons or those who have not fulfilled the qualifications for membership. In certain instances it is reported that groups of people have been nominally made members, their subscriptions having been paid by someone else. The Committee is strongly of opinion that such fictitious membership must be ended and all names that are found after due enquiry not to fulfil the qualifications for membership, must be removed from the rolls.

The Congress has passed itself in the past not only as an inspiring objective of freedom for India's millions but also as the proxy of its methods, and it is by adhering to these methods that it has achieved success in its high tasks and has built up a reputation worthy of the great cause it has served. While welcoming the millions of our people to its membership rolls and deriving vitality and strength from the sympathy of scores of millions of others, the Congress has held that its effectiveness as a fighting organisation lay in the disciplined workers in its ranks and not merely in its large nominal membership. The Working Committee, therefore, is of opinion that immediate and effective steps must be taken to inspect and revise all membership registers with a view to making them conform to reality and the rules of the Congress.

The Committee desires and requests all Provincial Congress Committees to undertake this task at an early date and complete it at the latest by the March, 1939, when a full report on the steps taken should be presented to the office of the All India Congress Committee. In the course of this enquiry, as errors are discovered in the membership rolls, they should immediately be rectified and the names of fictitious or unqualified persons removed.

The enquiry should not interfere with the course of the routine elections during the next three months, except in so far as corrections are made from time to time in the membership rolls. The General Secretary of the A. I. C. C. will give every assistance to the Provincial Congress Committees in this matter.

The Working Committee is further of opinion that certain rules of procedure and constitutional changes are necessary in order to prevent the enrolment of fictitious or unqualified members to make the Congress a stronger organisation of effective workers. These rules must ensure that the existing qualifications, like the rule requiring the habitual wearing of khadi, are strictly adhered to and further qualifications are laid down for all office-bearers and members of elective committees in a province. Such further

qualifications should be as laid down in the clauses below, subject to the period of continuous membership being varied, having regard to the nature and functions of the committee concerned, such as district, taluka, zone or regional committee. Every primary member will be entitled to vote at one Congress election only if he goes personally to the office of his primary committee, gets his name registered in a separate roll of voters and obtains a voter's card, provided that in the case of women, of people who are ill and of those who may be absent from their primary area, registration may be effected by correspondence or through some other person.

The Working Committee recommends that Article 5 of the Congress Constitution be amended so that the following qualifications, in addition to the habitual wearing of khadi, be laid down for those seeking election as delegates to the Congress:

"(A) Continuous membership of the Congress for three years previous to the date for election provided that it shall be open to a Provincial Executive or other competent body to reduce that period for any particular candidate, more especially in individual cases for women, political prisoners, minorities and backward classes.

"(B) A candidate must have performed the prescribed task for the Congress during the past year, such task being either assigned personally by hand or least 5000 yards of yarn or doing some other task prescribed previously by the Provincial Executive.

"All candidates must have a certificate stating that they have performed that task and fulfilled the conditions."

The Working Committee urges the Provincial Congress Committees to make further arrangements for the amendment of the Constitution or the framing of rules in order to strengthen and purify the Congress organisation.

2. Resolved that for the purpose of Article 5 (C), the following organisations are declared to command organisations: (1) the Hindu Mahasabha, (2) the Muslim League.

Article 5 (C) reads that no person, who is a member of any elected Congress committee, shall be a member of any similar committee of a communal organisation, the object or programme of which involves political activities which are in the opinion of the Working Committee, antagonistic and in conflict with those of the Congress.

3. Since the fixation of the rate of one shilling per piece to the rupee, all trade interests in India and public bodies have protested that this measure is against the real economic interests of India and have manifestly demanded an increase. The Government of India Indians issued all their newspapers and has issued a communique on 16th June, 1938, declaring that they did not intend making any change in the rate for the

time being and, in support of their declaration, sought to rely mainly on the instability and uncertainty during the period of independence, which (according to them) was likely to cause a greater loss to Indian interests than any corresponding gain from the change to a lower rate.

Since June last, the balance of trade has turned more and more against India. The Committee is of the opinion that the rate of exchange of one shilling per piece to the rupee has had the effect of the agricultural of the country by lowering the price of agricultural commodities and given an undue and undue advantage to imports into the country. The Working Committee is satisfied that the rate of one shilling per piece cannot any longer be maintained on the balance of trade.

During the last seven years that rate has been maintained by large exports of gold which have been very injurious to the country. Matters have now reached a stage when the rate can only be maintained by a policy of contraction of currency and credit and by a further depletion of the gold and sterling resources of India and, particularly, the paper currency reserve. These sterling resources have already been used up to an alarming extent and there is the danger of a further serious depletion taking place if efforts continue to be made by the Government of India to maintain the present rate.

The Working Committee looks upon such a prospect with the greatest concern and anxiety. In view of this serious, the Working Committee has come to the conclusion that the best interests of the country demand that efforts to maintain the present exchange level should be abandoned once, and urged upon H.E. the Governor-General-in-Council the necessity of taking immediate steps to lower the rate to one shilling four pence to the rupee.

4. The Working Committee has passed resolutions from time to time, dealing with the changing situation in Palestine and sympathising with the struggle of the Arabs to maintain their political and national integrity. Reports are continuously coming in from a variety of reliable sources of unimpeachable accuracy transmitted by the British and the police on the plea of maintaining law and order in the Mandatory Territory. The savage, discrimination and atrocities made by the Arabs in the life and death struggle have evoked the indignation of the people of India, who once more wish to convey to them their good wishes for their complete success in the attainment of their objectives.

The Committee expresses condemnation of the ruthless policy being pursued by British imperialism in Palestine, which must lead to grave consequences, and the Committee reiterates its opinion that the rest of the future Government of Palestine should be left to be decided on the principle of self-determination.

While sympathising with the plight of the Jews in Europe and elsewhere, the Committee deplains that in Palestine the Jews have relied

on British armed forces to advance their special claims and thus aligned themselves on the side of British imperialism. The Communists insist that Amlis and Jais will endeavor to find a basis for direct co-operation with a view to establishing a free democratic State in Polwarra, with adequate provision to Jewish rights.

THE HARIJANS OF JANGRA

(By P. L. Mehta)

The condition of the Harijan subjects of the Jangra State is dealt with exhaustively by Shri M. G. Bhagat in the course of an interesting article in the "Journal of the University of Bombay" (Vol. VII, part I, July 1938). Jangra is a small first class State in the Konkan with a population of 98,396, of whom 3,625 are Harijans. Of the Harijan population, 1,364 are Mahars, 1,623 Chamars, and the rest Dhavs, Bhangs and Mangs. The inquiry shows that the average size of a family, namely, 35 persons for Mahars and 79 persons for Chamars, is larger than the average Indian family, though not larger than the average size of Hindu families in Maharashtra. Of the total Harijan population, only 229 are literate, which gives a proportion of 2.3 per cent, while the percentage of literates for the population as a whole is 8. There is in the State no person of the so-called depressed classes who has passed any qualifying examination, and there are only two persons who have secured some secondary education. It is curious that the number of Harijan students in schools in the State, which was 127 forty years back, is now only 174, while the number of students belonging to other sections of the community has increased by nearly a thousand. The practice of segregation of the Harijan children and general indifference to their educational needs are among the causes of their educational backwardness. Shri Bhagat suggests the special steps that should be taken to attract Harijan students to schools and to keep them there. In addition, he plans for some arrangements for vocational training, because Harijans, like other sections of the rural community, often find the present system of education to be a blind alley.

The economic condition of the Harijans of Jangra is even more deplorable than that of the Harijans in other parts of Maharashtra as depicted by Shri Bhagat in his brochure on *The Unassailable Class of Maharashtra*. Nearly 351 per cent of the Harijan families have an average monthly income of less than Rs. 5, and 295 per cent possess an average income which is between Rs. 5 and Rs. 15. The average annual income of a Mahar family is Rs. 105-12-6 and that of a Chamar family is Rs. 129-4-0 as compared with the corresponding averages of Rs. 138 and Rs. 224 for Harijans in Maharashtra as a whole. But against the figures of income have to be set the figures of indebtedness. The average debt per family is Rs. 542, the average being Rs. 711 for Mahars

and Rs. 1873 for Chamars. Only 38 per cent of the families among Mahars and 26 per cent among Chamars are free from debt. Of the total number of families, over half among Mahars have to find their livelihood from casual labour, and it can well be imagined what a precarious source of living this must be. For a major part of the year, Shri Bhagat observes, they have to be unemployed at home. About a quarter of the households, both Mahar and Chamar, follow the agricultural profession. A majority of them cultivate rented lands, and, as the income from this is meagre, they too supplement their earnings by labour in the fields or resort to domestic service with landlords and traders. There are Mussalman workers who lend to Harijans petty sums of money which they recover by engaging the debtors in service for a few years. For the Chamars an important source of income is sheep-rearing which provides some meagre maintenance for 48 per cent of the total number of Chamar families. Not that the trade is flourishing, for Shri Bhagat remarks that there is scarcity of herds. This is an embarrassing situation for a trade in which, as Shri Bhagat observes, the dead stock are simply thrown away in many villages without taking out the skin. So while the local source of wealth is wasted, the Chamars have to use tanned leather imported from Bombay. No wonder that in these circumstances, the local Chamars do not find their industry profitable, and have, therefore, to move without sufficient work for days together.

The woeful neglect of the causes of land-caste is common enough in several parts of India, but in the Konkan in several places it has become an important socio-economic problem by reason of the decision of the local Mahar not to handle castes. It is a problem that must engage the attention both of the Harijan Sevak Sangh and the All-India Village Industries Association. It is for the examination and proper disposal of questions like this that, at the conclusion of his survey, Shri Bhagat suggests the formation of a branch of the Harijan Sevak Sangh for the State. There are various difficulties such as those in respect of the supply of water and the system of bonded labour in villages from which the Harijans in the State still suffer. Owing to their educational and economic backwardness, the Harijan subjects of the State are by themselves unable to secure a redress of these grievances. In the neighbouring Indian State of Goa, there is an extensive an active branch of the Harijan Sevak Sangh at Pali. A similar organisation may well be started in the Jangra State so that the Harijan subjects of the State may not lag behind their brethren in the neighbouring districts and States, but may, with the assistance of and in co-operation with other sections of the community, fight ahead in having their rightful claims recognized and in securing the amelioration of their educational, economic and social conditions.

THE HORNER TYRED BULLDOCK CART CONTROVERSY

(By Maurice Friedman)

The rubber tyred bullock cart controversy is bound to grow as the years pass on, because the Durlops are anxious to secure an additional market for their product, while the same ideology of the village industries moved movements is actually against depriving the village wheelwright, carpenter and blacksmith of the ancient order for their skill.

The problem evidently demands a scientific study of the working of the ordinary cart and the rubber tyred bullock cart under various conditions of load, road surface and road gradient. The interplay of the following factors has to be closely examined before any conclusions can be formed.

1. Wheels

- Small [12' dia. to 24' dia.]
- Medium [24' dia. to 36' dia.]
- Big [36' dia. to 48' dia.]

2. Bearings

- Plain tapered iron shaft in iron pipe (usual practice)
- Tapered steel journals in cast iron or hardened steel bearings (self-lubricated immediate superior merit).
- Roller bearings.

3. Rims

- Narrow iron rim (usual practice)
- Broad iron rim (immediate improvement)
- Rubber tyre.

4. Suspension

- Rigid suspension (usual practice)
- Springed suspension (recommended)
- Pneumatic suspension (due to the tyre effect).

5. Traction

- Level with axle
- Above axle.
- Below axle.

6. Road Surface

- Very hard (concrete and best asphalt)
- Hard (hardened metal and earth road)
- Good Hard (dry mud road)
- Soft (moist clay mud with mud over a hard layer).
- Very Soft (deep mud and mud soaked with water)

7. Road Condition

- Smooth, fine foot gravel
- Coarse gravel
- Coarse gravel
- Gravel, lumpy
- Big lumps of stone or hard mud.

8. Gradient

- 0 to 1/50
- 1/50 to 1/25
- 1/25 to 1/10
- 1/10 to 1/4

9. Load

- Light up to 10 Cwt.
- Medium up to 1 Ton
- Heavy up to 1 1/2 Tons
- Very Heavy up to 2 Tons.

10. Size of Bullocks

- Small.
- Medium.
- Heavy.

An exhaustive set of experiments should be carried out with due regard to the basic principles of all experimentation which are

1. Change only one factor at a time.
2. Express the result numerically.
3. Isolate the cause of each new result.

Before we are given a chance to carry out the experiments we may go into certain theoretical considerations which will be able to throw a light on the subject. Space does not permit going into details but only into the general aspects of the controversy between the iron tyred and rubber tyred carts.

1. *Wheels* It is clear that the bigger the diameter of the wheel, the lower the effect of traction. On a steadily smooth and level road the energy spent on traction is only the friction on the bearings multiplied by the number of revolutions. The friction in the bearings does not depend on the diameter of the wheel, the number of revolutions is the less, the bigger the wheel, hence the bigger the wheel the lower the effect.

On a rough road with up and down a big wheel will fill up minor cavities and climb up more and avoid bumps smoother and easier than a small wheel. The sum total of up and down displacement of the wheel will be less and the amount of dissipated energy also less, hence a big wheel is more advantageous.

On a soft road a big wheel presses on the road with a greater breadth of rim than a small wheel, hence here also a big wheel is better.

The advantages of accurate bearings increase with the number of revolutions. A big wheel will give less revolutions, hence it will be less affected by the inferiority of the bearing. A big wheel presents a bigger surface of the rim to the road. Hence lesser wear of rim and road.

A big wheel weighs less so on uneven road, with less stress on driver, cart, bullocks and load.

A big wheel gives more space under the axle for carrying logs and stobs. A big wheel is cooler and heavier than a small wheel for equal strength, and also requires much more skill in its manufacture.

2. *Bearings* Friction on bearings being a part of the traction resistance, the more perfect the bearing, the lower the traction effect. Hence roller bearings are ideal.

The improvement of roller bearings to dust and grease and the brightness of the hardened steel surfaces make the insertion of roller bearings in ordinary country-made carts a doubtful proposition. A substituted hub and spring suspension of the cart may furnish solution.

The introduction of an accurately turned plain conical bearing with provision for lubrication up with wear seems to be the best solution.

3. *Rare* Many local races are cheap and light, and require less wood for the wheel, hence their

popularity. They wear off quickly and on the road badly. On soft roads they sink deeper and cause more effort to bullocks. Good iron tires are heavy but they have longer life and keep the road in good condition.

The resistance to traction on the rim is due to the constant crushing of gum particles between the rim and the road. In case of rubber tires this crushing action is completely absent and is replaced by the deformation of the rubber itself. Bullocks being clumsy animals the energy stored up during compression is small part only getting dissipated in the form of heat. Hence less resistance to traction. A rubber tyre "flows over" minor irregularities of the road and thus at least energy dissipated in climbing up every pebble which cannot be avoided.

A rubber tyre gives the shock suspension effect and therefore is protecting the bearings, the load and the neck of the bullock. A rubber tyre presents a big surface to the road with a low load per square inch. Hence less wear of the road.

On safe and very safe road the advantages of the rubber tyre are still greater owing to the big surface of contact.

The rubber tyre is definitely advantageous in actual traction, but its disadvantages are so many that it cannot be heavily recommended for the village.

a. It can neither be made nor repaired in the village.

b. It is very costly.

c. It can be easily damaged with.

d. It deteriorates with time, even unused.

e. It requires special wheels which cannot be made or repaired in the village.

A rubber tired cart on a perfectly level and smooth road will undoubtedly take more load, but few roads in India are perfectly level and smooth and therefore the argument of a greater load is fallacious, as on a gradient no amount of smooth running can help the bullock.

The definite advantage of a rubber tired cart, provided it is not overloaded, is from the bullock's point of view on one side and from the road repair budget on the other. It is to be recommended for delivery in towns with level roads and ready road surfaces.

For an Indian village a rubber tired cart is out of question. Not because the ordinary iron tired cart is perfect, but because no improvements can be introduced without sacrificing the livelihood of the village craftsmen, and the independence from the high prices which companies of the towns take.

The arguments against the ordinary type of cart are:

1. It ruins the road.

2. In shaking and jolting stupifies the driver and shortens the life of the bullock.

3. The bearings soon wear off and become utterly inefficient. Breakage of which soon very often becomes of huge bearings.

4. The first cost of an iron tired cart is less than of a rubber tired one, but the cost of repairs is higher, the life of the bullock shorter, and the paying load less.

To show the reply is simple. Would it not be possible to redesign the bullock cart so that while not being beyond the skill of the village craftsmen it would fulfil the following conditions:

1. It should be a road-builder and not a road-killer. Something of a road-crafter, if we may say so.

2. The load should be supported directly and all shocks damped, before they reach the bullock's neck.

3. The bearings should be made shattering, adjustable, easily removable and cheap.

4. Whenever the cart is curved, the bullock should get a share in the share.

We are quite confident that a redesigned village cart will find as way into the village much more and sooner, than the rubber tired cart. But improvements must be raised. The All India Village Industries Association may call for a conference and offer a prize for the best improvements in the village cart. It would be the simplest way to draw the attention of the public to the problem and to the widening of interest.

IN THE FRONTIER PROVINCE

X

TAKILA

(2)

A Portrait to History

The story of the Greek invasion of India under Alexander the Great provides many an interesting footnote to Indian history. But nothing is perhaps of more absorbing interest today owing to its prophetic value, than the story of the encounter between the Macedonian and the Indian ruler in the valley of Takila that has been faithfully and minutely recorded by various Greek historians.

The fighting first accounts for much heroism on both sides of which there was frank and mutual recognition. King Porus (Πορος) (called by the Greeks Πύρρος), wounded in fight, more than repaid what he had lost on the battlefield by his cool courage and firmness in defeat. Being asked as to how he thought the victor should treat him, he replied, "With the leniency which the day teaches, a day on which you have witnessed how easily property can be looted." This spirited reply was appreciated by Alexander most, shortens the history, then an embassy would have been.

A Dialectical Show

Mitras is most well with the Greeks and everything fell before the prowess of Alexander's arms. But the World Conqueror felt that he had met more than his match when he was confronted by men who baffled him by their dialectical skill and still another who though unarmed, yet rendered himself invulnerable, by

making his spear his shield against which earth's weapons could avail nothing.

Next Ptolemy Alexander captured two *anagyræ* who were principally concerned in persuading King Santhias to revolt and "had done much harm otherwise to Macedonians" by advising among the people an unconquerable spirit of anarchy. He proposed the their advance some hard questions with the confidence that "he would put to death first the one whose answer was the poorest and then the others in order."

He demanded of the first, which he took to be the most numerous—the living or the dead? The answer was, "The living, for the dead are not."

The second was asked, which lived the longest animals—the sea or the land? He answered, "The land, for the sea is only a part of it."

The third was asked, which was the clearest of brains? He answered, "That with which man is not acquainted."

The fourth was asked, for what reason he induced Santhias to revolt? He replied, "Because I wished him to live with honor and die with honor."

The fifth was asked, which he thought started first—the day or the night? He answered, "The day was first by one day." As the King appeared surprised at this answer, he added, "Impossible questions require impossible answers."

Alexander, then turning to the sixth, asked him, how could a man best make himself beloved? He replied, "If a man being possessed of great power did not make himself feared."

Of the remaining three, one being asked, how could a man become a god, replied, "By doing that which is impossible for a man to do."

The next being asked, which of the two was swifter—life or death, replied, "Life, because it lasts so many years."

The last being asked, how long it was honorable for a man to live, answered, "As long as he does not think it better to die than to live."

Upon this Alexander, turning to the sixth, requested him to give his decision. The judge and jury had answered "each one worse than the other."

"Since such is your judgment," retorted Alexander, "you shall be yourself first to be put to death." "Not so," said he, "o King, unless you are able to point me out that he who gave the worst answer should be the first to die."

How the Macedonian Was Outwitted

On arriving at Tyana, it is recorded the Macedonian conceived a great desire that one of the sages should live with him, because he admired their patience and staid behavior in reducing barbarous *Chalkidians*, who was a philosopher of the school of Diogenes, was thereupon sent with a message from the King to Dendamis the president and teacher of the order of *anagyræ* at that locality, to teach him.

There is hardly a more amazing figure in early Indian history than the Indian sage who went to Cushing in his person, the discovery of a *Sherasole* with the discovery of a *Telemaque* and a specimen of wisdom and spiritual culture which outshone them both. Through constant practice he had attained a complete self-mastery and detachment of spirit which made the pomp and pomp of august gifts in his presence and rendered one of the ancient *Opuntians* that "with spirit like a little water" (The man one who has realized the joy of the *Sherasole* knows enough of this.) The imperial messenger found the great sage stretched on a bed of leaves in a house and held a discourse with him.

The trend of the sage's discourse was that the best philosophy was that which liberates the mind from pleasure and grief, that grief differed from liberty, in that the former was permanent, the latter friendly to man. Thereupon Cushing conceived that Pythagoras taught a like doctrine and associated his disciples in relation from whenever had life; that Socrates and Diogenes, whose discourses he heard, held the same views. Dendamis replied that in other respects he thought them to be wise, but that they were mistaken "in preferring custom to nature", also they would not be ashamed to live on fragrant hay and in uttermost simplicity. "For, they have a life best which requires least repairs." Introducing next the object of his visit Cushing began: "Had so these three teachers of *Indianism* the son of the mighty God Zoro, being Alexander who is the sovereign Lord of all men, asks you to go to him, and if you comply, he will reward you with great gifts, but if you refuse he will cut off your head."

The sage with a complacent smile bared him to the end, "but did not so much as lift up his hand from his couch of leaves." And while still reclining he somewhat aside replied that he was also a son of Zoro, if Alexander was such, that he wanted nothing that was Alexander's for he was content with what he had, while he saw that the men with Alexander wandered over sea and land for no advantage and were never coming to the end of their wanderings. "Go and tell Alexander," he somewhat added, "that God the supreme King is wiser the author of nature's wrong, but is the Creator of light, of peace, of life, of water of the body of man and of soul, and that he rescues when death sets them free, being in no way subject to evil disease. He alone is the God of my house, who affords laughter and rejoices no more that Alexander is so God, since he must taste of death. How can such as he be the world's master, when he has not yet saved himself on a throne of universal dominion."

Moreover had Alexander asked the commandment of *Nachiketa*, viz., the riddle of death and life transfer? "He has neither as yet started from one *Shale* nor does he know the course of the sun through the central regions of the earth,

while the nations on its borders have not so much as heard his name." "If his present dominions are not spacious enough for his desire," recommended the sage, "he has done the Ganges river, and thus he will find a region wide as nature all his own, if the country on this side is too narrow to hold him."

"Know that, however, that what Alexander offers me and the gifts he proposes are things in no wise useful, but the things which I prize and find of real use and worth are these things which are my home, these blossoming plants which supply me with daily food, and the water which is my drink, while all other possessions and things which are mixed with nature are not worth so great ransom to those who amuse themselves, and cannot only sorrow and weanance, with which every poor mortal is fully fraught like as for me I lie upon the lowest lawn and having nothing which requires guarding, close my eyes in tranquil slumber; whereas had I not anything so guard, that would hardly sleep. The earth supplies me with everything even as a mother her child with milk I go wherever I please, and there are no cares with which I am bound to trouble myself against my wish."

"Should Alexander cut off my head, he cannot also destroy my soul. My head shall now divine will remain having the body like a corn sown upon the earth, whence also it was taken. I then, blossoming again, shall ascend to my God, who enclosed me in flesh and left me upon earth to prove whether, when here below, we shall be obedient to His ordinances and who also will require of us, when we depart hence to His presence, in account of our life, since He is judge of all good and evil-doings, for the groans of the oppressed because the punishment of the oppressor."

"Let Alexander then turn his wrath from those who wish for gold and for wealth and who dwell dark, for against us these weapons are both alike powerless, since the Brahmins neither love gold nor fear death."

"Go then and tell Alexander this. Dandamis has no need of wealth that is yours, and therefore will not go to you, and if you want anything from Dandamis come you to him."

Alexander on receiving from Orestanes report of the interview, records the historian, "for a stronger desire than ever to see Dandamis, who though old and naked was the only man among us whose life the conqueror of many nations had not more than his match."

Section, 13-12-34

Private

OUR OPPORTUNITY

(By Sarah Chandra Dasgupta)

Political changes in Europe and Asia have been creating our chance. England has been humbled and her weakness has been demonstrated. Advantage is offered to be taken advantage of the opportunity. In what way the country is to take advantage, has not been clearly indicated.

That England has shown herself to be comparatively weak is an undoubted fact. But the discovery does not make it a lot stronger than we were. England's weakness is not equivalent to our strength in terms of non-violence. In fact, the way in which Mr. Chamberlain had to deal with the situation to save England makes our weakness more glaringly conspicuous than ever. If at that moment armed defense was feasible in her case, how much more feasible must be the armed defense of India! The arm has proved, at least to those who rely upon armed defense of India, that it is not a practicable and effective proposition at any rate for the present.

England was weak, but by the newly formed friendship with Germany and Italy she is no longer weak for us. So long as England chooses to be with Germany and Italy she will remain strong in regard to pressure from outside. We may as a speculative mind consider the proposition that the newly formed friendship of England may allow Germany and Italy to have a say in the matter of self-determination of India. What wonder, if India is made to fit the plans of Chamberlain in future negotiations with Germany? What wonder that, in order to have peace and friendship, England agrees to part with such portions of India, Burma, Ceylon and the Trans-Himalayan Provinces as the other powers may choose to have? We may be left to be informed that from a particular date India is to be divided and marked British, German and Italian India, with probably a date as to the least one! Shall we have the strength and the power as my 'so'?

The only weapon in the hands of India today is non-violence. No political change outside can help India to use more strength on this point. She has to acquire and develop all the strength by herself. Let us not forget that we have no defensive strength, armed or non-violent, now. The Congress has got the governance of eight provinces, but the Congress holds it at the will of the paramount power. All the members and all the Congress leaders may be thrown into prison at any moment at the will of Britain. Satyagraha is our weapon. But the weapon can only be wielded by the fullness of the constructive programme of the Congress. If the Congress has accepted non-violence, it is to help the process of increasing our non-violent strength. When Hitler wants to have a bloodless victory by mere show of strength, we seem to understand it. But when Gandhi says that for obtaining Swami, resistance to Satyagraha must not be needed at all if we fully carry out our constructive programme.

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Congressmen attach little importance to it and seem to remain unconvinced.

The Congress-driven provinces have yet to rely on violence for maintaining law and order. It does not lie with them Congress to threaten Britain with Satyagraha. That will mean that we shall be non-violent in our struggle with Britain but shall take to violence in dealing with our own people. The Congress cannot today demonstrate the strength of Satyagraha in the administration of provinces, for the strength is not there. But certainly it can partly in private position by making an effort for developed non-violent struggle.

For a Satyagrahi there is no taking of advantage of the difficulty of the opponent or an usual error. We shall be taking true advantage of the European situation if we stress our faith in non-violence and seriously take up the proposition of infusing the spirit of non-violence into all our activities.

Bombay, 14-11-39

A JAPANESE VISITOR

We rarely have visitors from these Transhimalayan States. Capt. Suzuki (who was later killed in a duel) was the last. Now that visited Japan two years ago. We have not yet had a last visitor, not one representing Mainland Japan. Mr. Takahara, Member of the Japanese Parliament, who was on a visit here the other day did not seem to come in one. He seemed to hear that while the Sino-Japanese war was going on, a visit from a Japanese was not likely to be welcome, but "after all, the war was not going to last for all time, and our duty is to find out how friendship could be established between Japan and India and China." As my son he did not seem to be keen on defending the war of aggression, and simply confined himself to the question of unity between Japan and India. How could it be possible?

In replying to him Gandhi said: "It can be possible if Japan comes to throw its greedy eyes on India. No doubt you do not bring your army to India, but you employ your machine gun, and your ability to take the truck and your knowledge of the weaknesses of Indians, in order to flood India with your goods which are often stolen. You have opened the doors of India to their methods of exploitation and gone even one better. Now from the Japanese standpoint you cannot afford to lose the millions of rupees that you get from India. And if you cannot get them voluntarily, you will be quite capable of doing so by force of arms. But that would not be the way of bringing Japan and India together. What can bring them together is a moral bond based on moral friendship.

"But there is no basis for this friendship today. Take your son. I like it. I read a fascinating account of Japan and Japanese life by Edwin Arnold many years ago. That person had

interviewed with me. I want to remember all your good points, but unfortunately no one seems here to give us the good things of Japan. You believe only in dumping your goods on us. How can I take a single yard of Japanese cloth, however fine and secure it may be? It is a question of us, for it means starvation for the poor people of India. You have left the West for behind in diplomacy, in skill, in steam-machinery, in armed warfare, in exploitation. How then can there be friendship between you and us so long as you are working wrong as exploiters?"

Mr. Takahara wondered if Gandhi could give a message to the new party in Japan which speaks for Asia for the Americas.

"I do not subscribe to the doctrine of Asia for the Americas if it is meant to be an anti-European combination," said Gandhi. "How can we have Asia for the Americas unless we are content to let Asia remain a thing in the wall? For Asia cannot afford to remain a frog in the wall. It has a message for the whole world, if it will only live up to it. There is the impact of Buddhism on the whole of Asia, which includes India, China, Japan, Burma, Ceylon and the Malay States. I want to the Burmese and the Ceylonese that they were Buddhists in name. India was Buddhist in reality. I would say the same thing to China and Japan. But, for Asia to be Asia for Asia has the whole world, it has to release the message of Buddha, and deliver it to the world. Today it is being denied everywhere. In Burma every Buddhist monk is being decapitated by the Muslims. But why should anyone who is a true Buddhist be decapitated by anyone?"

"You will therefore see that I have no message to give you but that you must be true to your ancient message. The message is 2,500 years old, but it has not yet been truly lived. But what are 2,500 years? They are but a speck in the cycle of time. The full flower of non-violence which seems to be withering away has yet to come to full bloom."

Bombay, 12-12-39

M. D.

CONTENTS		Page
Non-violence and the Great War	R. D. Dasg	189
Non-violence and World Peace	Pyarelal	191
Friendship	M. K. Gandhi	195
Direct Action	M. K. Gandhi	199
WORKING COMMITTEE'S REPORT		
LETTERS		197
THE MESSAGE OF JALIMA	V. L. Moha	199
THE KURISHI TYRED CART		
CONTRIBUTORS	M. Pyarelal	203
IN THE FUTURE PASTORAL—M.	Pyarelal	204
OUR ORIENTALITY	S. C. Dasg	205
A JAPANESE VISITOR	M. D.	206
NOTES		
A CHRISTIAN AGAINST		
CONTRIBUTORS	M. K. G.	207
'HINDUTVA' ONLY	M. K. G.	208



1170

Students' Shame

Vol. No. 5, 1932

HARIJAN

(The HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH)

Under the auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

Vol. VI, No. 107

POONA.—SATURDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1932

[ONE ANNA]

THE WORKING OF FAITH

(By K. G. Mathuram)

Shri Shankaran Thattai, a member of the Gandhi Seva Sangh in the West Khandesh district, had drawn my attention to a sudden awakening and a reform movement which had spontaneously grown up amongst the Bhils of his district during this year. The author of the movement was one Gulam (or as he is now called Gulam Mahajan), a Bhil devotee and teacher, who died in July last at the young age of about 40. He was a resident of Morwad, a village about 25 miles to the south of Mandla, on the Tapi Valley Railway. He was till the end of his life an agricultural labourer or rather a seer (sahar), but had earned high reputation for hard work, honesty, purity of character, non-attachment to possessions and devotion to God. In February last he publicly entered upon the career of a religious teacher, and quickly gathered a large following from the Bhils, which has gone on increasing from day to day. By the latest estimate, the congregation which gathered in his village on the Kachhi Sad Hah last was over one lakh. Between five to ten thousand people visit his shrine every Monday.

As I was passing through Khandesh, I took the opportunity of going to the place myself on Monday the 21st November. More than five thousand people had gathered in a large meadow in front of the sanadhi of the sect. A very great majority of them were Bhils (other 'whited tribes', but there were also some 'ahls' (non-scheduled agriculturalists, and even some 'Bhams and Brahmins. Each pilgrim had before him on his a tray on which an oil-lamp (diya) was burning. He (or she) also had a small red flag strapped on a piece of bamboo like the signalling flag of a railway guard, and such materials for worship as red saffron, rice, coconuts, etc.

At about 9 a.m., the teacher, the son and the widow of Gulam Mahajan, started from the latter's hut in a slow procession to reach the sanadhi. They slowly passed through the principal lanes of the village and through the crowd. A few Bhil volunteers in uniform marched under. There was music played in front of them, accompanied by devotional songs. Slowly they marched upon the sanadhi, and Ramdas the teacher, accompanied by one or two followers, climbed up a high

platform specially erected near the sanadhi. After a few cries of 'Gulam Mahajan Ki Jai', etc., Ramdas raised both his hands over his head, holding the small stick of his folded flag horizontally. Immediately there was complete silence. The whole congregation rose up with their hands raised. Ramdas moved his hands in various positions and the people followed his movements so that for several minutes there was a silent waving of more than five thousand lighted hands. It was a very impressive sight. This was followed by singing of a hymn in Bhil dialect in chorus. Ramdas sang a line, and the gathering responded by singing a long refrain. I could not catch the exact words of the tune, but it was addressed to those who in days who neither come nor go, who are everywhere. This went on for several minutes. The whole gathering then sat down, and a companion of Ramdas delivered a sermon which, I was told, was a set one to a large extent. It gave the creed of the sect as *Amar Saye* (in the Bhil dialect *Am Sar*). The word *Am* seems to have become an equivalent of *Shri* or *Mh.* Everyone was addressed as *Am*, e.g. *Am Shri Gulam Mahajan*, *Am Shri Ramdas*, *Am Bhil* (brother) and so on. Then he gave the commandments of the sect, which are as follows.

Get up before sunrise, take water with you when you go out for attending the calls of nature, take *dalip* (red saffron) on the forehead, do not drink, do not take things of anger, do not eat meat, speak truth, do not be deceitful, wear light to the *Am*, wave light in each other.

The sermon was a fairly long one. The lecture was repeated several times, of course with promise of merit for those who would obey them and punishment for those who did not do so. The audience heard the sermon devoutly and silently. After the sermon was over, there was a few cries of *Jai Ramdas* and company descended from the platform and returned in procession to their hut. The pilgrims themselves waved light manually, father waving light to the son, the son to the father, wife to husband, husband to wife and so on. After waving the light, the person who did so touched the feet of the other party, even the father and the husband touched the feet respectively of the son and the wife.

The movement provides a fine study of how a new religious sect comes into being, and how

strong in the case of self-purification which it creates in its early stages. Forest tribes are not known to be very fond of daily baths. Indeed it is said that when a Hindu dies his relatives fear that he should not get the bath of a Brahman or a Kshatriya, who is obliged to wade away his sins with daily baths. But even so, that who has passed the last post to work before heathens. Death has been the greatest evil of these people. The district has not yet been declared dry by the Bombay Government. But the fall in the sale of liquor during the current year has been so great that the Congress Government has been compelled to take notice of it with a view to introduce prohibition in the district as the only wise step to prevent the people from falling again into the temptation of drink.

How has the miller reform come about? Islam is not known to have provided long distances to preach his message. Indeed he public teaching was of less than six months' duration. He was itinerant. Ramdas, his brother, equally itinerant, does not seem to be a preacher either. He is still just an agricultural labourer, living in a neighbouring village, and only attends this function on Monday nights.

There are no preachers, no printed literature, no coins, no paper propaganda and no scriptures. But the message is spread from village to village by the converts themselves. Mosques surrounded with new posts have sprung up, and Islam has already captured the reputation of an *enterpriser*. Of course there is a great possibility of the movement becoming a movement *avant la lettre*. Already it has secured a break trade for the Tapir Valley Railway (who have to run a special train every Monday), motor buses, story-owners, and readers in and about, paper merchants, oil and sweetmeat sellers of Kandahar, Tilsit and Moscow. Very probably the pilgrims have to borrow money for going to Meccah, which means some business for moneylenders also. But the movement also shows what a strong force faith is in collecting life. Age-long habits are given up in an instant, not by a few strong-willed individuals, but by thousands. A wave of hope, enthusiasm and devotion spreads and becomes infectious, not to kill or disfigure the people but to give them new life, strength and dignity. This is testified by our reporters, who say that the Shi'ah, who have come under this influence, carry themselves with a sense of self-respect not known before.

It is well, while the wave lasts if it is only a wave, that the Bombay Government have decided to take an early opportunity of introducing complete prohibition in this area, and have already sanctioned some money to carry on propaganda against drink amongst the entire population.

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IMPLICATIONS OF RURAL REVIVAL

(By Sushil Chandra Dasgupta)

Rural India has been strangled to the extent that its cottage industries have been destroyed. Formerly almost all industries were aimed to encourage production. But a change has come. We have welcomed cheap products of mechanised factories from Britain and other foreign countries. These imports killed many rural industries and drove the industrial population out of employment and made it depend solely on agriculture. A population both agricultural and industrial was thus being made only agricultural. The process is proceeding with increasing pace. Ramdas Chandra Dasgupta gives the warning, but we have not even now fully realised it. We have started to export basic factories in our own land and helping capitalists of other nations to build factories here and we are purchasing their commodities freely. The process of rural destruction has progressively followed the introduction of mechanised products. Still there is the cry for more industrialisation. We cannot have both. We cannot replace cottage products by products of mechanised industry, for our everyday use, be they manufactured in India or outside, and yet think of the economic well-being of the masses. Large factories kill cottage industries though they provide temporary occupation to a few.

With the growth of factories in our own land rural population is being squeezed. The want of profitable occupations, in leave villages and migrants to towns for a living. It will not do to banish depopulation and migration of villages and at the same time take a cry for increased mechanised industrialisation. If we want to revive villages, we shall have to go deeper and recast our entire outlook. We shall have to be content with cottage products in preference to mill products without making steel and such. As for those products which are now made only in large factories, we should try to have them made and find or create openings, whenever possible, for replacing mill products by cottage products. If we do so, then only can the present process be reversed and healthy, benevolent village life begin.

If we rely on science and truth as our sheet anchor in national and corporate life, then the basis of such national life has to be rooted in villages. Not the wretched villages that there are today, but healthy, populous, industry-agricultural villages, fostering a more or less self-sufficient population. Such healthy growth will create strength where there is weakness.

If we foster cottage industries, then only can the process of destruction of villages be stopped and the reverse process of building, useful, self-reliant, benevolent national life begin, having the strength to live peacefully and the ability to enjoy self-determination, in spite of the opposition of a vulgar social world order. We have a glimpse of the rural India of the past through literature and traditions and find that these were the

ness or low rural self-sufficiency. This is our cultural heritage. The civilization that was built up in India, supported that foundation. However much changed afterwards, the Varanasi, Dharm and the trade guilds all contributed to build up an atmosphere of self-reliance and in politics, trade and society, linked to a vast extent through the unifying influence of hierarchical and powerful kings.

An analysis will show that the rural structure was essentially based on ahimsa or non-violence which only can be the broad base of weakness of the modern character. We have no idea of the extent to which this aspect was perceived in the past. It, however, never reached anything like perfection. Yet it was on account of this that India could keep a special character of its own despite various drastic political changes.

If a village creates self-sufficiency in the matter of supplying its own requirements, if it fulfils the needs of the whole village as one unit, then there is collective peace and goodwill amongst its inhabitants. Its producers become united and devoted to the extent of the needs of the village. If a man or distant neighbour wants a particular thing then the village craftsman increases his business. He has neither the incentive nor the method of the modern mass-producer-manufacturer who does not produce for himself and neighborhood consumers but produces in the hope of creating a market anywhere and anywhere, by offering tempting or competitive prices. Mass production in that sense does not yet see related to the larger interest of the larger or immediate concern as to get as big a market for its commodity as it can. And if in the process other means suffice, it will use them and will spare, if possible, all non-violent processes. Here lies the root of the policy of mechanical industrialization. When a nation approves of it and becomes directly interested in the disposal of its industrial ventures, it attempts to create and keep its market in other countries not by use of armed force.

The self-contained village creates a culture which has charity as its keynote. The desire to be good has only to do two people but also to its immediate or distant neighbors becomes a matter of moral concern with it. It automatically learns to protect its own population against industrial aggressions of unworthy neighbors by industrial guile and social control. This course may develop a superior morality which is no weakness but, if linked to a sovereign industry, it presents a more beautiful scheme of social existence and industrial problems. This self-sufficiency also means its industry, and it is able to withdraw political aggression by working out non-violent non-cooperation.

By its extension and amplification of the method a non-violent national defense may be worked out, which is likely to meet the present need of India. The world may not have noted this plan of political existence, but it offers a glimpse of what is possible through rural self-sufficiency.

Rural reconstruction must mean this and nothing short of this, if it is to be worked out in the present state of anarchy as any effective purpose. It will be of little avail if, in the name of rural uplift, we attempt to establish a few more schools of the current type, establish a dispensary, a post office and a telegraph office here and there and arrange for quick transport of men and goods to the nearest town, and in the next step set up radio masts and electric installations and radio houses or distribute electric energy to cottages. The present poverty-stricken village can ill afford to have these, and by any attempt to divide the village by trying to make it a replica of a small city, we may hasten its ruin.

Wanted a Guide Book

Shri Mirdolab has sent me a letter which fairly translated means,

"A bookman has been made in finding out various legends. Mainly they report legends as striking, related to the big, national unity, etc. If there was a book of instructions covering these important matters, we should have plenty of practice throughout India. At present there is anarchy. Every government teaches what it likes, even at times in two national words, and in many cases others are given in English. Impure village girls have given orders in English which they do not understand. This is necessary for the central office to handle, and then too with the quickest dispatch. If the book suggested by me is published immediately, it will be useful for the instruction of the crops that are being based in view of the coming Congress session in Mahabul."

I covered the letter to the central office. It might say to be difficult in being out the required book made a work. The national is there in a successful form. Dr. Mirdolab has, I think, published some literature on the subject. For the Mahabul's experience must have the usual mass instruction book. I know that Prof. Mirdolab of Baroda has often gone past to produce sample technical notes as Mahabul, answering most of the requirements. It might be a sample matter to bring out an authoritative book out of the national.

In the connection I would remind the Mahabul Reception Committee of the suggestion I had made at Haripur that there should be a guide book for Congressmen and visitors in sample Mahabul, written in Devanagari and Urdu scripts, about anarchy, etc. Generally the visitors are left to their own resources. They do not even know where to find the places they want to go to or the things they need. A guide book with a map of the Congress Nagar for the help of those thousands of people who attend the Congress session from year to year is a necessity.

Japan, 26-12-38

M. K. G.

H A R I J A N

Dec. 31

1938

STUDENTS' SHAME

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is a most pathetic letter from a college girl in the Punjab lying on my table for nearly two weeks. Much of time was lost in search for shikara to deliver to the girls' quarters. Somewhere or other I was avoiding the task, though I knew the answer. Meanwhile I received another letter from a sister of great experience, and I felt that I could no longer evade the duty of dealing with the college girls very carefully. Her letter is written in clean Hindustani. I want try to do as much justice as I can to the letter, which gives me a perfect picture of her deep feeling. Here is my rendering of a portion of the letter:

"To girls and grown-up women there comes a time, in spite of their wish to the contrary, when they have to venture out alone, whether they are sent from one place to another in the same city, or from one town to another. And when they are thus alone alone, unaided people persecute them. They are scolded or even violent language which they are forced to bear. And if they dare not check them, they do not hesitate to take further liberty. I should like to know what part non-violence can play in such occasions. The use of violence is of course there. If the girl or the woman has sufficient courage, she will use what resources she has and teach everyone a lesson. They are at least kept up a row that would draw the attention of the people around, resulting in the persecutors being badly whipped. But I know—¹Oh, the result of such treatment would be merely to postpone the agony, not a permanent cure. What, you know the people who molest me, I feel sure that they will turn to reason, to the nature of love and friendship. But what about a fellow crying by, using foul language as being a girl or a woman accompanied by a male companion? You have an opportunity of reasoning with him. There is no likelihood of your meeting him again. You may not even recognise him. You do not know his address. What is a poor girl to do in such cases? By way of example I want to give you my own experience of last night (24th October). I was going with a girl companion of mine on a very special round at about 1-30 p.m. It was impossible to secure a male companion at the time and the crowd could not be got off. On the way a Sikh young man passed by on his cycle and continued to utter something all the while while passing distance. We knew that it was aimed at us. We hid here and there.

There was no crowd on the road before we had gone a few paces the crowd returned. We stopped here at once whilst he was still at a respectful distance. He started speaking on, saying saying whether he had intended to get down or merely pass by us. We felt that we were in danger. We had no faith in our physical power. I myself was weaker than the average girl. But in my hands I had a big book. Somehow or other courage came in me all of a sudden I lifted the heavy book at the cycle and cried out, 'Have you respect your parents?' He could not help but stop his bicycle, put on speed and fled from us. Now, if I had not held the book at his cycle, he might have harassed us by his filthy language to the end of our journey. This was an offence, perhaps self-defence, coercion; but I wish you would come to Lahore and know the difficulties of an unaided girl. You would surely discover a proper solution. First of all, tell me how, in the circumstances mentioned above, can you apply the principle of ahimsa and save themselves. Secondly, what is the remedy for saving girls of the characterable habit of avoiding violence? You would not suggest that we should wear and suffer all a new generation, might have declined to be joined to that womanhood, come into being. The Government is either unwilling or unable to deal with this kind of evil. The law enforcement is not for such occasions. When they hear of a girl heavily carrying all kinds of goods, say, 'Well done. That is the way all girls should behave.' Sometimes a leader is heard eloquently talking against such misbehaviour of students. But no one applies himself systematically to the solution of the school problem. You will be perhaps surprised to know that during Dandi and such other holidays newspapers come out with scores warning women from visiting institutions even to see the distribution. This one fact should make you to know to what extent we are reduced in this part of the world. Neither the writers nor the readers of such warnings have any idea of shame that they should have to be saved."

Another Punjab girl to whom I gave the letter to read suggests the narrative from her own experience of her college days and tells me that what my correspondent has related is the common experience of most girls.

The other letter from an experienced woman relates the experience of her girl friends in Lucknow. They are molested in common chance by boys sitting in the row behind them using all kinds of language which I can only call indecent. They are used to meet even to preposterous places which have been described by my correspondent but which I must not reproduce here.

If the unaided person who was all this was needed, to do the remedy that the girl who describes herself to be physically weak advised - a of changing her book at the cycle, was quite correct, it is an up-to-date remedy. And

I have read in these columns that when a person wants to become violent, physical violence does not come in the way of an efficient one, even against a physically powerful opponent. And we know that in the present age there have been invented so many methods of using physical force that even a little girl with sufficient intelligence can deal death and destruction. The defense nowadays is growing of training girls to defend themselves in situations such as the one described by my correspondent. But she is wise enough to know that even though she was able to make effective use for the moment of the book she had in her hand as a weapon of defense it was no remedy for the growing evil. In the case of rape attacks, there must be no perturbation but there should be no indifference. All such cases should be published in the papers. Names of the offenders should be published when they are traced. There should be no false modesty about exposing the evil. There is nothing like public opinion for corrupting public conscience. There is no doubt that, as the correspondent says, there is great public sympathy about such matters. But it is not the public alone that are to blame. They must have before them examples of racism. Even a violent contest be dealt with unless cases of throwing are published and followed up, so also it is impossible to deal with cases of male behaviour if they are suppressed. Crimes and vice generally require darkness for growing. They disappear when light plays upon them.

But I have a fear that the modern girl loves to be taken to half a dozen situations. She loves adventures. My correspondent seems to represent the unusual type. The modern girl desires not to protect herself from wind, rain and sun but to attract attention. She improves upon nature by passing herself and looking accordingly. The non-violent way is not for such girls. I have often remarked in these columns that defense rules govern the development of the non-violent spirit in us. It is a strenuous effort. It makes a revolution in the way of thinking and living. If my correspondent and the girls of her way of thinking will nevertheless take life as she presented matters they will soon find that young men, who at all times in contact with them, will learn to respect them and to put on their best behaviour in their presence. But if purchases they find, as they say, that there very shortly is a danger of being walked, they must develop courage enough to do better than yield to the brute as men. It has been suggested that a girl who is perished or bound so as to make her powerless even for struggling cannot do as easily as I seem to think. I venture to assert that a girl who has the will to resist can burn all the bonds that men have used to render her powerless. The purchase will give her the strength to do.

But there remains a possible only for those who have trained themselves for it. Those who have not a living faith in non-violence will learn

the art of self-defence and protect themselves from undecent behaviour of unchasteous youth.

The great question, however, is why should young men be devoid of elementary good manners so as to make decent girls be in perpetual fear of molestation from them? I should be sorry to discover that the majority of young men have lost all sense of decency. But they should, as a class, be jealous of their reputation and deal with every case of immorality ensuring among their mass. They must learn to hold the honour of every woman as dear as that of their own women and mothers. All the education they receive will be in vain if they do not learn good manners.

And it is not as much the concern of professors and schoolmasters to ensure politeness among their pupils as to prepare them for the subjects prescribed for the classroom?

Seema, 26.12.38

WEEKLY LETTER

Dear Vatsa

Grandpa has again had a crowded week, a week crowded with work and visitors. Miss Murali Laxmi, who is in our circle as her usual annual visit to Grandpa and Indu, was responsible for introducing to Grandpa, Miss Catherine Smith, the Secretary of the Negro women of the Young Women Christian Association in New York and delegate to the recent International Missionary Convention at Tambaram. "I have taken a leaf out of your book," begins Miss Smith. "As I tried to follow your life I found that although your mission is for the world, you have always chosen to work and toil in India in the midst of your people. Though I have had offers from America and elsewhere, I have felt that my work was with my own people in America in the midst of whom I was born and brought up. Miss Smith was very impressed with what she had seen of the working of the Wadia Scheme of Education, which struck her as a "remarkable experiment." She wanted to know whether Grandpa would permit her to send one of her girls to come and stay with her in Japan and what she would be able to learn and take back with her to America if she came. "I had never thought of a girl coming," replied Grandpa. "To take the responsibility of a girl so far away from her home would perhaps be a bit too much. But as you can see I have plenty of girls around me here, and if a girl did come from America like this, I should not want it a bit, i.e., if she could put up with the incredibly simple life here so it would appear to her. When she has been here and taken back in the secret of simple living. However simple life may be in America, it cannot come anywhere near the simplicity of life here. I do not know if America can understand such simplicity, or want it. The other thing that she could take back is the trust of

non-violence, so the means that she can maintain it without the help of any words or speeches, if there is non-violence in the atmosphere here. If there is no non-violence in the atmosphere, no written or spoken word can make her understand it or grasp it."

Not Totalitarian

Mr. H. V. Hodson, the editor of the *Round Table*, had a long and interesting talk with Gandhi. I may not go into the various political questions that he discussed with Gandhi, but it is worth while to record here his question about the Congress and Hindu-Muslim questions and Gandhi's reply. Mr. Hodson expressed the opinion that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim question was made difficult by the fact that, owing to its very nature, the Congress tended to take on the nature of a "totalitarian party" and acted as if it were the one and the only party in the country that mattered, instead of regarding itself simply as one of the principal parties."

"It is a very wrong view to take of the Congress," replied Gandhi. "The Congress does claim to be the one and the only party that can deliver the goods. It is a perfectly valid claim to make. One day or the other some party has to assert itself to that extent. That does not make it a totalitarian party. It is the substance of the Congress to become all-embracing of the whole nation, not merely of any particular section. And it is a worthy substance to borrow with its best tradition. If you have studied Congress history, you will find that none so very accurately the Congress has sought to serve and represent all sections in the country equally without any distinction or discrimination. There is need to have Rajas and Mahasayas as the Rapprochement Committee, and has defended the cause of the States against the paramount power as in the case of Kashmir and Mysore. It would lose to be absorbed by the Muslim League if the Muslim League would ever so much as, as to absorb the Muslim League in nature, so far as the political programme is concerned. For religious and social activity, of course, every community has to have its separate organization."

"But if the Congress has the intention of absorbing other political organisations, it cannot help being a totalitarian party," put in Mr. Hodson.

"You may try to doze it by calling it totalitarian," replied Gandhi. "Absorption is inevitable when a country is engaged in a struggle to win power from foreign hands. It cannot afford to have separate, rival political organisations. The entire strength of the country must be used for covering the third and unifying party. That is what is happening in India today. Where there is no common danger to oppose, there must be separate parties representing different schools of thought. You should bear in mind that the Congress does not oppose us with its others. Its nature is non-violent."

Only Inevitable

Gandhi's answer, however, pointed out: "Would not the march to full responsible government be more rapid, if the Muslims were taken along?" "Of course it would be," replied Gandhi. "Personally I do not want anything which the Muslims oppose. But I have faith that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim trouble will come much sooner than most people expect. I claim to be able to look at the whole picture with a detached mind. There is no substance in our quarrels. Points of difference are superficial, those of common are deep and permanent. Political and economic subjects are common to us. The same climate, the same rivers, the same fields supply both with air, water and food. Whatever, therefore, leaders, Mahatmas and Muslims may say to do, the masses, when they are fully awakened, will assert themselves and continue for the sake of combining common ends."

"The office of the Journalist and Commentator propagandists too is to bring the masses of both the communities together by emphasizing identity of purposes. I have my differences with them, but I cannot withhold my admiration for their endeavour to demolish the superstitions that keep the different communities apart."

Dr. Radhakrishnan

Dr. Radhakrishnan, the brilliant seer and philosopher of India, paid Gandhi a brief visit on his way to England where he occupies the Chair of Oriental Philosophy at the Oxford University. "Hitherto they were making announcements to India," he remarked to Gandhi. "Now that the Oxford University has nominated a Chair of Oriental Philosophy, I feel that it would be some one to be there." The post, he explained, was for fifteen years, but he had made it a condition to spend at least six months in the year in India. "The living evidence on the basis of which I can teach oriental philosophy," he said Gandhi. "I am for you take an abiding stand on the principles of religion and morality. There is a pump in the Mithibhoor, in which Dr. Dasgupta was. 'Bene is a high faculty, under divine auspices it is used. I am under deigned by the hand. How can one like me live?'"

98 night number 1978 1978 1978

1978 night number 1978 1978 1978

"The Dr. Dasgupta would like to have that and the triumphed. If we stand firmly on the principles that you stand for, we shall be able. To be standing in morality is the highest kind of protection. It is that, the moral and religious aspect of your life, that appeals to me most."

"We have it in Rajahmundry."

1978 night number 1978 1978 1978

1978 night number 1978 1978 1978

1978 night number 1978 1978 1978

"The night we consider the divine place of God even in our naked eye and the, dry."

"And again."

1978 night number 1978 1978 1978

"There is no essential difference between an Arya and a Mlechchha," said Shukra, then smelt the fish."

"See the self-confidence and the breadth of spiritual culture that these utterances reveal. However despicable we may be, still we possess these great treasures which are ours for as only but for the whole world, and you are a living representative of this great culture."

"I am sometimes asked as to what would India do in the event of a world war. I tell them, we have witnessed the execution of many a civilization that rested on force. We shall adhere to non-violence. Others perhaps, perhaps because of the violence. What does it matter, then, if we perish in the attempt to evoke the principle of non-violence? We shall have lived and died for a great principle."

With the Scouts

Students of the Wardha Scheme of Education probably know that scoutcraft has been included in the course of training for pupil teachers under that scheme. A number of pupil teachers who had been undergoing training in the training centre at Wardha have been receiving a course of training in scoutcraft for twenty days. The end of the course was marked by a camp at Nagpur for two days, during which, besides scoutcraft the campers did some rural reconstruction work by clearing the village. At the end of the camp was held a rally over which Gandhiji presided. Two officers deputed by the Hindustani Scout Association (Nagpur), assisted by some members of the training school, were in charge of the training of the scouts.

The Hindustani Scout Association is the name recently given to the Akhilandh Seva Sangh founded by Pandit Madhavji and the Association that had evolved from the Boy Scouts Association, India, otherwise known as the Indian Power Association. The association was a result of some divergent remarks made by Lord Baden Powell about India. It may be noted that the boys of the Elphinstone Boarding School, Wardha, too took part in the rally. The rally included a demonstration of manual drill, gymnastic stunts and flag-signalling in Hindustani. Gandhiji was asked to write on a sentence on a piece of paper which was flag-signalled to a camp on the opposite end and was recorded by him with one white mark. It was followed by the performance of a short dramatic scene portraying the opening of a temple in Nagpur. At the end, the Harijans and their sympathetic opponents, who had at first viewed their admission into the temple, were shown as embracing one another and singing in a dance common to Chhatrapur Nagpur. The flag salutation ceremony, however, which Gandhiji was asked to witness, contained some interesting elements. The salutation song was an instance of the song that is sung at the national flag hoisting ceremony. The women flag saluting was in English. All those present on the stadium field

of Gandhiji and drew forth from him a mild and friendly comment in his brief speech which was in Hindustani. I transcribe it below.

Object of Drill

"I congratulate you on the demonstration of the drill that you have given. It is a necessary part of your training. But while you have made a fine beginning, you have still much ground to traverse."

"The object of mass drill is to enable large bodies of people to perform any movement rhythmically and evenly and with absolute precision. What a saving in national time and energy it would mean if we could do that in our public meetings and functions! There is a slight want in disciplined movement of masses of men and women, but now I asked you to move a little towards me in due my low voice may reach you. Had you advanced far enough in your drill, you would have been able to perform that movement with ease without any noise or confusion. There is a rhythm and music in drill that makes strong efforts and eliminates fatigue. If the whole nation of 300 millions could be drilled so as to move together and act together and if necessary to the mother as one man, we should secure independence without making a blow and set an example of a peaceful revolution for the whole world to emulate."

Scoutcraft as Education

"I was particularly glad to note that the Elphinstone Boarding House at Wardha had sent its quota of scouts to participate in your rally. This is as it should be. Boy scout training has been incorporated in the Wardha Scheme of Education. It would be nothing worth if it did not serve to remove all moral doubts and suspicions and foster among the various castes and communities a perfect spirit of camaraderie which is an integral part of that scheme, although it is not set down in so many words in the Baden Powell Committee's report. The Wardha Scheme of Education does not aim merely at imparting literary training to the students, its object is to give an education for life that would answer the need of our millions. It is calculated to be a living and life-giving experiment. Teachers, who have in their work to become workmen of this education, have need, therefore, of a broader and wider training. And scoutcraft is an important and useful part of that training."

A Word of Advice

"I know something of the work of the old Seva Sangh founded by Keshavn Maharaj, I know also Pandit Hridaynath Kanoo's work on it, and I have come in contact with Shri Nagas, the organizer of the Seva. If, therefore, I offer a few remarks by way of suggestions, they must be taken as those of a friend. As I watched the flag salutation ceremony, there seemed to be an air of Sunday about it. Your song is composed to high-flown language. You have in the song expressed your readiness to lay down

your lives for that flag which you have streamered as one day flapping over the whole world. Could you seriously mean as I asked myself, as you sang that song I venture to suggest that such streamers as are expressed in that song may not be associated with any other than the national flag — if they are not to remain a mere piece with calculated to begin and end with the waving of that song. People cannot die for more than 10 if you want have a separate flag and a national ceremony, your song should be packed in a better key. Then, again, I see you have your inscription on the flag in English. That seems to me an anomaly. You should have on your flag Hindustani inscription. Singing must not be merely at the waving of the holy but that of the laic need have too. It would be a poor performance if it confined itself to mere intervals and spaces the interval.

"A word to the pupil teachers who are assembled here. As the first batch, on them rests a heavy responsibility. It is not merely they but the scheme of education which they are due to work that is going to be put on its trial. It therefore behooves them to be perfectionist and exact in every little thing that they say or do. They must weigh every word that they utter and make care come to utter a word in vain. It is a new and untried experiment that they are going to launch upon, i.e. to give the whole education through a craft. Success will be the reward of unceasing exercise of watchfulness in all their acts. Nothing will be more detrimental to it than idleness in speech, thought or action."

Begun, 29-12-33

Prasadi

HARIJAN SEVA IN KARNATAK

The Karnata Harijan Seva Sangh opened, on incorporation last year, its headquarters on a national programme instead of spreading itself out at once in the district. Itahala is a village attached to the municipal area of Mysore. The annual report of the Sangh describes it as "a Harijan Colony of 10 lanes, plagued by poor houses, mostly out of work for the greater part of the year, and by highest widow and orphan. The general needs of the villagers is very low." The Sangh workers made the village a centre for their social effort. They got the Harijans on the path of self-help. A village panchayat was formed with a programme of education. It succeeded in destroying the village dhoti, which owing to low water had spoilt the work of the youth, and started a night school for adults. Simultaneously, a Gaur Sevak Mandir was also organized, its volunteers cleaned and repaved the streets of the village, making all the village boundary with Hindu Saps, and kept watch to prevent cowpox being imported within the village limits. The Sangh workers, among whom were the Hindu Officer at Mysore and a retired judge, on the villages as strongly by taking houses, schools

and Indian shops, and receiving and housing the village art and folk. The Harijan panchayat agreed to maintain the village as 'Rajapur Nagar' to indicate their determination to turn over a new leaf. At the following ceremony, a pledge was administered to the villagers to live a clean and pure life in accordance with the new name of their village. Karnata Nagar has now a gate with the new name on its arch. Under one pillar the board a brass tablet containing the signed pledges of the villagers for self-help. Under the other, is found another tablet containing the good wishes of the workers of the Sangh. All this is but a small though good beginning.

The village has already commenced its education and to receive help from outside—from official as well as non-official sources. The Karnata Municipality has decided to improve the village road, lighting, sanitation and water supply. A few Christian friends from Mysore are co-operating with the Sangh. One of them has taken up the task of removing illiteracy among the Harijans in three months by a new method of adult education. The Rural Development Officer of the U. P. Government has mentioned a grant of Rs. 1,000 to the Sangh for the walls fund for the district, and a smaller grant of Rs. 100 for extending the village playground, and has further agreed to open a road spanning across to remove unemployment. The Forest Commission has recommended the removal of the forest premises of the Harijans. The Sangh has also started work among the prisoners of Karnata city. A co-operative society has been formed and two night schools opened. (The Municipality having given the use of an school building where both Hindu and Urdu are taught. A co-operative panchayat has been organized to settle disputes. On the occasion of the Gaur Sevak Mandir, which with Rs. 1,000 was sold by the Sangh workers and Rs. 300 were collected for the Harijan Sevak Sangh. Every donor was rewarded to give 70 other of equal value on honour of Gandhi's 70th birthday. Several European and Indian Christians freely responded by purchasing khadi and giving donations, and they joined, as Gandhi says, the procession of all classes and races when we on 24th September. The rest of the work was fully employed for work and propaganda among the Harijans of Itahala and surrounding villages. The city is the native place of the Premier of U. P., Pandit Gopal Krishna Gokhale, who was the members of the Sangh and promised Government support to facilitate these programmes.

(Continued By JAGMOHAN DASGUPTA)

CONTENTS	PAGE
THE WORKING OF FARM	K. G. Maheshwari 403
IMPROVEMENT OF BRIDGES	
KARNATAK	S. C. Dasgupta 405
SOUTH-INDIA	M. K. Gandhi 408
WOMEN'S LETTERS	Prasadi 409
HARIJAN SEVA IN KARNATAK	Jagmoohan 411
NOTES	
WANTED A GURU ROOM	M. K. G. 407

7/15/1900



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HARIJAN

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Editor: HARADIV DESAI

Under the Patronage of The Maratha Sevak Sangh

VOL. VI, No. 40

PUNJAB — SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1900

[ONE ANNA

THE BIG BROTHER

"Man we are and we must mourn," a poet has said, "when even the shadow of the which once was great has passed away." And when Dr. Zahir Hussain's telegram brought the news of Mahadev Shinde's death came, Gendeh was stricken for a while and died an afternoon later. And as I thought of him, memories began to crowd in upon my mind of hours, days, and months of close fellowship during the Elshahit situation and for several years afterwards. But I thought even of the earlier years when with Gendeh I was his boy in Ranpur during his first incarnation. At the very first contact he made on first as members of the family, I remembered how he talked with Gendeh, the boys as though he had known him for ages, how he gave instructions to the good D-Arma, how several months, about every little detail of our arrangements, and how he laughed saying, "Mahadev, the Hindu has not sixteen years for you." I then remembered myself of the days when he became the words like a colossus making the platform shake with his thunder, and you ready to take a grade hat, whenever it was given, and nodding like a head one whose he regarded as a beloved leader. "Bhai" was the affectional appellation he had given Gendeh, and also, Mahadev Ah would say, "It is better to do as Gendeh suggests." Gendeh suggested several changes in the memorial to the Viceroy to be read by the Elshahit Deputation. It was he who bore down all opposition and got the rest to accept Gendeh's suggestions. The non-cooperation resolution was drafted by Gendeh one morning at Bhagpur, on our way to Calcutta. Somewhere the word non-violent had escaped Gendeh when he actually drafted the resolution. But on revision he saw the historical error. The Big Brother had no hesitation in agreeing to the addition of the essential adjective 'non-violent' before 'non-cooperation'. "I can hold you in my position, father," he would often say to Gendeh, "but you hold me in your hand, and I, like the good soldier who I am, believe in discipline and implicit obedience." It was in this noble spirit that he accepted Gendeh's advice regarding that famous "sculpture" in 1901. I remember vividly the sacred 28 days of August 1901 when Gendeh went through his fast for Hindu-Muslim unity, partly

under the Ah Brothers' roof and partly in the house of Late Behan Singh. The evening that Gendeh announced his decision the younger brother was utterly despondent crying like a child for two days, but not the Big Brother. He advised for a couple of hours, with Mahadev supporting him, but when Gendeh said that it was not an uncollected decision but a religious vow made before the Maker and hence irrevocable, he ceased to argue and wished Gendeh godspeed. I remember how he "would" because as he was the terror of Hindu houses while Hindu boys would learn on his good right up to the kitchen and so to dare along with the Hindu gurus. He had a scrupulous regard for the feelings and even propensities of others and I vividly remember the occasion when both the brothers would be a harden crowd their eyes, whilst going to a public meeting to be addressed by them and Gendeh, saying, "It is well for you, father, to see them. They would not offend you. But we are ordinary mortals."

There was a certain impersonation about him which when it was childish detached and when childish turned people. Much of the history of the years after 1901 can be understood if we bear in mind the trait of him. They were years of heavy misunderstanding and wide divergence of views, but the Big Brother never missed an opportunity of seeing Gendeh whenever he happened to be in a place Gendeh was visiting. He wrote and sent all kinds of things, but I do not think he ever repeated the part he had played in the history of the nation during the earlier years, and the views expressed by Mahadev Mahomed Ali in his Congress Presidential address were views expressed on behalf of both the brothers and may yet be regarded as the brothers' testament to the nation. Here is one extract.

"I know how much a cow is in the eye of my Hindu brethren, and who knows better than my brother and myself how anxious our about that cow is among us presentists! His action is so selfishly looking the Elshahit movement was on Hindu dominionarily passion and strength, but he himself used to say that he was trying to protect the cow of the Mahadev which was their Hindu, so that this united community, which had learnt from an experience that there could be no union for

kindness save kindness, would be subject to protest his own case in return. This was, however, only Mahatma Gandhi's way of explaining his love for the cow. And even before he so poignantly called the Khilafat our own, my brother and I had decided not to be any party in cow-killing campaign. No land is consecrated more than our home even by our servants, and we consider it our duty to ask our contemporaries to act similarly. As for slaughtering cows, my brother and I have never done it, but have always married girls, since a marriage of some such nature is a recognized religious duty. Much can be done in this way, and my have learnt by experience during the years in last years following the Hindu-Muslim contacts and co-operation that it is not difficult to reduce cow-slaughter even before Swami's is was to insignificant proportions."

Here is another:

"One thing is certain, and it is this, that neither can the Hindus exterminate the Mussalman nor can the Mussalman get rid of the Hindu. If the Hindus exterminate any such design, they must know that they lost their opportunity when Mahomed ben Qasim landed on the soil of Sindh twelve hundred years ago. Then the Mussalman was few, and today their number more than seventy millions. And if the Mussalman exterminate similar scheme, they too have lost their opportunity. They should have wiped out the whole breed of Hindu when they ruled from Kashmir to Cape Comorin and from Karachi to Chittagong. As for myself I am willing to exchange my present servants for another in which my Hindu fellow countrymen would be the slave-driven instead of the foreign master of my destiny, for by the exchange I would at least prevent enslavement of 250 millions of my contemporaries."

As I think of the Big Brother as a man, I forget his Nationalist attitudes, his frequently indignant utterances, his extravaganzas, and his jokes which were sometimes crude. I remember two incidents which he was so far serious mind and which I have treasured. Once as he was talking to me about the Prophet, he said: "Mahomed, do you know one of the sayings of the Prophet has always remained with me and came to my mind when I am before an assembly of women? The Prophet was once asked what he loved most. He said, 'I love women, flowers and prayer.' He who talked of women in the same breath as flowers, the symbol of innocence, and prayer which means communion with God, how could he have regarded women as objects of lust?" The other incident relates to his attitude to death. One of his daughters died when we were in England in 1931. We went to see him at his hotel at a very late hour in the evening. For a moment we were silent. He knew we had no words on our lips. He broke the silence and said: "After an hour's sleep? Then retire, dear. Just like."

There was complete resignation to the will of Allah. But an another occasion I noticed on him not only resignation but an attitude of indifference and even cheerfulness towards death. He had just been released from jail I asked him to narrate some of his experiences. He began, as usual, with humorous anecdotes with his fathers, how he defied them, how he consumed quantities of sweets, brought to him by the jailors in the teeth of jail rules, and so on. But he ended on a serious note: "The one thing," he said, "that I shall always remember is the calm way in which a convict faced his death-sentence. He saw me on the previous evening, confessed that he had committed the murder, but asked me to pray for him and to ask for Allah's forgiveness. I said I would pray for him but it was wonderful how fervently he said his prayers. From three or four o'clock in the morning his loud plaintive prayers were being heard in my cell, and at day-break he was singing a great song from Kaler."

or it first you would:
 or it or own for:

or it is it the you it
 or it or own for:

Big Sister, Big Sister
 Big or Sister for:

you with get big and:
 or it it it own for:

[Our ready, my dear, for thy union with the great Lover (to the world, put on thy best garments to meet Him. He is ready to receive thee in the bed of another world. Thy corridor will be the earth and the earth will be thy pillow. Prepare thyself to go to the place whence there is no returning.]"

As he said these lines a tear rolled down his big face and he said: "What a great thing it would be if we could all meet Death in the same spirit!" I heard the word for the first time from his lips, and I thought Kala had achieved something sweeter and nobler than even Shakespeare who had said:

Nothing can we call our own, but Death

And that small world of heaven north

Which serves as paths and cover to our bones.

In the edition of our *Ashoka-Samayarakh* (Hymn Book) that was published since the meeting with the Mahatma, I introduced this song, and whenever this song is sung at our poetry-meetings I think of the Big Brother who gave it to me.

Sagun, 26.12.38

M. D.

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TO PUSH KHAIR SALES

"Salesmanship of khair is both a science and an art," writes the Vichaijai Jangam, the salesmanship manager of the A. I. S. A. Khair Bazaar, Bombay, in the course of a letter to Gandhiji. Shri Jangam commands the following suggestions for adoption by the various khair Bazaars.

1. The bazaar should be situated in an easily accessible and attractive quarter, preferably in the neighborhood of well-known cloth shops. Some khair Bazaars at present are situated at a distance from the centre of population. The damage done thus.

2. A khair Bazaar should be so designed and arranged as to compare favorably in its appearance and outlook with well-known shops. At present the reverse is the case.

3. Khair depends on skilled and appropriate coloring of the stuff within the shop, and addition and tact on the part of the shop assistant are an essential part of successful salesmanship. A trained shop assistant is an absolute necessity for the success of any khair Bazaar.

4. A careful study should be made of the peculiar tastes and requirements of the clientele which the Bazaar is intended to serve, and the Bazaar should be well stocked with all the varieties and hues that are likely to be in request so that the people will have to compare at the khair Bazaar for the variety, tone of their requirements before they go anywhere else. The Bombay Khair Bazaar, for instance, displays even modern-day baby's clothes.

5. Every khair Bazaar should maintain a complete register of its actual and prospective customers, and an intensively prepared descriptive and price catalogue of the various items stocked by the Bazaar should be supplied to them at least twice a year, or at the success of Gandhiji Jayanti and on the eve of the National Week or April Anniversaries should also be made for khair Bazaar buyers and for Bombay khair at the various exhibitions on suitable occasions. In the other advances should be taken of the press for advertisement and propaganda of khair.

6. Sale of ready-made clothes has become a prominent feature of khair Bazaars in all big and small cities and even of weekly markets that are held in villages at the station. Every khair Bazaar should therefore have a stock of ready-made clothes to suit the local tastes in the matter of cut and design. In the Bombay Khair Bazaar, sales under this head alone figured to Rs. 54,000 in one year. The different sections survey the needs of the customers who having purchased khair from the Bazaar may want to have clothes tailored to order. To keep a going the Bazaar has installed 40 to 42 sewing machines employing from 60 to 70, ladies. Their wages for last year aggregated to Rs. 24,000. This year the figure is expected to touch Rs. 75,000.

Shri Jangam's suggestions were given a trial by the Mayor Vichaijai Khair Bazaar at Ahmedabad. As a result the sales rose from Rs. 14,000 in 1936 to Rs. 1,51,000 in 1937. During the current year the corresponding figure is likely to touch Rs. 1,25,000.

Pyarelal

MIRA — A NUTRITIOUS BEVERAGE

(By Sigmund Hahn)

Mira, the sweet unf fermented fruit juice, rather of cocoanut, date, walnut or sapo palm, has been a popular beverage in some parts of our country since times immemorial. On account of ignorance of its nutritive value the people have not yet realized its domestic importance. On the contrary some of them belonging to the lower class believing, however, consider mira to be a deleterious drink. Others having various conceptions about intoxicating drinks define it as a natural drink. They confuse a valuable which is decidedly strengthening. They have realized that mira benefits the subject and the domestic side. The fresh juice of the sapoteira is a delicious drink all over the country. But sapoteira juice can become fermented like mir. A comparison of the mira with the sapoteira juice from a scientific point of view will help to remove the misapprehensions about mira. No less an authority than the Director of the Nutrition Research Laboratory, Indian Research Fund Association, Coimbatore (S. L.), has made the following analysis of the two beverages.

Components	Mira	Sapoteira juice
1. Moisture	% 94.72	94.9
2. Protein	" 0.16	1.8
3. Fat	" 0.17	0.6
4. Mineral Matter	" 0.66	0.4
5. Fibre	" —	—
6. Carbohydrate	" 14.35	11.4

From the analysis of the minerals the proportion of the following important mineral salts has been determined.

SALT	Mira	Sapoteira
1. Calcium	% 0.168	NA
2. Phosphorus	" 0.011	"
3. Iron	" 0.025	"

Medicinal Use of Mira

In the *Indian Medical Review* (By Shri K. M. Nadkarni) the following information is given about the use of each kind of palm Bazaar as valuable use as a new material for sedation.

Cocunut Mira — "The unf fermented juice taken twice or three weekly during pregnancy is said to have marked effect on the other of the foetus at its exit to be born of a low complexion; i.e. if of dark parents, comparatively fair; if of lighter colored parents, the offspring generally resembles European complexion." (p.114)

Date palm — "The fresh juice is a cooling beverage" (page 602)

Palmira — "The palmira juice is diuretic, cooling, stimulant and strengthening when fresh."

"The fresh mechanical juice consumed by excess of the spleen early in the morning or evening, also acts as a laxative taken rapidly for several months, it is useful for inflammatory ailments and dyspepsia also as gastric stomach and to check leucorr. as diuretic it is useful in gonorrhoea."

Sapo — "The juice is extremely nutritious and aphrodisiac, also laxative."

Remedy for Agitation — Dr. S. C. Paul, M. A., F. R. C. P., retired Senior Surgeon of the General Hospital, Coimbatore, while speaking at a religious

occurred at Tinnevely recently, and that epidemic was a disease that spread on the basis of civilisation. The 'civilised' food of the present day was lacking in vitamins, especially in vitamin B and therefore our power of resistance was diminishing. After dealing with the symptoms, diagnosis and operative methods related to the disease, Dr Paul said that his experiments with this food today (now) effected a cure in some cases and the experiment was well worth trying. He believed that the past is today (now), which contained vitamin B in large quantities, gave considerable power of resistance to the patient and had curative properties.

There is ample scope for continuing experiments and research on the scientific and medical basis of non-violence. Holistic medicine and acceptance can do a lot in this respect and cure the misfortune of serving millions of our suffering and starving countrymen especially in the villages. Reports of experienced investigators and related experiments will be welcomed by the Civil Department of the A. I. V. I. A., Wardha.

H A R I J A N

Jan. 7

1939

RAJKOT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Hitherto I have said hardly anything about the Rajkot struggle which has just ended as bravely as it began. My silence was not due to lack of interest. That was impossible owing to my intimate connections with the place. Apart from my father having been the Dewan of the State, the late Thakore Sahib looked up to me as to a father. My silence was due to the fact that Sardar Vallabhbhai was the soul of the movement. To praise him or his work would be like self-praise.

The struggle showed what non-violent non-cooperation could do, if there was adequate response from the people. I was wholly unprepared for the unity, grit and capacity for sacrifice that the people showed. They showed that they were greater than their rulers, and that even an English Dewan was powerless before a people united in non-violent action.

The Thakore Sahib deserves congratulations for taking the view in his own hands and opposing the English Dewan's advice and the known wishes of the Resident.

From documents in my possession I know that Sir Patrick Cadell supported by the Resident was a very fierce opponent of the Thakore Sahib. He acted as if he was the master. He traded upon the fact that he belonged to the ruling class and his appointment was subject to the sanction of the central authority, and thought that he could do what he liked. At the time

of writing I do not know whether he has wisely turned or what has happened. The correspondence in my possession shows that the ruling class have seriously asked themselves whether it is wisdom to have Europeans as their Deewans. The central authority has to keep watch over Residents if no deliberations are to be carried out as well in the latter as in the agent.

It is to be hoped that the ruling class who stand in awe of England will learn from the Rajkot example that if they do struggle and if they have their people really on their back, they have nothing to fear from the Residents. Indeed they should realise that the Paramount Power resides not in Delhi, not in Whitehall, but in their people. An awakened people who rely upon their non-violent strength are independent in the face of any conceivable combination of armed powers. What Rajkot could do in those months every State can do if the people show the qualities that the people of Rajkot showed.

But I do not claim that the people of Rajkot had developed the new type of non-violence that would stand true to the test of all odds. But Rajkot did show what even ordinary non-violence by a whole people as an organisation could do for it.

But great as was the step done by the people of Rajkot, as civil resisters their real test is yet to come. Their victory, if it is not followed up by a sustained exhibition of the same qualities that wonned it, may prove also their undoing. In a long course of meeting Congressmen all over India have shown their capacity for offering civil resistance, but they have yet to show capacity for constructive non-violence. Civil disobedience may well be abandoned with much morality, i.e. violence, and yet pass current. That construction is very difficult. In it detection of violence means. And detection of violence may even turn victory into a trap and prove it to have been a delusion. Will the people suffer the expense, self-sacrifice and self-denial? Will they meet the temptation to serve themselves and those dependent? Any scramble for power will rob the people as large of what they should really get if there was mass and machine leadership that would command unity and willing obedience. Endowed as usual for its courage, it requires a race of politicians whose one aim in life is self-sacrifice, if it is also known to master stuff of which heroes are made. If the politicians gain the upper hand, there will be no Kheras, no Rajkots, Kheras mean preservation all along the line. It means discipline imposed by the people on themselves. If constructive non-violence is displayed by the people, it is possible for Rajkot to set an example that we may well make Rajkot an example to follow.

Let the victory, therefore, be a mass for humanity, heartiness and people united of self-sacrifice and vast rejoicing. I shall watch, wait and pray.

On the train to Baroda, 3-1-39

IS NON-VIOLENCE INEFFECTIVE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In dealing with my answer to the question that the Jews had been non-violent for 2000 years, the *Advertiser* says in the space of an editorial:

"The whole world has heard of Pastor Niemöller and the sufferings of the Lutheran Church, here every Pastor and individual Christian has themselves bravely before People's Courts, violence and threats, without resistance they have able witness to the truth. And what change of heart is there in Germany? Based on justice and conscience camps are today and have been for five years, members of the Hitler Movement? Leaders who accepted Non-violence in conducting with Church's Camps of years. And how many Germans have of them, or if they know do anything about it!

Non-violence, whether of the weak or of the strong, means, except in very special occasions, what a person does a moral good. A weak, violence may be left to himself, violence are concerned with action, attack and resistance. It is suggested by Mr. Gandhi that Hans Hildebrandt have before a court, 'reluctantly' superior to that shown by his own Storm Trooper! If that were so, one would have supposed that he would have paid tribute to such one as Max Von Oettingen. Change to a Star, however, were a virtue only when displayed by his own supporters, otherwise it becomes 'the signature' possession of Jewish-Marxist scoundrel. Mr. Gandhi has protected his pretensions in view of the subject of the Great Powers otherwise to move in the matter, no mobility we all depend and would be revealed. His sympathy may do much for the comfort of the Jews, but seems likely to do less for their independence. Christ is the supreme example of non-violence and the religious taught upon Him at His sacred death proved once and for all that it is a worthy and temporal since it can be *hopelessly*."

I do not think that the sufferings of Pastor Niemöller and others have been in vain. They have preserved their self-respect intact. They have proved that their faith was equal to any suffering. That they have not proved sufficient for making Hans Hildebrandt heart nearly shows that it is made of a harder material than steel. But the hardest metal yields to sufficient heat. Even so were the hardest heart, such before sufficiency of the heat of non-violence. And there is no limit to the capacity of non-violence to produce heat.

Every action is a resistance of a multitude of forces even of a contrary nature. There is no waste of energy. So we learn in the books on mechanics. This is equally true of human actions. The difference is that in the one case we generally leave the forces at work, and when we do, we can mathematically forecast the result: In the case of human actions, they result from a concurrence of forces of most of which we have

no knowledge. But our ignorance must not be made to move the cause of faith to the power of these forces. Rather is our ignorance a cause for greater faith. And non-violence being the highest hope in the world and also the most divine in its working, it demands the greatest sacrifice of faith. Even as we believe in God as faith, so have we to believe in non-violence as faith.

Here Hildebrandt is but one man exposed to more than the average span of life. He would be a spent force if he had not the backing of his people. I do not despair of his responding to human suffering even though caused by him, but I must refuse to believe that the Germans as a nation have so heart so readily less than the other nations of the world. They will come day or other rebel against their own ideas here, if he does not wake up himself. And when he or they do, we shall find that the sufferings of the Pastor and his fellow-workers had not a task to do with the awakening.

An armed conflict may have disaster to German arms it cannot change the German heart even as the last defeat did not. It produced a Hitler vowed to resist vengeance on the victors. And what a vengeance it is! My answer, therefore, must be the answer that Stephen gave to his fellow-workers who had despaired of ever filling the deep pit that made the first railway possible. He asked his co-workers of little faith to have more faith and go on filling the pit. It was not hopeless, it must be filled. Even so I do not despair because Hans Hildebrandt or the German heart has not yet melted. On the contrary I find the more suffering and still more till the making has become visible to the naked eye. And even as the Pastor has covered himself with glory, a single Jew bravely standing up and refusing to bow to Hitler's decrees will cover himself with glory and lead the way to the deliverance of the fellow-Jews.

I hold that non-violence is not merely a personal virtue. It is also a social virtue to be cultivated like the other virtues. Social society is largely regulated by the expression of non-violence in its moral demands. What I ask for is an extension of it on a larger, national and international scale.

I was unprepared to find the view expressed by the *Advertiser* writer that the example of Christ proved men and for all that is a worthy and temporal since it can find *hopelessly*! Though I cannot claim to be a Christian in the common sense, the example of Jesus suffering is a factor in the composition of my underlying faith in non-violence which rules all my action morally and unspiced. And I know that there are hundreds of Christians who believe likewise. Jesus lived and died in vain if he did not seek us to regulate the whole of life by the eternal Law of Love.

On the same to English,

2-1-39

RELATING EDUCATION TO LIFE Lessons from Negro America

(By Dr G. E. Khrushchyov,

M. A. (Moscow), M. A. Ph. D. (Columbia),
Teacher's College, Khabarovsk)

At a time when private bodies, national leaders and Government officers are actively seeking ways and means of serving the hitherto neglected masses, it may not seem superfluous to let our thoughts dwell for a while on the achievements of the 'depressed classes' of America. They who have achieved as much as to start a time and under somewhat similar handicaps must surely have some light to throw on the problems of this land of [depressed] people. So called do our people seem, depressed, downcast and disheartened,—not the sorry millions of so-called depressed classes alone, but the vast majority of the 300 millions, in comparison with the peoples of other lands, with all their hope, ambition and enterprise. It is well, therefore, for us to look into the education of these emancipated people, if hope we may find the solution for some of our twenty age-old problems.

The progress of the Negro during the last twenty-five years can be considered without less than phenomenal. Now a first progress limited to one acre field. You notice it in the thousands and thousands of school boys and university students. You are struck with their hospitals, churches and schools. You are surprised with the banks now owned and managed by a people who started life as slaves. Your attention is arrested by the countless comfortable and happy-looking houses belonging to and occupied by a race which was robbed of home life and private possessions. And then what about the millions of acres now possessed and cultivated by the Negroes when producing more than the lands belonging to their white neighbors—they who once were paid out in 'field hands'? What about the part they now play in industry and commerce, their stakes in the land and their contribution to its culture? And yet, it must not be forgotten that in estimating the Negro's progress, one must look for its significance not so much in the aggregate, as in comparison with the enormous work which they started, and the race of the progress of other people in circumstances not very different. The progress of the Negro is not so he measured merely by the heights to which he has climbed, but by the depths from which he has come. Especially fascinating are the achievements of the Negro to other people who have yet to shake off their lethargy and inertia and move with swiftest faith and hope to change the conditions of life and circumstances. The message of hope and encouragement which the other race people of the world may receive is one which cannot be ignored and should not be slighted if similar progress is to be achieved.

Now less widespread is the reputation of Negro educational methods. The fame of Hampton and

Tuskegee has reached India, and we have come to associate the all-round improvement of the Negroes, with their system of education. The changed complexion of Negro life is due not a little to the emphasis laid in these schools and colleges on factors and facilities which make for economic, social, physical and mental progress.

1

The Aim of Negro Education

The aim of Negro education is one which is well worth noting in view of the influence it has had on all that the Negroes have done educationally speaking.

'Education for life' is the motto which has made Hampton and Tuskegee what they are. It is the resolve to set aside any goals which tradition and custom may have brought in and erect consciousness, which has led to the introduction of features which distinguish Negro education from the literary education from which the world is now crying to be delivered. How to enable their boys and girls—Jack, Jill, John, Margaret—how to enable them to make a living? What can the school do to provide a well-balanced life in the country, and make directly or indirectly for 'good food and more fun, hard work and better results, houses that fit the use of the family, and more cash to bring water-supply to the kitchen and a bathtub for every home?' Nor was forgotten the importance of good health and training for effective service. And, all these are secured as necessary special attention.

Another important principle, 'learning by doing', has characterized Negro education. Hence the reason why the gulf between the school and the community has been so easy to find. The aim of these schools and colleges has been to make the work as school as much as possible of a piece with the work which the student will have to do outside. To this end, he is given opportunity for doing different things by himself. The teacher makes use of the environment of the child, and the home and the privately owned stores become the basis of the work at school. Such an education may well be expected to result in self-mastery, independence and initiative. These goals would be impossible if theory, text-books and examinations had become an obsession as they have become with most of us. The tendency to hood over Latin and Greek had been successfully controlled by an extremely useful and practical type of training.

The same might say the real need of the people is a evidence in their deliberately aiming at changing serious aims and attitudes which were in danger of becoming generally accepted. These schools and colleges definitely realized that the Negro's attitude towards work was certain to lead him to disaster. It was not to be identified with "dread drudgery"—as it was

likely to be because of an association with the slave days. The boys and girls needed to be taught to do things which would earn them a livelihood. The health and economic conditions of the community needed attention, and the unwholesome attitudes making for their perversion had to be firmly but carefully handled.

The conception of the school as a community center, the source of intelligence, has exerted considerable influence on Negro educators in general. The community, like the individual, has problems which need intellectual analysis. Haphazardly speaking, the school conceived and born for that purpose, has often become "academy" and then spill up as a school building so that no intelligence became intellectualized. The new result of such a school and such schooling is to be seen in the professor—as an individual fellow, who might at last admit the world, but who would remain to be of little use in any other way. Of this type of schooling there is perhaps no better example than the present educational system of India. It remains for the school to escape from the school-house and make itself at home in the whole community, learning from the whole community and teaching its learning to the whole community. The weaknesses of this conception are far-reaching and can be noticed in almost every aspect of the schools which embody the European idea. The community becomes the school and the weakness of the child's background becomes the teacher's problem. All the community-life problems which surround the children here, the basis of the varied educational preparation of the school. There is little danger of getting into ruts or of becoming boring when the tools of education are not only the books of the classroom and theory and the machinery of farms and shops, but also the daily problems of life—work, play, birth, death, marriage and home-making. Schools with no comprehensive conception of their function cannot help making an impression on their communities, cannot help changing the character and content of their pupil-citizens, cannot help making for better health, better homes, better farms, better schools and better citizens,—in a word, for moral regeneration.

(To be concluded.)

BOOKS ON NON-VIOLENCE

Read Savant by Gandhiji. Price 4 As. Postage 3½ As.

The Power of Non-violence by Richard D. Gray. Price Rs. 2 Postage 7 As.

State and Storm by Albert Hawley. Price Rs. 3-14-2. Postage 4 As.

What Way to Peace? By Bernard Read. Price Rs. 3-3-0 Postage 4 As. extra.

Geographical Problems Edited by Albert Hawley. Price As. 7, including Postage.

Available at Nagpur Office—Form 4.

WEEKLY LETTER

Christmas at Nagpur

The presence in our midst of an American Christmas friend, Dr. Peter Bodo, made it possible for us to observe the Christmas in a quiet yet picturesque manner at Nagpur. Dr. Bodo is a chaplain, i. e., believer in the science of healing by manipulation of the spine. First as student and an enthusiast in his own line he felt drawn to Gandhiji in whom he sensed a limited spirit and interrupted his practice at Columbia, to give a demonstration of his science under the rural surroundings of Nagpur. Besides being a chaplain he is also the author of several hymns and prayers that have been set to music and appreciated by the radio-listening public of America. On the Christmas day in the morning he presented Gandhiji a map full of love that as a Christmas present, and at the evening prayer meeting introduced a picturesque little story by putting together a number of empty discarded boxes, which he draped with a sparkling white cloth and belonging to one of the women and decorated it with flowers and grasses which he himself had gathered. On the altar were placed the pictures of the father Jesus and His Samaritanian Samaritanian whom the good doctor considers equally. Before the regular prayer commenced he recited the beautiful universal prayer of his own composition, which is reproduced below, and followed it up by singing a hymn in Hindustani, likewise of his own composition:

"Lord, the Creator of the Universe,
Father of Humankind,
Designer of goodness,
Fount of light and wisdom,
Do Thou bestow upon us
Thy blessings and Divine love."
Thou art the only one
Worked up by all good hearts,
From the east East
To the sunset West,
From the earth to heaven bound,
All sing thy praise and
Declare Thy glory
Unto Thee we bow in adoration,
Glory, glory, glory unto Thee."

Bodo's Message

There was an extra rush of visitors and conversation to see Gandhiji. During the last week of the dying year. A group of earnest young American students from Berea College and the Agricultural Institute, Albion, who were returning to America and paid Gandhiji a visit, asked him, "How would you, an old and experienced leader, advise young men to throw away their lives in the service of humanity?"

"The question is not rightly put," replied Gandhiji. "You don't throw away your lives when you take up the weapons of Satyagraha. But you prepare yourself to face without retaliation the greatest danger and provocation. It gives you a

chance to surrender your life for the cause when the time comes. To be able to do so non-violently requires previous training. If you are a believer in the orthodox method, you go and train yourselves as soldiers. It is the same with non-violence. You have to store your whole mode of life and work for it in a peace time just as much as in the time of war. It is no doubt a difficult job. You have to put your whole soul into it; and if you are sincere, your example will affect the lives of other people around you. America is today exploiting the so-called weaker nations of the world along with other powers. It has become the richest country in the world, not a thing to be proud of when we come to think of the means by which she has become rich. Again, to protect these riches you need the maintenance of violence. You must be prepared to give up these riches. Therefore, if you really mean to give us violence, you will say, "We shall have nothing to do with the world of violence, and if as a result America ceases to be rich, we do not mind." You will then be qualified to offer a spotless sacrifice. That is the meaning of preparation. The countries for making the extreme sacrifice may not come if you as a nation have fully learnt to live for peace. It is much more difficult to live for non-violence than to die for it.

The friends wanted to know if non-violence as advocated by Gandhi had a positive quality. "If I had used the word 'love', which non-violence is in essence, you would not have asked this question," replied Gandhi. "But perhaps 'love' does not express my meaning fully. The nearest word is 'charity'. We love our friends and our equals. But the reaction that a ruthless doctor sets up in us is either that of awe or pity according respectively as we react to him violently or non-violently. Non-violence knows no fear. If I am truly non-violent, I would pity the doctor and say to myself, "He does not know what a human being should be. One day he will know better when he is confronted by a people who do not stand in awe of him who will neither submit nor struggle to him, nor bear any grudge against him for whatever he may do. Germans are today doing what they are doing because all the other nations stand in awe of them. None of them can go to Hitler with clean hands."

"What is the place of Christian missions in the new India that is being built up today? What can they do to help in this great task?"

"To show appreciation of what India is and is doing," replied Gandhi. "Up till now they have come as teachers and preachers with open mouths about India and India's great religions. We have been described as a nation of superstitious heathens knowing nothing, denying God. We

are a land of Satra as Macleish would say. Did not Bishop Hober to his well-known hymn "From Greenland's icy mountains" describe India as a country where "every prospect pleases, and only man is vile"? To me this is a negation of the spirit of Christ. My personal view, therefore, is that if you feel that India has a message to give to the world, that India's religions too are true, though like all religions imperfect for having passed through imperfect human agency, and you come as fellow-workers and fellow-sufferers there is a place for you here. But if you come as preachers of the 'new Gospel' to a people who are weakening in darkness, so far as I am concerned you can have no place. You may impose yourselves upon us."

This provoked the question, "What is India's real message to the world?"

"Non-violence," replied Gandhi. "India is saturated with that spirit. It has not demonstrated it to the extent that you can go to America as living witnesses of that spirit. But you can probably see that India is making a desperate effort to live up to that great ideal. If that is not the message, there is no other message that India can give. Say what you may, she has made one that here you have a whole sub-continent that has decided for itself that there is no freedom for it except through non-violence. No other country has made that attempt even. I have not been able to influence other people even to the extent of believing that non-violence is worth trying. There is of course a growing body of European opinion that has begun to appreciate the possibilities of the weapon of non-violence. But I want the sympathy of the whole world for India if she can go it while she is making this unique experiment. You can, however, be witnesses to the attempt only if you really feel that we are making an honest effort to come up to the ideal of non-violence and that all we are doing is our best. If your conviction is unshaken and deep enough, it will set up a ferment working in the minds of your people."

"This is an admirable charge," commented one of the friends.

"Take this charge with you then," replied Gandhi.

Session 28-29-30-31	Pyramid
CONTENTS	
THE BIG BUSINESS	H. D. 413
TO FREE KNIGHT SAGES	Pyramid 413
WINE—A NUTRITION REFERENCE	G. H. 413
REPORT	M. E. G. 413
IN NON-VIOLENCE (INTERVIEW)	M. E. G. 413
RELATION EDUCATION TO	
LAST—1	G. S. K. 413
WEEKLY LETTER	Pyramid 413



HARIJAN

Editor: MARGARET BOWEN

Under the direction of The Harijan Sewak Sangh

VOL. VI, No. 49

PUNJAB — SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1939

(ONE ANNA)

Notes

Ambedkar Construction

There are several standing doubts in the Ambedkar construction. For the moment I am concerned with only two things—the qualifications for the vote and the question of justice.

I have myself hitherto sworn by simple adult franchise as well for the minority as the majority. My clear vision of the working of the Congress constitution has shown my opinion. I have come now to the view that a literacy test is necessary for two reasons. The vote should be regarded as a privilege and therefore carry some qualification. The simplest qualification is a literacy test. And if the majority appeared under the literacy franchise as a class and a class is shown, the much desired literacy would come in its true form. The Ambedkar construction has made primary education free and compulsory. I have been assured by Ambedkar that he will see that literacy is driven out from Ambedkar State inside of six months. I hope, therefore, that there will be no objection in Ambedkar to the literacy test.

The second important departure from the ordinary process is the making of justice in the lowest court free and incredibly simple. What would, however, displease critics is not the freedom of the majority as such but the abolition of intermediate courts and the fate of lawyers and persons charged with offences being made to depend on a High Court presided over by one person. In a population of 75,000 a multiplicity of judges would be both unnecessary and impossible. And if the right type of person is chosen as the Chief Judge, he is as likely to deal out unbiassed justice as a bench of highly paid judges. Thus simplification contemplates abolition of the cumbersome procedure and the use of some of the law books including hundreds of law reports used in British law courts.

Bombay, 10-1-39

Barber Pethavengal

Barber Pethavengal writes to me to say that he is keeping well and that his requirements are being supplied by the authorities and friends as the case may be. I am in constant correspondence with him. He tells me that many friends are desirous of meeting him. He wishes me to thank them all but also to tell them that they need not take the trouble to go all the way to

Bombay to meet him. And when they do wish to do so, they should not feel disappointed if they are not immediately given a date. The coming days intensely remain full. He would like all friends desirous to visit him to correspond with me so that I might guide them. While I convey this wish to the would-be visitors, and while Pethavengal, as Mr. Pethavengal, as soon as he is permitted to take a full rest, will gladly make arrangements, there will be possible only in a few cases. For nothing will be possible without correspondence with the authorities. This means taking note to which those who are helping me are already equal in the present state of my health.

Bombay, 9-1-39

Disentitled Dealer

The Secretary of the Tamil Nad Spicers' Association has sent me a complaint which he has received from the Kuala Lumpur of the Spicers' Association. The complaint gives conclusive proof that some members of Trappan are dumping cloth under description 'Shedda Khadi' and even taking use of the name of the Spicers' Association. Two labels have been sent by the Secretary which were affixed to the cloth thus sold, and the labels show the names of 'S. Manaswini Chettiar, Khaddar Store, Tirupur' and 'M. E. Chelamban Chettiar and Brother A. Palanappa Mudaliar, Khaddar Store, Tirupur', and the description is 'Shedda Khadi, certified by A. I. S. A.'

S. Manaswini Chettiar has never been certified by the A. I. S. A. for dealing in khadi, and A. Palanappa Mudaliar was disentitled some four years ago. Such deception can obviously be punished under the ordinary Indian Penal Code. It would, however, be much better for the members as well as for the public if the public demand for khadi were not thus exploited, and if merchants who have not been certified abstain from such business, or at least abstain from fraudulently using the name of the Spicers' Association.

Bombay, 9-1-39

M. K. G.

Cost Per Cent Standard
CR

The Economics of Village Industries

41 articles by Gandhi and others reprinted from 'Harijan', Pages 21, 1-4-3, postage etc. 3 Annas. Available at the Harijan office—Punjab 4; and Narayana, Mysore—Bombay and (Punjab Street, Bombay.

RELATING EDUCATION TO LIFE

Lessons from Negro America

[By Dr. G. S. Kroeber]

M. A. (Master), M. A. Ph.D. (Columbia),
Teachers College, Columbia]

II

Educational Methods

Now with these considerable aims in mind, it may be worth while to observe what methods are employed, the means by which these high hopes are realized.

The provision of a varied and comprehensive programme of studies is one of the outstanding ways in which the desire to prepare their students for life is manifested. Ample choice in the selection of studies is usually provided in the high school and several parallel courses are offered. Depending on his or her career and aptitude, the student may select the agricultural course or the Home Economics course or the Teacher Training course or the Mechanical course or the Literary-scientific course. Further, because of the rural nature of the population, care is taken to see that, no matter what special line a student may choose, he is not left in utter ignorance of the other fields. His chances of earning an income in some special grade are insured because, though he is given a general background of the different rural occupations, he is trained to be master of at least one line. To illustrate, the students study mechanics and agriculture, the agriculturists learn carpentry and so on. The twin perils of narrow specializations and superficial versatility are thus avoided and individual differences—of taste and talent—are respected.

Not only is provision made for a rich and useful course of alternative studies, but the content of the different subjects and courses is made extremely practical and easily applicable. Whether the boy is going to be teacher, mechanic or farmer, it is always borne in mind that he is going to be *that* in the country. For those who intend going college the way is not blocked,—the literary-scientific course is meant for such, and they are not discouraged from pursuing their education.

The schools are equipped to make these courses meaningful. The Home Economics pupils, for example, get practical experience by living in a Frances Cottage, house drilled in the various duties of the home, preparing budgets, making their own garments in suitable styles, giving proper care in cases of ordinary diseases and, in general, managing successfully and economically the affairs of the household. These girls also study the domestic value of foods, and are taught some arts and crafts—hand-weaving, dyeing, construction of colours, and all the other phases of household arts. Looking forward to life in the country, they take a course in agriculture and practical dairying. Not less significant are the other courses. There is the ring of reality about them, for they are at every turn linked

up with life and life needs. Further, a regular course in the problems of country life is provided in order to acquaint pupils with the different factors and activities to be reckoned with and the ways and means of conducting these more effectively.

Another avenue of approach is the emphasis laid on extra-curricular activities likely to be of value on the farm or in the farm-house. Music is made almost compulsory and the boys and girls are expected to be able to be leaders of songs in their manufacturing communities. The same thing is true of physical culture and games and social service. It is realized that life in the country is in desperate need of recreation and variety of occupation, and that much has to be done to make village attractive places to live in. Unless some of the recreation associated with city and town life are made available for the country as well, it would be hard to persuade promising lads to live and work there. If the best brains are obliged to migrate to the towns, there would be nothing left for the village to do but to deteriorate. So it is of urgent importance to make rural life not merely endurable but enjoyable, and that could be done by importing into the country such things as games, music and drama. And all these have to come through the students who attend these well-planned community institutions.

There is another means employed which contributes the drive, the motive power, to all the work being done in these Negro institutions, and that is the development of a necessary zeal in the teachers and in the pupils. The pupils who go to these schools are made to feel that they are a privileged class, that they owe a debt to the folk at home in their native village to return and improve their conditions, and that nothing could be too easily to give in return for the privilege of education which they are so freely receiving. Similarly the spirit of service and self-denial is inculcated in the teachers who came to work there. To ensure this, these institutions recruit, as a rule, for their teachers many of their own alumni, and other members of a smaller type unite to Hampton and Tuskegee for their education, graduates who have realized the "lighted no lighter" spirit. They realize that the teacher makes the school, and that no parent should be spared in trying to secure the very best teachers. It is contact with enthusiasm, self-sacrificing teachers whose religious ideals and devotion to the pupils is every Negro institution one of the most noticeable features in the care with which the staff has been chosen and the keenness of the staff and management to develop in the pupils the desire to serve their less fortunate sisters and brothers.

No attempt has been made here to describe what the Negro men are doing at County Agents or inspectors the farms of the village. The splendid reforms which the women agents are carrying out in the homes of the country are not included in this sketch. Likewise, a description

of the sciences and achievement of the Junior Boys Clubs and Girls Clubs which the younger generation is started on as soon as rural organization has been created. Attention has been confined here to an account of what the Hago school is achieving through its pupils and teachers and that because of the lofty ideal and potent principle which Hago education has chosen to pursue.

What the Hagoists are today is then really as he put down to the credit of their educational institutions. These schools and colleges have led to perceptible changes in all the different phases of Hago life, so much so that for every progressive measure, for every effort making for betterment, for every forward move, the school is the source. "We shall prosper as proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify labor, and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life," declared Buckner T. Washington who put Hago education on the road. Supposing how clearly the formula resembles that of the British sage-Hery stated in the spirit of the Hago programme of rural reconstruction and if our villages are to be uplifted and our masses reformed, there is no more guide than that which has given such remarkable direction to the educational system of another people in many ways similarly circumstanced.

FROM FAR OFF HAWAII

The aim of sympathetic fellow-member and fellow-helper that Gandhiji had envisaged in his conversation with the American friends last week, met him by appointment at Legation, in the person of Dr. Gress Sweling, the Director of the Oriental Institute of the Hawaii University, Honolulu. "I have come here," he remarked to Gandhiji, "to find out how best to bring to America an idea of the culture of India. I have seen your enthusiasm on the doctrine of 'Asia for the Asiatics'. It is a beautiful doctrine to think of. You have put it extremely well. It is the same with our 'Atlantic for the Americans' doctrine." He gave a brief, picturesque account of Hawaii, an island, unglorified, here-go-looker people,—"the most superstitious people in the world", as he put it—and the marvellous city of Honolulu. "We call Hawaii the Paradise of the Pacific," he observed. "We do not call it the Garden of Eden because of the absence of the serpent in the garden. There are no snakes in Hawaii." He named a handsome assistant, how a certain friend of his had presented to a Hawaiian scholar a beautiful leather-bound and copiously decorated volume entitled *The Study of Hawaii*. "But inside, all the pages were blank, because there were no Hawaiian studies to be described."

Hawaii has a very mixed population. There are 250,000 Japanese. "But they must not be called Japanese. They are 'Americans' who had Japanese ancestors." The fact notwithstanding of the great probable increase for the extreme exclusivity of these people. There has never been a race quarrel in Hawaii.

The aim of the Oriental Institute is to bring together the cultures of the world. As Dr. Sweling observed, "Races are meeting. Science has brought them together and is bringing them closer still every day. How are they going to meet—amiable, or with fighting and violence? It should be amiable. But that cannot be till we know about the traditions and cultural background of the other people, their art, their philosophy, their religion."

The Hawaii University is making a special study of the question of cross-racial marriages. In a study, Dr. Sweling told Gandhiji, they had found that the current notion that the children of mixed marriages inherit the best qualities of both the parents was not true.

The Oriental Institute has already departments for the study of Chinese and Japanese cultures respectively. Dr. Kikaku Nag sought at the Oriental Institute in the second semester of 1935-36. The next step proposed is to set up an Indian Department on a par with the Japanese and the Chinese. "An American who comes here sees only a part of your life," Dr. Sweling remarked to Gandhiji. "So I want Indians to come and interpret to us the soul of India." It was partly on that occasion that his present visit to India was undertaken. As he has observed in his report of the Institute for 1938, "The more one studies Indian culture, the more important it appears. It is not an economic or political aspect that holds a primary convincing to us, it is in her achievement in language, literature, history, philosophy, religion, art, it is in her great thinkers and artists in various fields, and it is in part such cultural evidence as is revealed in words like *Om Anam, Karma Akasa*. These are so much to be done, so much to know."

"We have gained enough inspiration from the culture of Greece and Rome," he observed. "The Europe is thankful for us so far as the present age is concerned. We are therefore turning to India and the East for new ideas that might show a way of escape from the impending calamity of violence and misdirection that threatens Europe. As a well-known professor of ours at Harvard used to say, a person who does not know William and Shakespeare can today hardly be considered an educated. But fifty years hence, I am sure, a person who is not acquainted with Kikaku and Bhishman will be put under that category."

"I was thinking of asking you to make an American tour," he remarked as he rose to take leave. "But Charlie Andrews said to me, 'Don't. He can't think of it. He is far too important in India.' And in every newspaper that I pick up I see your name on every page. So Charlie Andrews is probably right. But if you do come to America, we will be very glad to welcome you."

"I very nearly went to America on more than one occasion," replied Gandhiji, "and the dream may one day come true. But so far as outward evidence is concerned, today there seems to be no chance."

Bombay, 3-1-39

Pyarelal

H A R I J A N

Jan. 14

1939

TRAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Travancore Christian friend writes

"There is a great misunderstanding about you among the Christian circles of Travancore that you are absolutely against the interests of Christians, and that has originated since you have been to meet on the watershed of the memorial to the Mahatma. The trend of public opinion as has been expressed to me by many friends is something like this:

By the influence of the Travancore Mahatma and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer you are wrongly made to understand that the present movement in Travancore is only a copy of the Christian for absolute supremacy over the Hindu of Travancore. It is with this impression in the background of your mind that you are today working against the Travancore movement. Besides, due to the famous temple entry proclamation, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer has done a great service to the Hindu community as a whole, and therefore you want to see how soon any blots and personal charges, whatever be the shortcomings, it is with this and in view that you are so strongly pressing the State Congress to withdraw the memorial. Otherwise there is no reason why you should adopt one policy for Rajkot and another for Travancore. For in the case of Rajkot Vallabhbhai Patel and many others have made so many personal charges against the Dewan, and recently Vallabhbhai even threatened to start another fight for the removal of the present Dewan, and you simply ignore all this. While in the case of Travancore, even though it is absolutely impossible for you to understand the situation on the spot being so far off, you simply denote terms on the memorial question and keep men over all the urgent actions of the Government. Even after the memorial has been withdrawn the leaders are kept in prison and arrests are being continued in large numbers, and people are terrified all over the State even though the movement is almost dead. All this you were in silence without uttering a word. This is a further evidence of your partiality in siding with the Travancore Government."

Similar communications, more strongly worded, have also been received for me. It might clear the atmosphere a little if I answer the charges. My conscience is quite clear; I claim that as in other States movements have I taken so much interest as in the Travancore movement, for the simple reason that I was pressed to do so by

Sir G. Ramachandran who belongs to the Sahasran Adhara and to whose wisdom, courage, sincerity and non-violence I have very great faith. He threw himself into the struggle after receiving my consent. He had told me that there were all well-wishers associated in the struggle. It was at his instance that I requested Shrikanth Rajagopal Ayyar Esq. to go to Travancore and do what was possible by way of negotiation.

I have been against the making up of the struggle for responsible government with the charges against the Dewan. But I have been equally insistent that the leaders need not withdraw them unless they realised the weakness of my advice, for they had to bear the brunt of public opposition, if there was any. They could not do so, unless they could speak with conviction. I told them too that they would be justified in prosecuting the charges, if they made the demand the only issue, as they well might. But if they insisted on responsible government, there was no meaning in proceeding with the charges. It would divide the country's attention, and in the event of prosecution their time and resources would be employed in providing the charges. Whereas, if they got responsible government, which they were bound to if they were united and strong in their faith in non-violence and truth, they would have control over all the Dewan, present and future. The charges have been withdrawn, therefore, only because the leaders, as I see from the entire President's statement put forward by me, were fully convinced of the advisability of withdrawing the charges.

The comparison with Rajkot is unjust. I never pushed the movement there. There was no reason for my guidance. The Sardar was in no need of it. If he needed it, it was always at his disposal. There was no question there of demand of the Dewan. The Sardar voluntarily refused to have anything to do with the charges, if the fight was to be for responsible government. Of course all sorts of people who opposed the struggle came under his lash, but that was wholly different from making demand of an official's place in the struggle.

And my guidance in the Travancore struggle has never been lacking. But the critics should understand that I am not conducting the struggle. I advise when I am referred to. Nor need or can all my advice and all my work be before the public gaze. Much of my work is behind the scenes. It is not elsewhere secret. I have nothing to hide. But many things need to be done silently, even secretly (in the right sense of the word), in the interest of the cause.

Lastly, let my critics understand that I am not interested in the present Dewan retaining his office. If I have been in correspondence with the Dewan, it has been only for the sake of the cause, pleasant for reason. And as for the Mahatma, I have never been in correspondence with His Highness throughout the struggle.

I claim to be and have always been above partisanship. I know no distinction between Christians and non-Christians in terms of politics. I do in terms of religion, and then, too, I hold the Christian religion and the other religions in the same respect as my own.

Harold, 9-1-39

THE BAN ON JAMNALALJI

(By H. E. Gault)

The ban on Jamnalalji makes curious reading. Here it is:

"To

Sri Jamnalal Bajaj

of Wadhwa (C. P.)

Whereas it has been made to appear to the Jajpur Government that your promises and activities within the Jajpur State are likely to lead to a breach of the peace, it is considered necessary in the public interest and for the maintenance of public tranquillity to prohibit your entry within the Jajpur State.

You are, therefore, enjoined not to enter Jajpur territory until further orders.

By order of the Council of State

(Sd.) M. ALVAR K. KHANDE

Secretary, Council of State, Jajpur."

He is the last person whose presence anywhere can be a danger. He has ever been known as a peace-maker. He has enjoyed the happiest relations with the official world. His worth was so much recognized that he was awarded the title of the Rajabhar in 1916 or thereabouts. This he returned during the non-cooperation days. He is one of the best known men in the commercial world. He is a banker besides being a commercial magnate. Through an ardent Congressman he has never been known as "an agitator". He is foremost in constructive work and social reform. Thus he has the courtesy of his contemporaries and has more than once asked for all the things. He is never afraid of power. Obviously the description given in the order served upon Jamnalalji is false and wholly inapplicable to him. It will be probably urged that the wording is a mere formality, and that without it the order could not be legally served upon him. If that be so, it proves undeniably that persons like Jamnalalji were never meant by the law to be affected by it. It is as above, pure and simple, of the law to keep a person like Jamnalalji out of Jajpur as any other part of the country.

And the humorous part of it all is that Jamnalalji had to be described in the order as "of Wadhwa." As a matter of fact he belongs to the Jajpur State, has property there and has many relations residing there.

It is so such an order that Jamnalalji has submitted wholly on my advice. There was a rumor that he might be arrested if he attempted to enter Jajpur. He had therefore consulted me as to his duty if an order was served on him.

His co-workers of Jajpur had told that he should defy any such order there and then. I held a contrary opinion. And I have no cause to regret my opinion. The order, I reasoned with myself, would be a mad act. Mad people should not be taken at their word. They should be given time to cool down. I understood that great preparations were made in anticipation of the arrest. There must have even been a kind of disappointment when the arresting party discovered that they were not to have their prey.

Jamnalalji has lost nothing by winning and reasoning with the authorities and telling them that they have acted wrongly and harshly. As a responsible man and Jajpur subject, it was perhaps his duty to give them time to reconsider their decision. If they do not, and Jamnalalji decides, at his own, to defy the order, he will do so with added moral strength and prestige. And it is moral strength that counts in non-violent action.

Let it be known that the Mahatma is surely a tool in the hands of his masters who are all outsiders and none of them English. They know nothing of the people of the country. They are, as it were, imposed upon them. Jajpur which is at a distance, though before the business came, Jajpur was somehow or other able to hold its own as a State. I had reason to remark last week on the story paper the English Government in England during his very brief term of office. As soon as the act of the Jajpur Council concerning of outsiders is a mere exhibition of irresponsibility and incapacity. The government of one man, however great, may appear to be impossible. But events have proved that it was a foolish and costly affair, if not much more. For the reader may not know that there is a Praga Mandal in Jajpur which has been working under Jamnalalji's supervision for the past ten years. Jamnalalji is at present President. The Mandal is a strong organization consisting responsible men as its members and has a good record of constructive work as its credit. The Mandal will have to do its duty if the ban is not removed. For the ban is, it is said, a precursor of stopping even the constructive and constructive activities of the Mandal. The authorities cannot break the growing influence of a body which aims at responsible government in Jajpur under the rule of the Mahatma on matters for which however honorable, it seems to be the precursor also of a ruthless policy of stopping all activities of bodies having political activities in any shape or form. And remember too that it is a concerted policy on the part of the Rajpranta States. Whether it is true only of Jajpur or all the other States, it is sufficiently common, and Jamnalalji and the people of Jajpur are in honor bound to stand at least all the strength at their command, no doubt consciously with the Congress creed of non-violence and truth.

Harold, 9-1-39

A DREAM FULFILLED

A long cherished dream of the late Mahatma Gandhi was fulfilled when, on the evening of 30th December last, Gandhiji performed the opening ceremony of the Nagas Museum of Khadi and other village crafts and the Udyot Bhawan. The former has been erected as a monument to the memory of the late Mahatma Gandhi, whom Gandhiji described in an obituary article in *Young India* as 'my best companion'. He was a pioneer in the field of Khadi organisation before the All India Spinning Association came into being, and had a personal tie of Gandhiji's free-edged school. Darning, patching and appliances were among his pet hobbies, and he could see the carpenter's seat with the same aptness and ease as he handled the charkha, the loom or the loom. Today the activity of the All India Spinning Association, of which he helped to lay the foundation, covers over 10,000 villages and provides work to at least 2 lakhs of spinners, two thousand weavers, besides thousands of other artisans—carpenters, smiths, dyers, woodmen, etc. It engages the services of 1,500 whole-time workers. The All India Village Industries' Association is an extension of and natural sequel to his dream of khadi. It was therefore in the flower of things that a monument erected to his memory should have a bearing on the various activities carried on by these two bodies.

The activities of the Museum building was made possible by the munificence of Jashwanth Bhai, who made a free gift of the site on which it stands, and the various donors to the Mahatma memorial fund, which with interest today stands at Rs. 10,000 and odd. The building has cost up to date Rs. 35,425 and odd.

Richard Gopal once sent to Gandhiji a book which was eloquently entitled "Chitra At Bhit"—being a description of the various tools and implements that are used by the working masses of Ghana and therefore a history of Ghana crafts and culture". The Nagas Museum presents in a concrete form the history of the evolution of the tools of the masses that is being built up today. The khadi section presents a most fascinating study of the development of the various implements and processes employed in the manufacture of khadi as a result of experience and experimentations during the last twenty years. It also provides an order demonstration of the tremendous possibilities that lie hidden in the simple and seemingly primitive appliances employed in folk crafts and how they can be made dynamic when harnessed to the power of non-violence, in the form of human skill, and voluntary mass co-operation, and organisation. There is no touch of mind-violence in the inner nature of these tools. They do not develop at the expense of the operator, nor do they reduce him to a soulless mechanism, as the power machine does. On the contrary, the more highly they are developed the more it adds to the natural genius of the artisan and his joy of living.

Besides the khadi section there are *pot-making*, *paper-making*, *soap-making*, *oil-pressing* and *carriage-making* sections in the Museum. The exhibits include numerous models, made to scale, of various types of the oil presses, and contraptions used in paper-making, oil-pressing and basket-making industries, etc. There are samples too of raw materials and accessories and raw specimens of folk art from all over India. They are arranged with scientific skill in neat glass cases. The Museum building itself is an improved though homely public structure.

The Udyot Bhawan is the name given to a group of structures erected round a quadrangle, on the western portion of the Mahatmavadi building, to house the growing number of village industries that the All India Village Industries Association is being called upon to tackle. It is an exhibition in one of these crafts, and includes paddy-husking, four-wheel oil-pressing, pot-making, book-binding and paper-making. There is, besides, a workshop for carpentry and smithy, and it is proposed to add more buildings for soap-making, glass-making and pottery as well as a research laboratory.

These structures are of bamboo, wood and steel. The underlying idea in the choice of building materials was explained by Shri J. C. Kumbhakar, the Secretary of the A. I. V. I. A., in the course of his brief speech on the occasion, which to the agreeable surprise of Gandhiji he delivered in Hindustani. "It has been realised," he observed, "that if these buildings were of brick and mortar, although the initial cost would be a little more, yet they would last much longer. This Association strives to fit in an economic organisation which will be effective under existing circumstances to start with, and then lead on to the strengthening of the economic condition of the masses. Under the present situation, where rapid increase with the villages, it would be a waste to have elaborate public structures. These bamboo buildings will need repairs often, but these repairs will not call for any money payment, as the owners themselves can work and mend the damaged parts, saving for it what they save in plenty—*idle hours*."

The same thoughtfulness has been bestowed upon the architecture of the buildings. It is simple and based on its style, and follows the requirements of the industry to be housed. The only ornamental feature, viz. the gateway, serves the twofold purpose of "gate, name-board, lobby and flag-staff". The gate pillars are shaped with figures in relief of a lion and a woman,—"villages for whom we seek to provide employment" in the words above the arch are two bulls in repose, "the silent and ubiquitous motive power available to the villages". At the entrance, the name is faced with a hieroglyphic plan of the court so that it can be read even by illiterate villagers and persons with different tongues.

Gandhiji declared the Museum open in a Hindustani speech. His audience consisted a mixture of our chary economists who had

attended as delegates the Economic Conference that was being held at Nagpur during that time. The following is a part of his remarks.

"Mahatma Gandhi was one of those few spirits who chose to face a precarious future by casting their lot with me in South Africa, when I decided to give up my legal practice in order to embrace the ideal of voluntary poverty and service. He became a foundation member of the Phoenix Settlement, and took charge of the printing press where Indian Opinion was started there from Durban. Although he had gone there primarily with the intention of earning money, he worked his arduous and decided to work or starve with me and he never turned back.

"He was, in my opinion, a genius. He had a versatile mind. His life was well ordered and disciplined. This enabled him to pick up anything new with ease and facility. Although not a mathematician by training, he soon made himself master of the spinning machinery that was set up at Phoenix. On returning to India he made the service of the masses the passion of his life. He laid the foundation of the manner of khadi by writing his *First Series*. This book will hold its place as a classic although the science of khadi has made great progress since Mahatma's death. Although he had not specialized in all the various crafts that are at present being tackled by the A. I. V. I. A., his khadi advocacy, by providing the workers' model which the village industries movement has since drawn up, became as permanent.

"A word about the buildings. Although at Tan Kamrupa he observed they follow the rural style, they are still far above the rural standards of living as they stand in our country today. They stand there as a farthest symbol of what workers' dwellings should be and would be in the rural India of the A. I. V. I. A.'s dream. This mark assurance, however, I can give you in this connection, that no pains have been spared to enforce the simplest economy and simplicity commensurate with the purpose that they are intended to serve. The worst that can be said about the organizers of the Association is that they did not know their job as well as they might have. The Association is always ready to admit mistakes and to regard them as stepping stones to knowledge. The one thing that it stands in ignorance that compensates its perfection.

"So much for the externals. Proceeding to the exhibits inside the Museum, a crux may object, "How can progress to these primitive appliances and methods of production lead to Swami? These village crafts have been with us always. Can they was the race against the industrial competition of the West and achieve anything like what the Western countries with their latest inventions of science and engineering skill have been able to achieve?" My reply is that although village crafts have been with us always, our forefathers were not aware of the tremendous possibilities that lie hidden

in them, and they were never guided by awakened masses as a means for attaining freedom. I admit that in terms of orthodox and stereotyped standards of economics, as that science is understood and taught in our colleges today, and in a society governed by these standards, village industries including spinning have perhaps no chance, and to revive them might appear like measures in the Middle Ages. But I would like you to enter the Udyog Bhavan with a fresh and unprejudiced mind that has shed its prejudices. Envision this spinning wheel as a spinning mill in miniature, that enables a family to earn two acres daily in its home in this land of chronic and nationwide unemployment and starvation when otherwise it would not be earning two pice even. Picture this mill planted in fields of houses, as it is capable of being planted, and I see nothing in the world which can compete with it.

"And yet two acres a day by no means exhausts its income-earning capacity. If only I get the co-operation of our middlemen, I hope, before I close my eyes, to see it bring a wage of eight annas a day to the worker. Show me another industry or industrial enterprise in the world that has in the course of eighteen years of its activities put four acres of papers into the pockets of lakhs of the worker and most deserving of men and women, with the same capital expenditure that the A. I. V. I. A. has done. And this money has been evenly distributed among Hindus and Mussalmans, castes and the casteless, without any distinction, among them is a common economic bond. Imagine what this would mean in terms of Swami if mass helped to cover the entire seven lakhs of our villages with this life-giving and uplifting activity. You need not be highly specialized engineers or technologists to take part in this work of industrial revolution. Even a layman, a woman or a child can join in it.

"I would like you to regard the Mahatma Museum and the Udyog Bhavan not as the 'old economy shop' but as a living book for self-education and study."

Nagpur, 2-1-38

Pyarelal

"Most Unfortunate"

Gandhiji issued the following statement to the press on the 7th inst.

The murder of Major R. L. Beggwone, the Political Agent of Orissa, is most unfortunate and comes as a rude shock. I tender my sympathy to the bereaved family. I hope that the police, who accompanied the deceased, will arrive from the wounds. The Prime Minister is expected to carry out the strictest investigation and find out the cause of the murder. It should be a warning to all workers to be most careful in conducting mass agitations. They should realize that the slightest departure from non-violence is bound to harm the movement for freedom, whether in the States or all India.

THE LATE DR. RAJABALI

If the passing away of Dr. Rajabali Patel of Bombay had meant for me only the loss of a dear friend, I should not have written about it in the columns of HARIJAN. But he is a memory to treasure for several reasons. A God-fearing Mussalman, his faith in Hindu-Muslim unity was undimmed to the end of his days, and though he took no active part in politics he actively helped the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity in various ways. His charity was unbounded, his left hand did not know what his right hand gave, and among the many recipients of his help not a small number were Hindus. There were among his employees many Hindus whom he regarded as members of his own family. There were times in Bombay when passions and communal animosities ranged furiously, but they could not shake his feeling of brotherhood for Hindus and his faith in Hindu-Muslim unity.

He was never an active member of the Congress but he gave liberally for the Congress cause. His faith in Hindu-Muslim unity was equal to his faith in Hindu-Muslim unity and he never gave up the use and wearing of khadi, that he adopted seventeen years ago. For years and years doubtless he had made spinning a daily ritual, and it was a pleasure to see him in his wheel, slowly spinning his daily quota of 500 yards. Often he would spend the summer months in Kashmir. His wheel inevitably went with him, and as there was no pasture to occupy his time, it was devoted to extra spinning. His good wife is a believer in revivists but not in khadi, and it was great fun to hear them carry on endless discussions whenever there was an occasion. Neither, I imagine, could convert the other, but the failure to convert did not detract in the least from the sweetness and harmony of their family life. Even in politics they differed radically but there was wonderful understanding on the part of both.

I am tempted to say a word about him as a medical man. One of the old M. Ds of Bombay he enjoyed a lucrative practice extending over 30 years, and he counted among his clients as many Hindus as Mussalmans, if not indeed more. The secret of this lucrative and cosmopolitan practice was that he was an experienced pathologist and he had a regard for his patients such as few doctors have. I have known him treat, without any fee, numerous persons of both communities. There are, of course, several doctors who do this. But he had cultured with regard to his patients an attitude which is rarely observed. I shall explain my meaning by a quotation from Lord Harder's *Health and a Day* that I happened to be reading recently. A person, says Lord Harder, himself a renowned physician, is a guest in the house who is like God in the house. "He has a divine right to the utmost that the doctor can give him—his training, his skill,

his experience, his wisdom, his time, his physical and mental comfort. The Guests have a motto: 'The guest in the house is God in the house.' (Lord Harder did not know our great maxim—*वैद्यो यः*) With due regard for the solemnity of the thought, I do not shrink from the analogy, for it exactly fits my theme. The patient's only moderate consent is the frank avowal 'Dostee, I am a sick man; help me.' This formula once honestly spoken, and there must be no thought in the doctor's mind of who the patient is, or what he is! The doctor, in short, says Lord Harder, must be a humanist, "and more than humanist," he adds, "an understanding half the time every good doctor, if I say the whole truth, feels impelled to answer the recurring simple question, as did the Rabbi of old: 'Write me as one that loves his fellowmen.'" I can say, without the least exaggeration, that Dr. Rajabali Patel would unhesitatingly have given to the meaning until Abu Ben Adhem's famous answer, when he was called away from here for maybe a higher life.

Sepoon, 29-12-38

M D

'Nages Talwar

We have before us the first issue of *Nages Talwar*, the chief organ of the Hindustani Talwar Singh. The Warlike scheme of basic education will soon be functioning in several provinces. The teachers who have launched on this new venture will have to act as an uncharted sea. *Nages Talwar* is intended to help and guide them, as also to enable them to compare notes and collaborate their respective experiences. The journal will be published both in Devnagri and in Persian script from Wardha and Jaipur. Mulla Mahan, Delhi, respectively. The current issue, printed on handmade paper, contains articles from the pens of Dr. Zakir Husain, Elwara, Gulam Badat, Karamshah Khatkhhat, Sir Ayyazuddin and Shamsul Aulad who is the editor. It contains also messages from the Poet and Gandhiji. The annual subscription including postage is Rs. 3-4-0 which should be sent to the Editors at Sepoon, Wardha, or to Dr. Zakir Husain, Jaipur. Mulla Mahan, Karol Bagh, Delhi.

Shodh, 9-1-39

Prasadi

CONTENTS	PAGE
RELATING EDUCATION TO	
LIFE—II	G. S. Khatwara 422
FROM FAR OFF HAVAN	Prasadi 423
TRANSDUCTION	M. K. Gadhia 424
THE MAN ON JAMALALI	M. B. Gadhia 425
A DREAM FULFILLED	Prasadi 426
THE LATE DR. RAJABALI	M. D. 427
NOTES	
AGRICULTURE	M. K. G. 428
BASIC EDUCATION	M. K. G. 429
INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION	M. K. G. 430
'MOST CONTEMPORARY'	M. K. G. 431
'NAGES TALWAR'	Prasadi 432



Jaipur

Reg. No. D 3002

HARIJAN

1140

Editor: MURRAY DOOL

Under the patronage of The Maharaja Saheb Singh

VOL. VI, No. 20

POONA — SATURDAY, JANUARY 25, 1939

[ONE ANNA]

THE JAIPUR STATE AUTHORITIES' NOTIFICATION

H. H. The Maharaja Sahib Bahadur is not persuaded that a form of administration responsible to the public is the one suited to the needs of his people at the present stage of development in Jaipur State, therefore, refusing to agree to his determination that the present form of administration should develop in such a way that these needs are more fully apprehended and adequately met, His Highness is not prepared to approve the schemes of any society whose object is to upset the existing order. As the aims and objects of the Jaipur Praga Mandal are inconsistent with this policy and the Mandal assumes for itself some of the essential duties of Government and will, if allowed to pursue its activities on divergent lines, tend to bring its members into direct conflict with the administration, the Jaipur Government has rejected the Praga Mandal's request for recognition and for permission to continue to function as an association.

JAMNALALJI'S LETTER

To The President
Council of State, Jaipur

Sir,
The attached order dated 15th December last was served on me on the 15th of the same month at Zreni Mathapur while I was on my way to Jaipur.

The order came as a painful surprise to me. As the matter I had over so long's chat with Mr. F. S. Young, I. C. S., who was proceeding me not to concern a branch of the order. I did not need much persuasion as to a discussion with Gandhi, of the possibility of such an order being served on me, he had advised me not to touch the order immediately but to consider the whole situation in consultation with him before taking any final step.

Accordingly I suspended my journey and proceeded to Delhi. After having conferred with friends and fellow-workers and finally Gandhi, I have come to the conclusion that on the 1st of February next I should consider a branch of the order unless, before then, it is unconditionally revoked.

The authorities know that a public appeal was issued by me on 1st November last on behalf of the Jaipur Raza Praga Mandal, of

which I am President, that is because had over-taken Mathuram and other men, whose work was to be undertaken by the Mandal to the exclusion of all other agencies. They were also aware that as a newspaper report having appeared to the effect that civil disobedience was to be started in Jaipur I had issued a for contribution.

I do not know what had happened on or before the 15th December to warrant the passing of the order in anticipation of my seeking to enter Jaipur State. I note that on the same date a notification was published in the State Gazette to the effect that "an emergency has arisen which makes it necessary to provide against attempts to illegal refusal to the payment of certain liabilities." Seeing that the order against me was passed the same day it is reasonable to assume that in the opinion of the authorities I would be connected with the forced movement of illegal refusal of some. Surely if the authorities had any fear of my leading such a movement, they might have at least warned me as to the truth or otherwise of the allegations in their notification. They know me sufficiently to feel sure that I would not conceal the truth from them.

Indeed the authorities know I rendered help to them also during the recent crisis in Bihar consistently with my obligations to the people. They know that my office was used freely on behalf of peace.

My purpose may therefore be better assigned than I can describe it when I learnt from the order that "your (my) presence and activities are likely to lead to a breach of the peace and that, therefore, it is considered necessary in the public interest and for the maintenance of public tranquillity to prohibit your (my) entry within the Jaipur State." I have no hesitation in saying that the order betrays the whole of my public career.

I observe that I have been described as of Wadhwa. I hope this is a slip. For the Jaipur State, surely I am of Jaipur. I do not come to be of Jaipur because I have interests in Wadhwa and elsewhere.

It has become a serious question for my co-workers and me to consider our position in the State.

The Praga Mandal was started in July of 1931 and reorganised in November 1935. It has a constituency. It has many distinguished men of

Japan State as an member. It has historic rights on its activities within the four corners of the Japan Sea and submitted even to officers and official correspondence regarding meetings and processes.

But the talks served on me has opened the eyes of the Mandal. It has come to the conclusion that a main cause of civil disturbances of civil liberty is not persecution and meetings and prohibition and forcing of organisations are not allowed without let or hindrance so long as they observe strict non-violence.

I should define the scope of our activity. There is no mistake as to our goal. We want responsible government under the scope of the Mahatma. We must therefore tell the people what it is and what they should do to deserve it. But we do not propose to offer civil disobedience for it. We must, however, seek the release of the prisoners of all classes of the people. We must carry on constructive and educative activities. The Mandal has no doubt whatever to punish non-payment of taxes at this stage. If we secure the co-operation of the State in our essentially peaceful and life-building measures and in the release of educated prisoners, there never need be any resort to non-payment of taxes. But should it unfortunately become a necessity, the Mandal will give the State authorities ample notice of its intention to do so. For the Mandal stands for open, honest and strictly non-violent methods. Therefore, what I am pleading for is full liberty to the Mandal to carry on its perfectly legitimate and non-violent activities without let or hindrance. If, however, the reasonable request is not granted before the 31st day of this month, I shall reluctantly be compelled to attempt to enter the State as one of the evader, and the Mandal will hold itself free to take such steps as it may deem necessary for self-protection consistent with human dignity.

I hold that to do less will be to commit civil sin. I trust that the Council of State will not put an unbearable strain upon my loyalty and that of the members of the Mandal.

Chung Fook, 7-1-39

I have, etc.

(Sd) Jamnadas Bopal

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DR. KAGAWA'S VISIT

(Continued from p. 488)

Dr. Kagawa: I am glad you read the Singaporean daily?

Gooding: Yes, we finish the entire Gita reading once every week.

Dr. Kagawa: But at the end of the Gita Krishna recommends violence.

Gooding: I do not think so I am disappointed. I should not be frightened effectively if I were fighting violently. The message of the Gita is to be found in the second chapter of the Gita where Krishna speaks of the balanced state of mind, of mental equanimity. In 19 verses in the close of the 2nd chapter of the Gita Krishna explains how this state can be achieved. It can be achieved, he tells us, after killing all your passions. It is not possible to kill your brother after having killed all your passions. I should like to see that man dealing death—who has no passions, who is indifferent to pleasure and pain, who is untroubled by the storms that trouble mortal man. The whole thing is described in language of beauty that is unparagoned. These verses show that the right Krishna speaks of is a spiritual light.

Dr. Kagawa: But there was actual fighting then, and your interpretation is your own peculiar interpretation.

Gooding: It may be mine, but at least it has no value.

Dr. Kagawa: To the common mind it sounds as though it was actual fighting.

Gooding: You must read the whole thing dependently in its own context. After the first mention of fighting, there is no mention of fighting at all. The rest is a spiritual discourse.

Dr. Kagawa: Has anybody interpreted it like you?

Gooding: Yes. The light is there, but the light is in a poem or within. The Pandavas and Kauravas are the forces of good and evil within. The war is the war between light and dark, God and Satan, good and evil in the human heart. The internal evidence in support of this interpretation is there in the work itself and in the Mahabharata of which the Gita is a minute part. It is not a history of war between two families, but the history of man—the history of the spiritual struggle of man. I have sound reasons for my interpretation.

Dr. Kagawa: That is why I say it is your interpretation.

Gooding: But that is nothing. The question is whether it is a reasonable interpretation whether it is a genuine conviction. If it does, it does not matter whether it is mine or K. T. T's. If it does not, it has no value even if it is mine.

Dr. Kagawa: To my mind Arjuna's story is wonderful. Krishna has found some reason for him, and it was natural and necessary before Christianity.

Gooding: That interpretation is even historically wrong. For Buddha entered India before the Christian era, and he preached the doctrine of non-violence.

Dr. Kagawa: But Agnew's views seem to me to be superior to Krishna's.

Gandhi: Then according to you the doctrine was greater than the man?

Dr. Kagawa: But I agree with what you say, with your teaching of non-violence. I shall read the Gita again, having your interpretation in mind.

Dr. Kagawa later told me that Agnew's view was definitely right, and it was because he could not accept Krishna's teaching that he accepted the New Testament teaching as superior. And yet curiously enough he also agreed, when I tried to explain to him Lord Krishna's teaching, that the Japanese soldiers were fighting without passion or hatred in their hearts! I also told him that the teaching of non-violence was at the root of the Hindu culture, that long before the Gita and even before Buddha the Vedic sages had taught it. Buddha derived his message from the Upanishads, and Krishna derived the same in a beautifully dramatic setting. Dr. Kagawa had read the Upanishads in the Sacred Books of the East Series (and doubted where the teaching of ahimsa came in. I urged him to read the Upanishads again.

Change What?

Dr. Kagawa again wanted to know about agriculture and co-operation, which he has studied carefully. And indeed it is a pleasure to hear him discuss on methods of finance called "You get finance once in every five years," he said. "We get it every year, finance is our constant friend," said Gandhi. "Then," said Dr. Kagawa, "you should have more tree culture, more trees for fuel and for cattle fodder. Rice and barley are not enough, you need more protein trees." He particularly mentioned to me the Legume class trees for fuel (from China)—Have not we our jehol or wicket which give fuel and cattle-sure both!—and he mentioned the Keweenaw tree or the Kona tree from Hawaii which flowers three times in the year and yields 100 bushels of seed a year, sufficient to feed 25 horses. These give us my seed and take 4 years to fruit. Having secured sound-fodder, he said, the peasants should have more goats. The Japanese had successfully introduced two varieties from Sweden—The Saanen and the Toggenburg—which give plenty of milk and hair, and which could live on scrub grass. In the Gobi desert they give evaporated goat's milk and lived on goat-milk cheese. Why should we as farmers not fall back on goat-cheese and other milk products like the peasants in Mongolia? We badly needed to make a change in our methods of agriculture, said Dr. Kagawa.

"No," said Gandhi, laughing, "we need a change in the method of Government."

What an Economy!

It was a great pity that Dr. Kagawa had to go away to Bombay the same evening, and could not prolong his stay. Having only touched on fundamental questions, Gandhi said he wished they had been together for hours on other days. Dr.

Kagawa comes by the method of non-violence. "To me that is the Way, that is life. It is man's way the other is Satan's way," he said. If that was the thing, it was no use hurrying through in the American way. Even for a detailed discussion of his co-operative programme he might have stayed longer with the leading men in India. But Gandhi appealed to him on a different ground. "How can you leave India without seeing Swarajism?" he asked.

Dr. Kagawa: But I have read the Post's poems, and I love them.

Gandhi: But you have to love the Post.

Dr. Kagawa: If I can repeat the Gitanjali every day, I can see the Post every day and do I not love him? Maybe he is greater than his poems.

Gandhi: Sometimes the reverse is the truth, but in the case of the Post he is infinitely greater than his great poems. Now, another question. Have you included Pankajbhoy in your programme? If you want to study modern India, you must see both Saratchandra and Ananda Ghose's Ardram. I wonder who your new admirers are? I wish you had appeared on your address in the matter!

"No," said Dr. Kagawa, laughing, "you are a good guide for life."

Dr. Kagawa asked what other books Gandhi read every day. Gandhi mentioned the Itanagani in which he said there was supposed to be enough blood and thunder, "but not for me." Dr. Kagawa said he too loved it for the story of Seta—the ideal of Chivalry. "But there are other fine things also in that unique poem," said Gandhi. "I have not read the original which is great, but the Hindi rendering done by a good darsana or the scriptures for the masses of India. In the North India Tale Ramayana has been the expression of many a home for four centuries."

Dr. Kagawa discussed Shastriacharya and Ramayana, and Gandhi expressed his preference for the former, and for his direct and marvelously logical way. But Gandhi stressed again to his admirer and expressed his great regret that Rev. Hodge who had been in charge of it had not of his personality for him (Gandhi) included Gandhi, but not Swarajism! "You are strong to Calcutta and not to Swarajism." It is a great pity. You say you are going to Coimbatore. Will Coimbatore be Coimbatore, but Swarajism in India."

We appealed to Dr. Kagawa at the end of the interview to alter his programme a little. He was speaking on days at Calcutta to see the Theological College at Serampore and the Daniel Hammond's Estate at Coimbatore. Why not set apart a day for Swarajism? Why not cut out other places and stay longer with Gandhi? But it was an officially — or clerically? — arranged programme for him, and we could not help feeling very sad that his advent had not been for either to him or to India.

NOTICE

The next issue of 'Harijan' will contain serious papers and will be priced at two annas per copy.
Manager

H A R I J A N

Jan. 31

1939

JAIPUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Jajpur sympathisers will not be Jajpur men; they have brought the Jajpur pattern on their names. For they have now backed the Jajpur Raza Praga Mandal of which Jamsalji is the President. Jamsalji has released for publication his letter to the President of the Jajpur Council of State. The readers will find it elsewhere in these columns. That letter should induce withdrawal of the order. But evidently the Jajpur Council, which I incorrectly described as entirely composed of outsiders in my last week's article, but which I understand does contain four members from the State, is most upon vigils not of conscience every Saturday whether rural, kamataran or other with which Jamsalji or his co-workers are connected.

This is the newest method of dealing with people whom the authorities do not like. I can only hope against hope that the Jajpur authorities will shun from participating in all-India work. For there are three reasons which might give the Jajpur members that character Jamsalji is himself an assurance. He is, moreover, a member of the Working Committee of the Congress and its Treasurer. The method being adopted in Jajpur is no drastic to be suffered without a desperate struggle. If it goes unchallenged, it may serve as a death-blow to every activity in the State when it is even remotely connected with the legitimate political aspirations of that people.

The curious thing about Jajpur is that the real ruler is a high-placed Englishman and not the Maharaja. Can it be that he represents the wishes of the central authority? If he does, what becomes of the recent declaration? If he does not, may an English Dewan initiate policies that may in the end spell disaster to the State itself? I understand that the Jajpur measure, which is even-fall, if the worst happened, it could mean a prolonged boycott by the people, that is, assuming that the modern weapons of dissension do not turn the people into reformers. It is time for the Prince and the Central Government to evolve a common policy of action. On it the Jajpur method, the common policy of action, is now all on it? I can only hope that it is not.

Darbh, 18-1-39

Notes

Drinking Methylated Spirits

A correspondent writes:

"Perhaps it is not information to you but I will be wrong on the safe side and am, therefore, writing to inform you that people having the drink habit drink diluted methylated spirits because they cannot get taddy and 'daru'. A convenient intermediary purchases a bottle of the spirit for 5 to 7 annas, dilutes it with water and sells it to the drinker for 12 to 15 annas. The intermediary is not a householder. He is an ordinary person who finds prohibition hardly maintainable if he has to earn a little money by buying a few bottles of methylated spirits and sending the same to the drinker."

I do not know if it would be practicable to control the sale of methylated spirits by issuing licences for its purchase. A watch over the total quantity of methylated spirits and other substitutes for taddy and 'daru' sold in particular areas before and after the introduction of prohibition would appear to be necessary."

The correspondent's letter deserves the attention of those who are engaged in prohibition work.

Darbh 18-1-39

M. K. G.

Jajpur Exhibit

Under the auspices of the All India Village Industries Association, a competitive show of palm and sugarcane jaggery will be held at the Khadi and Village Industries Exhibition at the close of the Tripura Congress. A prize will be awarded to the manufacturer of the best exhibit of each variety of palm jaggery, viz., 1. Coconut, 2. Date, 3. Palmyra, and 4. Sugar palm jaggery, and also the best sugarcane jaggery.

Jaggery must be purely village-made. A sample of one lb. of each kind of jaggery should be sent at the exhibitor's cost and it must reach the undersigned at Wundla, before the 10th February 1939 and should not be sent direct to Tripura.

The exhibit must bear a label giving the following information:

1. Full name and address of manufacturer and the nearest railway station.
 2. Kind of jaggery and a short description of the manufacturing process employed.
 3. The annual manufacturing season of the factory.
 4. Name of the railway, viz. main or branch-ary. For how many days is the manufacturer engaged in the industry every year? His approximate income from the industry.
 5. Initial capital invested by the manufacturer.
- The information supplied will also be covered while sending the palm.

Specimen of village industries will please convey this announcement to the jaggery manufacturers known to them and lend a helping hand in getting the exhibit and the above information.

A. I. V. I. A.

Gopabandhu

Wundla (C. P.) Supervisor, Jaggery Department

VIOLENCE V. NON-VIOLENCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Everywhere in India there is a dead going on between the method of non-violence and that of violence. Violence like water, when it has no outlet, rushes forward furiously with an overwhelming force. Non-violence cannot act usually. It is the exercise of discipline. But when it is set going, no amount of violence can crush it. For full play, it requires unadulterated purity and an unquenchable faith among the leaders. Therefore, if non-violence seems to fail in the dead, it will do so because the leaders lack the purity or the faith or both. These men, however, to be unable to believe that non-violence will triumph over violence. Things seem to be shaping so that the workers will see for themselves the futility of violence.

But a well-known public worker writes:

"The State method of dealing with Separatists seems to be different from the British method. The methods adopted in some States are too extreme and brutal. Will non-violence succeed against such brutal methods? Is it not permissible for us to defend the honour and respect of our women? The ordinary law of the land goes in that right. Thus why should we not exercise that right, when we are fighting with a brutal and extreme machinery? I want like to be enlightened on these points."

I have carefully read and noted your letter on the murder of the Political Agent of Orissa. I was rather pained to find that you made no reference to the terrible atrocities committed on the poor State subjects of Orissa. Is not the murder of the Political Agent a direct warning to the State authorities to be more moderate in dealing with the people's rights? After all, is between the State subjects and the Political Department, who deserves our sympathy more? If the death was wrong in being violence against the Political Agent, was the latter justified in firing on the mob and then provoking them to violence? And what about the terrible repression for which the Political Agent was responsible? I agree with you that the murder of the Political Agent is unfortunate, but who is responsible for it? If the rising chiefs of Orissa had been properly advised and led by the Political Agent, and if he had not been party to the terrible repression, certainly the people would not have gone out of control.

I agree with you that the event should be a warning to all of us who are conducting a mass movement in the form. But I fail to understand why you as the greatest apostle of truth and non-violence should not have also conveyed a warning to the Political Department of the Government of India, and especially the Eastern States Agency, that they should not adopt brutal methods in dealing with the State subjects' rights? I feel that the Eastern States Agency has been more brutal in dealing with the State subjects' rights, and the murder of the Political Agent is the climax of the

brutal repression carried on by the Eastern States Agency. Indeed it is unfortunate, but the Political Agent himself was responsible for this. And if we are to show sympathy for the loss of life of the Political Agent, what about the two persons who died on the spot as a result, possibly of the police violence. If the victims of violence deserve our sympathy, why should not the victims of police violence deserve as much sympathy as the victims of mob violence? To me it looks that the Bangalore murder is a warning that and therefore to the Government of India, and the Political Department and also to the ruling chiefs and them to us."

Of course the logic of self-defence is there and so is the right of armed rebellion. But after deep deliberation the Congress has chosen both and that for valid reasons. Non-violence is not worth much, if it is worried in the face of the greatest provocation. Its true test comes in its capacity for standing any amount of provocation. If there were eye-witnesses of the rape and if the witnesses were non-violent, who are they then? If the rape became known after the event, of what use is violence? The non-violent method is well open. The men may be tried or they may be brought up before the bar of public opinion, if there was any. To expose the criminals to mob fury would be barbarous."

The argument about the murder of the late Political Agent of the Orissa States is irrelevant to the case. I was not called upon to uphold the merits of the action of the ruler and the Political Agent on the one hand and the people's action on the other. It was enough for me at the time to condemn an unqualified term the murder of the Political Agent not merely as a mark of sympathy, though that was deserved, but as an act of gross indiscipline and breach of the fundamental Congress policy. The methods of the rulers have been exposed often enough in these columns. But they have not been mentioned for the purpose of driving the wrath of the people upon the doors, but for the sole purpose of showing the people the way of dealing with them non-violently. Things were shaping themselves well in Orissa. I can quote chapter and verse in support of this assertion. The murder has dethroned the even course of the movement. Rasput is a howling wilderness. The people, both innocent and guilty, are in hiding. They have deserted their homes in order to escape repression. But it will not be merely the usually guilty persons who will suffer. The technique of frightfulness in some shape or other is no doubt being applied and the whole of India has to be helpless witness of it. The authorities know no other way of dealing with workers of their officials, especially when they are Harijans. The non-violent method has been slowly educating them to know the new way. But I need not prolong the argument. The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Both methods are being used out in India. The workers have to make

their choice. I know that India's freedom is possible only through non-violence. Then workers to the Congress who think or act otherwise are wrapping themselves and the Congress

Bombay, 26-2-39

DR. KAGAWA'S VIRTU

His Reputation

"Your reputation has preceded you, Dr. Kagawa." With these words Gooding stood up to greet Dr. Kagawa who sat on his knees to return the greeting. All of us had long been looking forward to his visit or to the morning between Kagawa and Gooding. If times had been normal and conditions in India had permitted Gooding to go abroad, he would certainly have gone to Japan to see Dr. Kagawa and his work, just as he went to Switzerland to see M. Roussier-Rodière, and would have gone to Turkey to see Kemal Pasha if persecutory cables had not called him back to India from England in 1931.

"You are a preacher before me," said Gooding, when in reply to his question Dr. Kagawa said that he was 50 years and six months old. But what a wonderful period of 50 years! And through his unique reputation with his people in Gooding does in India, what a ready to understand and contrast was the lives of the two! Toshihiko Kagawa was born in Kobe in 1888, the son of a headman of 24 villages, who later rose to a high position in the State. But he was born out of wedlock, as his biographer Mr. Ailing says, or was the son of "a professional dancing girl", who was "my father's second wife" as Kagawa himself says in an autobiographical chapter in one of his famous books. "My father died when I was only four, and the first wife adopted me as her own. We had a big house and many servants. But living in a big house without any love meant hell for me. My family were rich people, but their mode of behaviour was terrible. I wept day and night." Dr. Kagawa said, as he was talking to me, that it was this polygamy in the family which drove him to Christianity. If I say so, however, it was not polygamy, but the total lack of love. There is no lack of love in Buddhism, but there was a failure of pure love in the so-called Buddhist home. Even so, Dr. Ambedkar born in Hinduism experienced a total lack of love from his Hindu brethren and an acute enmity to Hindoos.

In Dr. Kagawa's early life there was no love, and there was no light. Buddhism was then, or seemed to him to be, so more than crude ritual, worship of the dead, which carried with them no obligation of love. The school which he attended offered no better atmosphere. "The senior students of the high school visited the licensed quarters of public prostitution and they got drunk. There seemed no hope for me to be a good boy." At this stage an American missionary came into his loneliness and fighting life. He asked him to renounce the Service on the Mount, and the passage along the

"lives of the field" experienced him. "I believed that if I could be like one of those boys in the field, I could be a good boy. My work was very much against Christianity. He was an honest Buddhist. I could not question his faith openly, so I used to go to bed, putting the bed-covers over my head. 'Oh God, make me a good boy.' I went on the missionary to borrow some books. 'How do you pray?' he asked 'Under the covers at night.' I said He laughed at me and said I was a fool. I did not like the word creed, so I went and for the first time worshipped God in Church. I received baptism."

After graduating he decided to serve the poor, as Christianity meant for him working class. He went and lived with the poor in hovels not far apart. These slums were hives for blood and sin, but he feared neither murder nor syphilis, made marriages and divorces with his bed-fellows. With a thief, a murderer, a lunatic and a syphilitic for his mates he lived on "lucky eleven" just a day for four people. It is impossible to feed four people on eleven yen even in Japan. We stopped lunch and had two meals a day. We put water in the rice and we washed our stomachs. I preached to the drunkards at two o'clock, for that was the only time they were sober. I preached to the gamblers. I preached day and night, but the result was very bad, because when people go down to the slums they have no power to get better."

Hindooism exploited his non-orthodoxy, — he gave a coat and trousers to one who wanted a shirt — and a criminal "broke out" his furthest teeth. In his eyes he still carries signs of the danger he caught in the slums. After five years in the slums he went to America, studied biology and psychology at Princeton, took his doctorate in chemistry, and on return changed his career and organized labour unions. There was a big general strike, he was arrested with 400 labour leaders. In times of depression the workman is driven back to the land, and so Dr. Kagawa began to study the life of the workman returned to the land, and those of the farmer. He was appreciated because he got men hounded and fifty thousand farmers to join the farmers' union. But all these years were not really "love's labour lost." In 1926 the Government moved by his writings sanctioned a sum of 2 million pounds to govern slums from one of the largest cities in Japan, and there are now five of such areas.

His Group of Facts

Dr. Kagawa had to fight the slums, the unemployment, the poverty of the workman and the peasant. He has a marvellous mastery of figures. Here are some he quotes almost casually. "In Japan drunk consumes fifty per cent more money than the total annual budget of the army and navy.... It is estimated that money spent in licensed and private prostitution in Japan amounts to 1,600 million yen annually. Significantly the annual consumption of rice amounts to 1,500 million yen or only one-half as much more." (Buddhism

Economist) "In Japan we have 140 large ships, and 1,200 towns and villages are rural. Only 45 per cent of the total population is rural. We have three million fishermen in Japan and they catch half the fish that are caught in the whole world. . . . We have 8,600 managers for rice based on the co-operative scheme. . . . 40 per cent of the 3,700,000 farmers are landless. 30 per cent of them have a little land. 70 per cent are tenant farmers. 35 per cent are women among small holders, only 2 per cent of the farmers are well off. 45 per cent of the owners of farms live in the towns and cities." (*Speech at the Tenbunin conference*.) "There are 3,700,000 families of farmers in Japan. . . . For we have only 300,000 Christians in the Church." (*Brotherhood Economist*) The book from which I have taken this last quotation contains a brief and yet sympathetic account of the co-operative movement which is well worth studying by all social workers. Russian communists, he says, has evolved a system of forced co-operatives. "What we need are voluntary co-operatives. "We may have no reason to love the capitalists as capitalists, but we must help them to reason, and to co-operate with their fellows in a society which shall be based upon Christian brotherhood and love."

His Dream

He demonstrates the need for seven types of co-operatives—

(1) health co-operatives and life insurance co-operatives, (2) producer co-operatives, (3) marketing co-operatives, (4) credit co-operatives, (5) mutual aid co-operatives, (6) utility co-operatives, and (7) consumer co-operatives—which he calls the seven types of brotherhood.

He is himself running day nurseries under the co-operative system and two experimental stations in Hokkaido (North Japan) and Tokyo (South Japan), and under the inspiration of these stations every district has decided to grow 50,000 walnut trees and 100,000 chestnut trees every year.

His outline in his dream of a 'Co-operative State' based on the co-operatives and founded on Christian redemption love. He is a socialist but is opposed to violence, exploitation and thinks that the present problem "would be some method of transferring the system of private property over to a system of co-operative property." He rightly dreams of a system of elections of persons from co-educational organisations, which would abolish the necessity of expending money on elections, and ultimately talks of international co-operative trade and commerce to ensure peace. There are interesting discussions in the book on property and inheritance laws, laws of private ownership and so on, and there is throughout an insistence on education and non-violent revolution as the "only true and dependable" method for the "transformation of the present." Issues national co-operative trade, and insurance, destruction of earthquake and flood insurance, just as there is the international peace treaty, would

ensure world peace. "The whole question revolves itself into the education of the masses into the will to give expression to a co-operative spirit in the foundation of such international co-operative institutions as an international credit bank. Such institutions would mark a long step toward the achievement of world peace."

While that is his dream, I wonder if it has ever occurred to him that economic exploitation by Japan of other countries is contrary to the principle of love and brotherhood, that working for emancipation of nations is also opposed to the same principle. He is not explicit in his views on war, especially the present Sino-Japanese war. He talks of the problem of overpopulation and consequently talks of a million families to be sent to the north of Manchukuo to be settled there. "How can there be international co-operative trade between an exploiting nation and an exploited one?" I asked him. He said "I agree that yours is a different problem altogether."

A Query and an Explanation

His attitude to conversion is well defined. He believes in a second birth—"Unless ye be born again." But someone as birth cannot be a collective nation, he would not, so I think, countenance mass conversions. I tried to win so away him further than that. If Christ taught love and brotherhood, Buddha had taught ethics and co-operating and by good. But, as I have explained, the life of Christ came first to inspire him and he tries to visualize a universal church of Christ and the life of the gospel. "But," I asked him, "why may one not live the life of love, as, if you please, life according to the Gospel, without being baptised?" He had no reply. "But of course," he said, "I do not believe in compulsion. When I talk to the Buddhist priests and workers about co-operatives, I do not talk of religion. But if they do come to ask me about religion, I take the Gospel to them." He recognises that the teachings of Christ are being challenged, and declares in no uncertain terms: "If the Church were trying to procure love in society, there would be a reason for its existence. With compulsion I do not expect it to be able to save the world." But as we will see, he does not appear to have worked out his back to its extreme logical conclusion. I may be mistaken, but it is my conviction that having cut himself adrift from his people at early life, he lacks the capacity to understand them to large areas out of the depth of love.

"Why has not politics made much headway?" we asked him. "Look at the nihilism here," he said. "You cannot speak, you cannot write what you please. Everyone under fifty has to enter himself." "But," said I, "if you find thousands of men willing to throw themselves into the jaws of death for war, why can't you find thou-

made willing to go to death for their convictions, for peace?" He smiled incredulously.

I must confess that I do not fully understand Dr. Kageura. His talk with Gandhiji and his own attitude to war had to be accomplished in the want of time. There were possible definitions of the situation which Dr. Kageura might have discussed at length with Gandhiji, Japan is still a peculiarly feudal country. It is dominated by the military caste or by military cliques. No less than five Prime Ministers have been appointed there during recent years. Luck has favoured the country and its military policy all these years. And it is not an easy matter to push a heretical doctrine in such an atmosphere. Considerable educative propaganda is needed before the ground can be prepared. Besides, Buddhism as it has been understood and practised in India has not been understood in Japan and other lands. These peculiar difficulties explain in a large measure Dr. Kageura's position, his inability or his unpreparedness to clarify his attitude, and to live up to the extreme logical consequences of his creed.

Now for his talk with Gandhiji.

The Discussion with Gandhiji

I have already described how they greeted each other. The preliminary questions were about the drought in South India and famine and the co-operative movement. Was the movement flourishing in India, Dr. Kageura asked.

"I can't say that it is flourishing," said Gandhiji. "It is going on somewhere. It was initiated by the British Government. It did not come from within, but was superimposed upon the people. It is managed after a certain stereotyped pattern and has therefore no room for growth according to the requirements of time. Whereas I know you have a big co-operative movement."

"Yes, it is growing every day. There are 350,000 producers' co-operatives organised by themselves. There are national banks, insurance co-operatives, harvest insurance co-operatives and savings co-operatives," said Dr. Kageura.

The War with China

But this discussion could not exhaust Gandhiji. He went straight to the question on which he wanted to hear first hand from Dr. Kageura. "What is the feeling of people in Japan about the war?"

"I am rather a heretic in Japan," said Dr. Kageura. "Rather than I express my views I would like to hear from you what you would do if you were in my position."

"It would be presumptuous for me to express my views."

"No, I would like very much to know what you would do."

"I would declare my intention and be done. I would put the co-operatives and all your work in one scale, and put the honour of your nation in the other, and if you found that the

honour was being sold, I should ask you to declare your views against Japan and in so doing make Japan live through your death. But, for that, strict discipline is necessary. I do not know that I should be able to do all that I love and if I were in your position, but I want to see your opinion since you have asked for it."

"The intention is there. But friends have been asking me to do so."

"Well don't listen to friends when the Friend inside you says, 'Do this.' And friends, however good, are sometimes well disposed to. They cannot argue otherwise. They would ask you to live and do your work. The same appeal was made to me when I took the decision to go to jail. But I did not listen to friends with the result that I found the glow of freedom when I was confined within the four solid walls of prison. I was made a dark cell, but I felt that I could see everything from within those walls, and nothing from outside."

Dr. Kageura seemed to shrink from continuing the discussion. There was silence on room for it. The conversation was short, but it could hardly only in its proper time. So he remained on again to his theme of co-operation. "Have you some arbitration co-operatives in India?" But Gandhiji was full of other things.

"I do not think so," Gandhiji replied. "Of course you have all these things. You have done marvellous things, and we have many things to learn from you, but how can we understand the soulwringing slave of China, dropping her with poison and so many other horrid things that I read about in a book called *What War Means* which Pandit Jawaharlal has given me. How could you have committed all these atrocities? And then your great poet calls it a war of humanity and a blessing to China?"

The Teaching of the Gita

Dr. Kageura is a student of religion. He wanted to know how Gandhiji's chosen teaching could be reconciled with the Bhagavadgita. Gandhiji said it could not be discussed in a brief interval, but he would ask him to read his introduction to the Gita where he had answered the question. The answer had just come to him as part of his experience, and the correspondence was, as he thought, not laboured in any way.

[Continued on p. 459.]

CONTENTS	PAGE
THE JAPANESE STATE ATTORNEYS'	
NOTES	459
JAWAHARLAL'S LETTER	459
JAPANESE	M. K. Gandhi 459
VIOLENCE & NON-VIOLENCE	M. K. Gandhi 459
DR. KAGEURA'S VIEW	M. D. 459
NOTES	
DISCUSSION RECAPITULATED	
SPRINGS	M. K. G. 459
JACKSON'S EMBROIDERY	G. Nish 459

HARIJAN

Editor: MARSHLEY SIMS

Under the Auspices of The Harijan Sevak Sangh

VOL. VI, No. 31

POONA - SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1939

[TWO ANNAS]

THE STATES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The movement for liberty within the States is entering a new stage. History is going to repeat itself. Teluker and Dhandral have led the way in repression. It is an odd notion that 20,000 out of 75,000 all told have suffered from Teluker to British Crown. Paul Bangs has published harrowing details of the sufferings of these refugees. His narrative is supported by Thakur Singh, the great social reformer and philosopher, who responds to the call of distress so matter from what source it comes. They have been in exile for two months. I had hoped that they would have returned to their homes, but there seems to be no peace for these people as yet.

It is not possible for Crown alone to tackle the relief work. The Government of Orissa has not much money to spare. I hope that the Marwadi Relief Society will take up the relief work bearing in mind that labour should be found for the refugees.

Rajapur has recorded a political scare. And the police and military are being a merry dance at the expense of innocent men and women. I hope the Government of Orissa will firmly handle the situation and not let the Imperial Power deal with the situation as it chooses. The Imperial Power loses its head when it loses one of its own class in the circumstances attending the senseless murder of Minor Recruits. This murder should show us that there is nothing to be gained by the people by such acts.

Japur will not tolerate even the education of the Japanese to ask and fix themselves for responsible government and would probably bury their axe at its Japanese axe.

The officers of the Thakur School at Rajpur think nothing of making him run his own work and commit a breach of his promise solemnly made to his people. The President of the Western States is busy in the search of evidence in our possession as to be relied upon. To him the Congress and Swadeshi are enemies. Ground is being prepared in Rajpur for increasing enmities between Hindus and Muslims and the people in general and the States. None of these have heretofore controlled. It is to be hoped that the Muslims and the Rajapur will not prove enemies of their own

delinquency. The relations' course is clear. They must avoid all clash. They must be prepared to die at the hands of their own people if the occasion arises. They have tried with marvellous success the weapon of non-violence and non-cooperation. They can reduce it fully and simply as still. The people are the purchasers, and the Prince and the officials are their servants who have to do the will of their masters. This is hardly true of an awakened and enlightened people who know the art of thinking and acting as of one mind.

I would urge the people to, in other States to become slowly liberty is there if they will have patience and self-reliance. Let them everywhere hunt themselves together and have a consciousness of their strength. They should not have internal dissensions. They must know how to control the forces of non-cooperation—divide and rule. It is not enough if the reformers master the technique of non-violence.

Travellers had better be on their guard. I have sufficient evidence in my possession to show that attempts are being made to cause divisions between Hindus and Christians and Muslims. If they are to have responsible government, they must realise that they are of those different communities. They must learn that they are one and indivisible political unit, and they must also control over all forms of violence. They must take full responsibility for peace throughout. Truce without the aid of the police, if they are to win freedom through non-violence means. Marriages and processions are necessary for propaganda around domestic issues. They are not necessary for a people awakened to a sense of their duty as citizens. Swadeshi is for the awakened, not for the clergy and the ignorant.

Serialized 21-1-39

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WEEKLY LETTER

Unconventional Economics

Some thirty members of the Economic Conference that was held at Narayn during the last week of December had come on the 30th ult. to Gandhiji at Begun and independently to attend the opening of the Mahan Museum. Having been late, they had first to attend the ceremony.

After the opening, there went to Jemshedi's bungalow to meet Gandhiji who led them into conversation by saying, "I want you to criticize what you have seen, and tell me the defects you may have discovered. Please won't help me. I know where I deserve praise. He can tell me as criticism that the whole thing is doomed to failure, as some economists have done before. Such condemnation would not impress me. But if after a close and sympathetic study you discover flaws and point them out to me, I shall feel thankful."

But there was no constructive criticism forthcoming. The first question put was one Gandhiji has repeatedly answered. It was, "Are you against large scale production?" Gandhiji answered, "I never said that. This belief is one of the many superstitions about me. Half of my time goes to countering such things. But from scientists I expect better knowledge. Your criticism is based on loose newspaper reports and the like. What I am against is large scale production of cheap villagers can produce without difficulty."

Q. What do you think of the Planning Commission?

A. I cannot say anything. I have not studied it. It was not discussed in my presence in the Working Committee. Because I will continue to render advice to the Working Committee whenever my advice is sought, it does not mean that everything that comes from the Working Committee bears my endorsement as it even discussed with me. I have purposely disavowed myself of responsibility, so far as the general body of decisions are concerned.

Q. Is law your blessing?

A. What can be the use of my blessings as a thing I do not know, or in which I am not concerned.

Q. Do you think that cottage industries and big industries can be harmonized?

A. Yes, if they are planned so as to help the villages. For instance, industries which the nation needs, may be centralized. But then I would not choose anything as a "key industry" that can be taken up by the villages with a little organizing. For instance, I did not know the possibilities of handloom paper. Now I am so hopeful that I believe that every village can produce its own paper, though not for newspapers, etc. Supposing the State controlled paper-making and controlled it, I would expect it to protect all the paper that villages can make.

Q. What is meant by protecting the villages?

A. Protecting them against the assaults of the cities. At our time cities were dependent on the villages. Now it is the reverse. There is no interdependence. Villages are being exploited and drained by the cities.

Q. Don't the villages need a lot of things that the cities produce?

A. I wonder. In any case, under my scheme, nothing will be allowed to be produced by cities which can be equally well produced by the villages. The proper function of cities is to serve as clearing houses for village products.

Q. Can we harmonize cloth-and sweater with handloom production?

A. So far as I know, my answer is an emphatic 'no'. All the cloth we need can easily be produced in the villages.

Q. But the number of mills is increasing.

A. That is a performance.

Q. But that is one of the things that the Planning Commission has set itself to do.

Gandhiji: It is none to me. In that case the Congress will have to swing its resolution on cloth.

Limits of Industrialization

"What attitude should I, as a realist, adopt with regard to the tale of industrialization that is sweeping over the world," was also the theme of a discussion that a Polish friend, Mr. Friedman, otherwise Bharamachari had with Gandhiji during his stay at Begun. Mr. Friedman is an expert by profession and the head of the Government Electrical Workshop at Bangalore in the Mysore State. He takes, besides, a keen amateur interest in politics and is deeply interested in Indian philosophy and things spiritual. "The ultimate ideal of having self-sufficient villages is, of course, chimeric," he observed to Gandhiji. "But that can come about only where everyone is cultured in the Indian sense of the word. Does not industrialization serve to level the ground? Is it any waste of energy merely to oppose it? Would it not be better to try to change its direction?"

"You are an expert," replied Gandhiji. "You will therefore appreciate an illustration from mechanics. You know the paralogism of forces. These the forces do not neutralize each other. Each force runs freely along its own line and we get the resultant which indicates the final direction of motion. It is the same with the problem you have mentioned. As I look at Russia where the apotheosis of industrialization has been reached, the life there does not appeal to me. To use the language of the Bible, "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his soul?" In modern terms, it is beneath human dignity to lose one's individuality and become a mere cog in the machine. I want every individual to become a full-blooded, fully developed member of society. The village, once become self-sufficient. I see no other solution if one has to work in terms of

others. Now I know that conversion I know these are others who believe in individualism. I work with all my being for my conversion. The process of adjustment goes on all the time. I do not know what the outcome of it will be. But whatever it is, it will be to the good."

"But," questioned the Polish friend, returning to the charge, "is no compromise with individualism possible without sacrificing the ideal of self-sufficient villages?"

"Oh yes," replied Gooding. "Railways are there, I do not avoid them. I have motor cars, but I make use of them reluctantly all the same. Again, I dislike kamasas, guns, but just now I am making use of one though I carry a good gun about as my son. Every time I see the kamasas gun it hurts me, and I think of the neglected rural pen as my best Companion comes in at every step, but one must realize that it is a companion, and keep the final goal constantly in front of the mind's eye."

"When I came from the busy West to masses in the Indian villages," resumed Mr. Friedman, "I seem to be moving in a different world altogether in which separate steps."

"Yes so long as you look at the surface," replied Gooding. "But the moment you talk to them and they begin to speak, you will find that wisdom drops from their lips. Behind the crude exterior you will find a deep reservoir of spirituality. I call this culture. You will not find such a thing in the West. You try to create a European peasant in conversation, and you will find that he is constrained to always appear. In the case of the Indian village as age-old culture is hidden under an encrustation of crudeness. Take away the encrustation, remove the chronic poverty and the slavery, and you have the finest specimen of what a cultured, cultured, free citizen should be."

Burkitt, 13-19

Fynsda

MISSIONARIES AGAIN

A friend has sent a batch of clippings from British newspapers containing reports of speeches delivered in England by some missionaries from India who had gone home to enjoy their holidays. These speeches which were evidently meant for 'home consumption' make strange reading to us in India and are not likely to enhance the reputation for sincerity of those who delivered them. Here are a few extracts from the speech of Mrs. Frank E. C. Harrison, 'a missionary home on holiday from Travancor, South India', with a word of more facts, delivered at the Annual Methodist Overseas Missionary Conference, at the Elboway (Cork-street) Methodist Church, Tuzo. The report appeared in the *West Britain and Cornwall Advertiser* of 25th November, 1935.

"He remarked that the Hindus were looking for a new religion that would give them the right to live. At a recent meeting of the

representatives of the Hindu sect, two men, it was decided that the best religion was Christianity. Mr. Harrison said that those people would require help, for if they were prepared to turn their backs on the Hindu religion it surely must mean something to the people of this country...."

"Mr. Harrison went on to say that in 1913 there was a huge meeting of representatives of these people in Northern India, and at a subsequent conference meeting it was urged that they should change their religion. In England and Wales there were some forty millions of people, but in India there were some seventy millions of these people alone. There was a prospect of these seventy millions seeking admission to the Christian Church."

Rev. W. H. Bishop of Amersford, speaking at the Church Missionary Society, observed:

"The past year's work of the society showed a deficit of £ 25,000, and unless there was an increase in income, expenditures would have to be reduced. As far as India was concerned it would mean a reduction of £ 10,000. It was a terrible thing that the work of the C. M. S. in India might have to be cut down at a time when the door was open to convert the people to a greater extent than at any time in the past."

It was only a year ago that Gooding, exposed the hollowbones of current standard statements made by Bishop Paken. But the words show serious notions of unscrupulous agents to embrace Christianity, is a body seemed that came up again and again, particularly when the bishops of various missionary organizations begin to show a deficit. Rev. Frank E. C. Harrison was careful not to mention the place where "a massed meeting of the representatives of the Hindus", that decided "that the best religion was Christianity," was held, or the time on which it was held. People in India do not know of any "representative Hindus" who have made the declaration referred to by the Reverend Bishop. As for India being ready "to receive the Gospel to a greater extent than at any time in the past," we cannot do better than quote the following from the speech of Rev. A. M. Moha, also a missionary working in South India, delivered at the annual meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at Lexington: It appeared in the *Birmingham Post* of 24th November last.

"The advantages which appeared fifty years ago in the taking of Christianity by members of the company are no longer claimed," he said. "The reason was no longer moved by the fact that Christianity was the whole man's religion. In the past there had been a keen desire to include the Hindus, but today the Christian movement had made them proud of their race, and Western dress was discarded."

It was impossible for anyone to look at the history of the last twenty-five years and feel that we have got our challenge another civilization as

if we were superior beings. This was particularly the case when it was at least an open question whether what we called European civilization was capable of continuing or whether it had to be wiped out because it did not know how to use its knowledge."

Mr. Mallin continued:

"It may be that we shall have to convert Europe and ourselves. European prestige has gone in India. When we have urged that China would make India, our opponents have said: 'Do you think that we are such fools as not to know what is happening in your so-called Christian nations? If you can't make more effect there, why should we believe you?'"

Mr. Mallin declared that,

"Whereas throughout the time we had governed India we had made no impression on the destiny of the people, Heaven, an all-God country, had tackled this question. There was, he added, all the material available for an equalized teaching in India. There would simply have to be a new order of society there. The vital question was, 'Once what is it to be built? Is it to be built without God?'"

Buckley, 12-4-38

Pyralis

A WORLD IN AGONY

China's Travel

The last day of the dead year and the New Year day brought to Japan a unique gathering of representatives of various nations who had been to the Tientsin Conference. "This world is madman," as Gaochang described them, included delegates from eleven continents. There were Rev. S. S. Tamm of U. S. Mission, Johannesburg, Rev. Thompson D. Beckwith of Kwana Mission, S. Rhodesia, and Miss Miss Soga, the first Native woman to visit India as a representative capacity. There was too a Japanese delegate, M. S. Moore from Tokyo. From China there were Rev. Timothy Tingfang Lee, member, Legislative Yuan of the National Government of China, Y. T. Wu, Editor-in-Chief of Associated Press of the National, Y. M. C. A. Shanghai, and formerly Chairman of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in China. And lastly, there was P. C. Hsu, philosopher and author of several works on Confucius, Rand Bernstrassen, etc. At one time professor in Shanghai University, he is at present helping in establishing a network of schools in China where the scholars set before themselves the ideal of "not unmoved from tranquility" and themselves do all odd and so-called manual jobs like cleaning, cooking, etc.

Most of them, as devout Christians, had a strong leaning towards pacifism, and the representatives of the Chinese and the Native men, having felt the true feel of oppression of the Japanese militarism, and the miseries of the White race, respectively, were deeply interested in the method of non-violence as a weapon for winning military

aggression. The Chinese delegates had come fresh from the theatre of war and had experienced the horrors of modern warfare in all its hideousness. They felt themselves on the horns of a dilemma.

Turn however, their horror of a personal war and their just resentment against the unprovoked aggression of their liberators, they passed on their spiritual weapons before Gaochang and asked him, as the Apostle of non-violence, to show them the way how to make non-violence effective.

Rev. Lee's Dilemma

Rev. Lee, who saw Gaochang separately on the first day, on receiving thanks for the Indian medical mission to help the Chinese, remarked:

"We appreciate it as an expression of India's sympathy and goodwill towards China. China's struggle is not merely for China but for the whole of Asia. It is for Japan too. The Japanese think they are invincible because they defeated us in 1895, but we know that even now their people are paying a heavy price for this war of aggression, in the form of high taxation, etc.

Cultural Destruction?

"We are not afraid of material destruction, decreasing through it is, but of cultural destruction. The first bomb in Shanghai hit a library. Colleges have been wiped out. Professors have been killed. New education has been discontinued and forced to migrate into the interior.

"Even worse is the moral injury they have done us," he continued. And he gave a hand description of how a systematic attempt is being made to force the drug evil upon China, which they had been for the last twenty years trying to fight tooth and nail. When they occupied Peking they opened 50 new hospitals there, filling them with Korean girls. The army of occupation rapes women everywhere, the figure for Peking alone being anything between 5,000 to 10,000 according to various estimates. In Shanghai, the cruelties in one month from gambling and drug shops that have been opened under Japanese authority amounted to 250 thousand dollars. The morale of the whole nation is being sapped. There is no hope once you are enslaved by the drug habit on a nation-wide scale. Supposing we win the war after 15 or 16 years, we may possess material destruction, but how shall we rebuild our young generation?

"We want your savings. We have translated your Autobiography into Chinese. We look to you for spiritual guidance."

Culture is Hand-picked

Gaochang replied: "I was once asked by a Chinese friend from Shanghai to give a message to the Chinese people. I had to ask him to excuse me. I gave him my reasons. If I merely said I sympathized with the Chinese in their struggle, it would be as good as nothing for me. I should love to be able to act on the Chinese definitely that their salvation lay only through non-violence.

exchange. But then it is not for a person like me, who is outside the fight, to try to a people who are engaged in a life and death struggle. "Not this way, but this!" They would not be ready to take up the new method and they would be worried in the old. My interference would only shake them and confuse their minds.

"But while I have no 'message' to send to the Chinese people who are engaged in fighting, I have no hesitation in presenting my viewpoint to you. I was almost going to ask you as to what you mean by being culturally ruined. I should be sorry to learn that Chinese culture needed no break and mortar as in huge stones which the earth can eat. A nation's culture resides in the hearts and in the soul of its people. Chinese culture is Chinese only to the extent that it has become part and parcel of Chinese life. You say, therefore, that your culture and your morals are in danger of being destroyed, leads me to think that the reform movement in your country was only shallow. Gandhiji had not disappeared from the people's hearts. It was kept down not by the mob set by money, but by the penalty of the law. The heart continued to guide Japan is of course to blame and must be blamed for what it has done or is doing. But then Japan is just now like the wolf whose business it is to make short work of the sheep. Making the wolf would not help the sheep much. The sheep must learn not to fall into the clutches of the wolf."

"If even a few of you took to non-violence, they would stand forth as living monuments of Chinese culture and morals. And then, even if China were completely ruined as the battlefield, it would be well with China in the end, because it would at the same time be recovering a morale which contains a promise of hope and deliverance. Japan cannot force drops down unwilling hearts at the point of the bayonet; it can only set up temptations. You can teach people to resist these temptations by relying on Japanese force by force. Whatever the force may be may not be able to achieve, a nation self-governed Chinese morals or save Chinese culture."

"If you feel the truth of my remarks, you will become a living message to China. You will then tell the Chinese people, 'No matter what material destruction Japan inflicts, it cannot long about China's material destruction. Our people must be sufficiently educated and willed to meet all the temptations that Japan may devise. Monuments and values may be need to the ground. They are but a passing show, that is going one day to be claimed by time as its own. If they are destroyed by the Japanese, it will only be a moral value out of time's mouth. The Japanese cannot corrupt our soul. If the soul of China is injured, it will not be by Japan."

Report of Japan

The Chinese found was of opinion that only the economic collapse of Japan could save China.

They wanted to know what the prospects of a boycott of Japanese goods by India were.

"I wish," replied Gandhiji, "I could say that there was any great hope. Our sympathies are with you but they have not stirred us to our very depths, or else we should have boycotted all Japanese goods especially Japanese cloth. Japan is not only competing you but it is trying to compete us too by its cheap, filthy machine-made goods. The ending of the Mohel Mission was paid at a gesture of friendship and goodwill which there are no doubt. But that does not give us much satisfaction when I know we could do much more. We too are a big nation like you. If we told the Japanese, 'We are not going to import a single yard of your cloth nor export any of our cotton to you,' Japan would think twice before proceeding with its aggression."

Non-violent Technique

This talk was followed by a discussion hour with the whole group. The Chinese delegates were working persons. There was an agreement amongst to study "the word and fact" of non-violence. One of them asked, "Is it not necessary that individuals should practice non-violence first in their own person, so their relations with other individuals?" And by way of discussion he described how even after he came to have the conviction that non-violence was the law of life, he years he refused to preach as one in some affairs to others. "I said I would first try myself to live it and perfect myself in its practice. I began by making a resolve not to answer back or refuse criticism directed against me. After seven years I gave a report of my experience to my students. I cannot say that its practice my method has always succeeded. So I say to myself, 'Patience, I must try again'."

"It would be a delusion to think otherwise," replied Gandhiji. "If one does not practice non-violence in one's personal relations with others and hopes to use it in bigger affairs, one is surely mistaken. Non-violence like charity must begin at home. But if it is necessary for the individual to be treated in non-violence, it is even more necessary for the nation to be treated likewise. One cannot be non-violent in one's own circle and violent outside it. Or else, one is not truly non-violent even in one's own circle; after the non-violence is only in appearance. It is only when you meet with resistance, as the instance when a thief or a murderer appears, that your non-violence is put on its trial. You refuse to or should try to oppose the thief with his own weapon, or you try to disarm him by love. Living among decent people, your conduct may not be described as non-violent moral forbearance as non-violence immediately, therefore, you get the conviction that non-violence is the law of life, you have to practice it towards those who are violently towards you, and the law must apply to nations as to individuals. Treating it as doctrine

necessary. And beginnings are always small. But if the movement is there, the rest will follow."

Another question was "In the presence of non-violence, is there not danger of developing a 'militarist complex' or pride creeping in?"

Gandhi: "If one has that pride and egoism, there is no non-violence. Non-violence is impossible without humility. My own experience is that whenever I have acted non-violently I have been led to it and sustained in it by the higher consciousness of an unseen power. Through my sins will I should have miserably failed. When I first went to jail, I quailed at the prospect I had heard terrible things about jail life. But I had faith in God's protection. One experience was that those who went to jail in a playful spirit came out victorious, those who had gone in their own strength failed. There is no room for self-protecting in it either, when you are God is giving you the strength help-er comes when you do a thing for which you expect recognition from others. But here there is no question of recognition."

To Fight or Not to Fight

Another friend thus placed his dilemma: "I am a firm believer in non-violence. Eight years ago, I read your *Experiments With Truth* and immediately became converted to the way of life you have there advocated. Shortly after that, I watched the book into Chinese. And then came the Japanese invasion. My faith in non-violence was put to a severe test and I was caught in a dilemma. On the one hand, I felt I could not preach non-violence to my people who were never militaristic but who now believed that resistance with force was the only way out. It was the best thing they knew, and I believed with you that 'I would rather risk the use of force a thousand times than let my people lose their freedom.' But on the other hand, when I try to take a sympathetic attitude and try to do something helpful in such a situation, I find I am given moral and material support directly and indirectly to something which is against the highest that I know. There seems to be no way out of this dilemma because I cannot live as a secretist and anything I do will work one way or the other. While I can believe without reserve in non-violence as personal rule, certainly, even though I fall far short of it, I cannot feel in the same way when I am faced with a national situation in which the great majority of the people have no even basis of the way of non-violence."

The Non-violent Experiment

"You are a difficult situation," replied Gandhi, "Such difficulties have confronted me more than once. I took part on the British side in the Boer War by buying an ambulance corps. I did likewise at the time of what has been described as the Zulu revolt. The third time was during the great war, I believed in non-violence then, my motive was wholly non-violent. That non-

only inconsistent conduct gave me strength. My example cannot be used as a precedent for others to follow. Looking back upon my conduct on those three occasions, I have no sense of remorse. I know the way that my non-violent strength did not suffer diminution because of those experiences. The actual work I was called upon to do was purely humanitarian, especially during the Zulu revolt. I and my associates were privileged to nurse the wounded Zulus back to life. It is reasonable to expect that but for our services some of them would have died. I owe this experience not to partly my participation however voluntary it was. I owe it to those that I came through that experience with greater non-violence and with rather love for the great Zulu race. And I feel as strongly now what was by those men against coloured race means."

"The lesson to be learnt from it by you is that, placed as you are in a position of hopeless minority, you may not ask your people to lay down their arms unless their hearts are changed and by laying down their arms they feel the same dangerous and lower. But while you may not try to win people from war, you will in your reason let non-violence in all its completeness and refuse all participation in war. You will develop love for the Japanese to your hearts. You will examine yourself whether you can really love them, whether you have not some ill-will towards them for all the harm they are doing. It is not enough to love them by remembering their virtues. You must be able to love them in spite of all their misdeeds. If you bring that love for the Japanese in your hearts, you will proceed to exhibit in your conduct that higher form of courage which is the hallmark of true non-violence and which your Chinese friends will not fail to detect and recognise as such. You will not wish success to Japanese arms because you 'love' the Japanese. At the same time you will not grieve for the success of Chinese arms. It is very difficult to judge, when both sides are employing weapons of violence, which side 'deserves' to succeed. You will therefore over-ride that the right should prevail. While you will keep yourself aloof from all violence you will not shrink danger. You will move forward and the side with a reckless disregard for your life. You will wish both of them as an outbreak of an epidemic or a fire to be contained and destroyed yourself by your unquenchable courage and non-violent because. But you will refuse to call the curses of heaven upon the Japanese, if by chance some Japanese soldiers or women fall into the hands of the Chinese and are in danger of being lynched by an infuriated Chinese mob or otherwise ill-treated, you will plead for them with your own people and if necessary even protect them with your life. You know the story of Beady Hishikawa. Though an Englishwoman, she conscientiously went to the Boer concentration camps. She released the Boer women

to her heart, and it is said that if she had not washed the hands of the Yaw women as she did, the war might have taken a different turn. She was full of wrath against her own people for whom she had not a good word to say. You would not copy her unmeasured wrath which somewhat tainted her non-violence, but you will copy her love for the 'enemy' that made her denounce the methods of her own countrymen. Your example will affect the Chinese and might even shame some Japanese who will become leaders of your message among the Japanese.

"A very slow process, you will perhaps say. Yes, possibly, under the existing adverse circumstances to begin with. But it will gather momentum and speed as an inevitable manner as you proceed. I am an irrepressible optimist. My optimistic view on my belief is the infinite possibilities of the individual to develop non-violence. The more you develop it in your own being, the more infectious it becomes till it overwhelms your surroundings and by and by might oversweep the world."

"I, a believer in non-violence, often find that I am attracted by armed masses. So does a war general have armed masses. Is it not possible to fight, with love, for the enemy in one's heart? May we not shoot out of love?"

Gandhi: "We do often have armed masses. But that would not be non-violence. There can be degrees in violence, not in non-violence. The constant effort of the victory of non-violence is to purge himself of hatred towards the so-called enemy. There is no such thing as shooting out of love in the war you nature."

Can Non-violence Be Organized?

The last to place before Gandhi his problem was Mr. F. C. Han. He had been wrong since 1920 to meet Gandhi. He had graduated in the same year in which Japan presented its twenty-one demands to China. He was at that time a latent nationalist. After three years of contact with the work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation among the students, he changed his views and began to make a distinction between the Japanese people and the Japanese military machine. He became a believer in an overstrained lump up of liberal elements. "I am my heavenly," he told Gandhi. "I have no feeling of hatred towards the Japanese people but I feel their military system is an evil. I used to think that all that was needed to end it was education or work. I had hoped that at Teikoku, in any case, an occasional link between the two countries on the basis of mutual goodwill and peace would be forged. But I was disillusioned. I found that very little could be achieved immediately." He had tried two to establish peace groups as an agency for carrying on the peace work, but found that confused by a crowd they were reduced to impotence and could offer little effective check. "One difficulty is that," he concluded. "While sincerely

believing in non-violence, we have not found a way of making it effective."

"Should that present a difficulty?" evaluated Gandhi. "A person who realizes a particular end of his mind and finds it overwhelms him, dives deep in his own heart for inspiration, and when he gets it, he presents it to others. Meetings and group organizations are all right. They are of some help, but very little. They are like the scaffolding that an architect erects—a temporary and makeshift expedient. The thing that really matters is an invincible faith that cannot be quenched."

"Faith only be developed. Only, the way it can be developed and in which it works differs from that in the case of violence. You cannot develop violence through prayer. Faith, on the other hand, cannot be developed except through prayer."

"Non-violence succeeds only when we have a living faith in God, Buddha, Jesus, Mahomed—they were all warriors of peace in their own right. We have to recede the heavenly life by these world teachers. God has His own wonderful way of carrying His plan and choosing His instruments. The Prophet and Abu Baker stepped in a cave were saved from their persecutors by a spider which had woven its web across the mouth of the cave. All the world teachers, you should know began with a cave!"

Gandhi's remarker seemed to be satisfied. But he had another doubt. "While we have trained individuals who have the mind of Jesus," he observed to Gandhi, "because they are not armed, are organized, there remains a mere cry in the wilderness. The question that arises in my mind is: Can love be organized? and if so, how?"

Gandhi: "Organization in the orthodox sense may not be possible. But there is no bar to united non-violent action. I am trying to show by a series of experiments that it is possible. It has its own technique."

If China Wins

"If China wins the war," finally asked the friend, "will she be worn off or better off for her victory?"

"If China wins," replied Gandhi, "and copies Japanese methods, she will beat Japan hollow at her own game. But the victory of China will not mean a new hope for the world. For China will then be a multiple shadow of Japan. But whether China wins or goes down, your line of action is clear. If China is defeated on the battlefield, your non-violence will remain undimmed and will have done its work. If China wins, you will go to the gallows in the struggle to save China from copied Japan's methods."

Bombay, 15-1-39

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NOTICE

The next issue, being the last one of the current year of *Harjan*, will be accompanied by an Index.

Manager

H A R I J A N

Jan. 28

1938

INTERNAL DECAY

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

My time and that of co-workers is largely taken up in working through complaints about corruption among Congressmen. The latest typical letter received is from a Bombay Congressman:

"Treason Congress delegates' studios took place last Sunday in Bombay. The voting was to start at 8 A. M. in the morning. I reached Congress House at nearly 8-45 A. M., but in my contention I found that I had already been superseded in the chair upon of forty-five members. Scores of others had the same experience. I tried to trace the source, and though (as expected) I could not trace the movement I found that this superintention business was regularly organised and practised on a mass scale as soon as the polling had started. Notably those who came even half an hour late were discouraged, they having been superseded meanwhile.

Many suggestions have been made to me to close the entrance, but as my brother speaks wisely, we anticipate the action of asking the prospective voters to produce their membership cards to be duly stamped by the issuing officials before they are seated to them, nothing will do the trick.

I think it should be considered a privilege to be the member of the great organisation, our Congress, and hence it should be prevented that every member who values his privileges will take enough care to preserve his membership card, and in view of this the objection that the members might have lost their cards must be ruled out.

It is agreed on all hands that something must be done to check the growth of corruption and practices which may bring discredit to the Congress, and hence I am submitting my suggestion for your consideration.

In the connection it will not be out of place to point out that everywhere in the world wherever there is such a huge organisation as Congress (the Communist Party of U.S.S.R. or the Nazi Party of Germany) the system of membership cards has been resorted to."

The correspondent's suggestion is quite sound. I should have thought that every voter had to produce an identification card before being allowed to register his vote.

My purpose, however, in reproducing the correspondent's letter is not merely to draw attention to the superintention at Bombay and the method of dealing with it. The letter is a pointer. Besides superintention there is the widespread tampering with the Congress registers which contain bogus names. These registers have as much value as a box containing counterfeit notes though it is a disheartening common report. Such an Congress election is becoming a common occurrence. The subordination of Congressmen is on the common everywhere. Many of them make irresponsible, even violent, speeches. Many fail to carry out instructions. Such is a notable example. Kames of Bihar are supposed to be Congressmen. Their leaders are Congressmen. Bihar ministers live in perpetual dread of Kames' rappings and Kames' marches. Only two days ago I had a wire from Khaddah of a contemplated march to the Calcutta's bungalow by Kames headed by a well-known Congress worker. Such instances can be multiplied.

Kames' decline begins long before it is full. The Congress, which has been carried for over fifty years for the best interests of the country, will not fall the moment it has begun to decay. It need not fall at all, if the corruption is banished in time.

In my opinion the greatest work before the Congress will be to deal with this fourfold process of decay. We are far far from our goal. We shall be no nearer it, if we are not sure of our means and their meaning and implications. When the real time comes we shall be found wanting. If I was called upon to lead, say, an army of civil resisters, I should be unable to shoulder the burden. This is a big statement to make. But I should be guilty of cowardice, and worse, if I did not make it. Though there is non-violence enough among the masses, there is not enough among those who have to represent the masses. Even as a banker cannot run a bank, if he has nothing in his chest, so can a general not lead a battle, if he has no soldiers on whom he can rely implicitly.

Let no Congressman blame me for thinking aloud. Though I am not in the Congress, I have not ceased to be of it. Congressmen will expect me to give the call when in my opinion the time for action has come. What is more, if God so wills it, I feel I have enough strength and energy as yet to lead a battle much more strenuous than any I have fought. But there are obstacles in the way. I have mentioned one which Congressmen can see, touch and handle. The Congress would not be harmed by my having lifted the curtain and exposing eye-sightness to the public gaze. It would be harmed if knowing the truth I hid it from the public.

Out of the present condition of the Congress I see nothing but anarchy and an end run to trust of the country. Shall we face the hard truth at Tripuri?

Rudolf, 23-1-38

CONGRESS AND STATES

A special correspondent of the Times of India interviewed Goadship on the 5th inst. at Ranchi. In reply to the correspondent's question as to what Goadship meant by stating in the last week's *Mail* that "an all-India crisis would occur if the larger authorities persisted in prohibiting the entry of Seth Jasmundh Bhai into the State," Goadship replied:

"Seth Jasmundh is an all-India man, though a subject of Jaipur. He is also a member of the Congress Working Committee, and generally well esteemed a man of peace. He is the president of an organization which has been working and has been allowed to work in Jaipur for some years. Its activities have always been open. It contains well-known workers who are either by disposition and who have done much constructive work, both among men and women. There is at the head of affairs in Jaipur a distinguished police-inspector officer. He is shaping the policy of the State in connection with the law promulgated against Jasmundh and his associates, the Paper Rules from Mandal. I take it that Sir Beauchamp St. John, Prime Minister of Jaipur, would not be acting without at least the tacit approval of the Council authorities, without whose consent he could not because the Prime Minister of an important State like Jaipur:

"If the action of the Jaipur authorities progresses a first-class crisis, it is impossible for the Indian National Congress, and everybody all India, to stand by and look on with indifference while Jasmundh, for no offence whatsoever, is imprisoned and members of the *Prin. Mandal* are dealt with likewise. The Congress will be neglecting its duty of having power, a decision free wing it and allowed the spirit of the people of Jaipur to be crushed for want of support from the Congress. This is the case in which I have said that the example of Jaipur, or any Rajput, might easily lead to an all-India crisis.

"The policy of non-interference by the Congress was, in my opinion, a perfect piece of statesmanship when the people of the States were not united. That policy would be overruled when there is all-round awakening among the people of the States and a determination to go through a long course of suffering for the vindication of their just rights. If once this is recognized, the struggle for liberty, wherever it takes place, is the struggle for all India. Whenever the Congress thinks it can suitably intervene, it must intervene."

In answer to a further question how the Congress as an institution and the Congress Ministries in the various provinces were justified in precipitating a crisis on an issue which exclusively concerned a State, Goadship said: "Supposing in a particular district in British India the Collector harassed the people of that district, is it not the Congress justified in intervening and precipitating an all-India crisis? If the answer is 'Yes,' then it applies to Jaipur also for examining the conduct of the Congress as a case of inter-

vention. If there had been no non-interference resolution by the Congress, the question really would not have arisen. Therefore, anything people very often blame me for having said that constitutionally Indian States were foreign States. I do not accept that blame at all. I was wandering about in the States and I knew as a matter of fact that the people of the States were not ready.

"The moment they became ready, the legal, constitutional and artificial boundary was destroyed. This is a tremendous moral question. Concentration, loyalty and such other things are good enough within their respective spheres, but they become a drag upon human progress immediately the human mind has broken these artificial bonds and has begun. That is precisely what is happening before my eyes. Without any spot from my outside agency I am at once free there must be intervention by the Congress of the true rule we today. And it will go on from stage to stage, if the Congress removes the moral force that it has become—in other words, if the Congress lives up to its policy of non-interference.

"Though my that I have changed my view, that I am really something different from what I said years ago. The fact of the matter is that conditions have changed. I am the same. My words and deeds are dictated by prevailing conditions. There has been a gradual evolution in my movement and I evolve in it as a synthesis."

The correspondent next drew Goadship's attention to recent developments in Rajkot and in Baroda, where the authorities were proceeding against the Congress districts. Goadship said in reply that he was surprised by these developments. He said "The movement for liberty cannot possibly be withdrawn or arrested because there are in the movement wonderful command upon I see that history is repeating itself and the power that is being ground is becoming desperate and increasing trouble and distress within, hoping to drag on an existence by means of these dissensions. If the people know how to work the non-violent technique, the power that we swing in the manner will be confounded and the people will rise victorious.

"The Muslims in Rajkot for instance, have everything to gain by the people of Rajkot rejecting liberty. They are under depending upon the sweet will, not of the Rajah, but of the address of the Rajah; moreover they will share power with the people because they are of the people. But I really do not believe that there is real Muslim opposition in Rajkot. They have crossed the last relation with the Hindus. I know this from personal experience myself. During the three months' brief but brilliant struggle there was no dissension between the Hindus and the Muslims in Rajkot. Through every Muslim did not count imprisonment, the Muslims as a community remained at the back of the agitation.

"I really do not understand this unfortunate episode in Baroda. I am at present puzzled

to get a full grasp of the situation. There again, what can Maharashtrians lose if there is violence in Baroda? They are powerful enough to assert themselves. Is it not so if they will be crushed by the so-called Guyanese majority, and if the majority gets no share of the crumbs of office, that should not be a matter for non-participation by the Maharashtrians in the struggle for liberty. Hence, though I have not been able to fathom the bottom of this question I have no misgivings so long as the Maharashtrians remain non-violent and do not harbour any ill-will against the Maharashtrians for their action. The question divides into significance as far as Baroda is concerned when it is remembered that against a population of 250,000 there are only a few thousands of Maharashtrians mostly to be found in Baroda city itself."

(Times of India 23-2-39)

"What a Man of God!"

The much-maligned Man Mohan Loner, my East End friend during the Round Table days, who is in the Francoeur Province at the time of writing this, having met Subashchandra, thus writes of him:

"Now I have got to know Man Mohan Loner. Well, I feel there is not likely to be another such honest as my life as he is meeting wonderful people, good. He is an Old Testament prophet with the New Testament gentleness. What a man of God! Thank you for making it possible for us to know him."

He is about to accompany to Toronto. It will be a pleasure to see Man again."

I would not have published this previous testimony, if I had thought it to be the construction of an unbalanced mind. It is true that Man Mohan Loner really was the bright side of those whom she meets. It is not a fault but a virtue. There is no one without faults, not even men of God. They are men of God not because they are faultless but because they know their own faults they strive against them, they do not hide them and are ever ready to correct themselves. Such is Khandab who calls himself a servant of God. He is a devout Muslim who never misses his prayers and fasts. His interpretation of the Koran is the most liberal I have known. He had to make a choice of one from among the workers whose services I had offered him for introducing spinning, etc., among Khuder Khushnagar. He deliberately chose Mirza, Muslim Shah. She was used already living under the same roof as Khandab and a new living in some adjoining Khandab's residence where she conducts her class. She writes to me almost daily. I am glad to be able to say that her letters, though she does not spare those whom she loves, bear out Man Mohan Loner's few suggestions of the noble few. And yet the English officials have no use for him. They fear him and distrust him. I would not mind this despite so much if it did not hamper progress did not harm India and England and therefore the world. Baroda, 22-1-39

M. K. G.

JUDAISM AND NON-VIOLENCE

[The following is the substance of a letter written to Gandhi by a Jewish friend in Palestine. It makes interesting reading. —Ed. Harjan.]

I have been reading more and more that there is, as a matter of fact, no contradiction between your Sermon on the Mount and true Judaism. On the contrary, all the ancient, moral and religious of the Jewish people's ancestors, especially from about 2000 years ago, were just like yours, almost in all details.

The main error that most non-Jewish thinkers commit—among them I have even to count the great philosopher Schopenhauer—is when they imagine that the Old Testament and the Palestinian Christian Judaism. They seem to think that like all ancient man the Jews have passed through a long historical development of which the Old Testament was the early stage, and that during this development Judaism has reached as high a level as other great religions such as Christianity and Buddhism.

The Palestinian, for example, says, "If thou meet thine enemy's ox or his ass going astray, thou shalt surely bring it back to him again." (Ex 23-4) and here, no quote the Testament, "If thou enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat, and if he be thirsty, give him water to drink" — or, "Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, and let not thine heart be glad when he stumbleth."

Then again, there are later scriptures of Judaism as wide as the ocean, of which non-Jews seem to be ignorant, e.g. the Mishna and its commentary and the Talmud. These are filled with passages expressing ideas which are common with those in other religions. Hillel said to a Gentile who had come to learn God's law, "Do not do to your neighbor what you do not wish to be done to yourself. This is God's law—all the remainder is only a commentary to it." And Hillel the noble wife of Rabbi Hillel, advised her husband to pray for the conversion of his enemies and not for their destruction.

Love for animals also finds its support place in these scriptures. Rabbi Yehuda Hama says and in a calf which escaped from a butcher and came to him, "Go back to the butcher because it is for this purpose that thou has been created." And for this too God punished him with a terrible disease from which the Rabbi was not delivered until he showed his mercy on a small insect which the maid servant had thrown away.

In fact, Jesus Christ has added nothing new to Judaism. He has expressed more minutely the spirit and traditions out of which he himself had grown.

Concerning the very grave problem of Palestine, I must, to my great shame, admit that your failure for the Zionist movement, so long as 20 per cent of modern Jews care only for the material building up of this country and demagogical and military power over it for this end,

is seriously justified. Such earnestly ignore the spiritual uplifting of the Holy Land and the sublime religious ideals of social justice and righteousness with which the vision of our great prophets have always associated Zion and Jerusalem.

About 40 years ago a prominent Hebrew writer and philosopher, Abad Haim, greatly blamed Jewish anti-semitism to Palestine for their impetuous behaviour towards their Arab cousins, and prophesied that some day there was bound to come a day of revenge. Abad Haim created all political Zionism and only viewed Palestine as the spiritual and cultural centre of the Jewish Race. Similarly Rabbi A. I. Cook emphasized that no return home of Israel to Zion was conceivable without a preceding revival of the true spirit of the people.

In spite, however, of the apparent victory of violence and cruelty, there is a movement among Jews as among all nations for a spiritual reawakening. There is such an organization of which I am a member in Palestine, specially bound to the vision of the two great men, Abad Haim and Rabbi Cook, mentioned above, and I am sure the way shown by them will redeem us in course of time. You will see that our programme includes nothing contradictory to the principles of your holy Scriptures.

OUR SWEEPERS

(By A. P. Thakker)

I need not apologise to the readers of *Harjan* if I return once more to the subject of underpaid the lot of our municipal sweepers. Their condition, especially of housing, is more deplorable in large towns, where they assemble in large numbers. Nobody will rent houses to them either for love or for money. Unless municipalities make pay on their condition and build houses or barracks or chawls for them, they must live like cattle or like pigs, while they themselves starve. Even large cities like Calcutta, Nagpur and Johannesburg are thoroughly apathetic about providing them with even some of rooms, let alone decent separate tenements for each family.

Their services are indispensable for municipal sanitation, yet they are considered temporary employees even though they may be life-long servants. During my recent tour in the C. P. and Bihar municipal towns, I came across two sweepers, one over 80 and the other over 60 years of age, still at work, because they were temporary servants and were not wanted to pay old age pension or provident fund or even a gratuity of any kind: I saw also one sweeper, completely blind, at work. He was knocked down by a truck and was lying in hospital with a fractured leg. Not only this but they never get one full day's leave, as a matter of right, out of the 365 days in a year. They may never get sick, they may never have occasion to go to a friend or a relative for social functions, they may not have any time for rest or recreation. Fortunately a few municipalities

have recently made rules to give them a half-holiday on Sunday afternoons or on weekly leave days, and some even on a few public holidays. But that is all. Not a day's casual leave, not a day's sick leave, that is the hard and fast rule in the case of a Harjan sweeper. If he comes to stop at home for some reason or other, he must either send an unemployed substitute from his own family or have his pay proportionately cut. A few municipalities have recently begun to give short maternity leave to women sweepers. The C. P. Government considered a model bylaw at the end of 1936 to all municipal commissioners to the effect that maternity leave two weeks previous to and four weeks subsequent to the confinement should be given to their female sweepers. But after a lapse of two years, half the number of commissioners in the province have done absolutely nothing in the matter and the other half that have shown some regard to the Government suggestion, have granted the leave prodigally for even as three or four weeks only, instead of six. Why should a woman be so delicate as to require so much rest even when a baby is born, is apparently how they argue!

The C. P. Government has appointed a commission of enquiry into the housing condition of municipal sweepers, the adequacy or inadequacy of their pay, the minimum wage to be laid down, if any, and holidays or leave with pay. It is reported that the C. P. Government are contemplating the appointment of such a commission. But the Bombay Government, who believe more in action than in the reports of expensive commissions, has already sent sound orders on 30th November 1936 to give to sweepers all the benefits of permanent service. The order runs as follows:

"An examination of the position of Harjan employees of municipalities does not show that employees, as well as some other classes of industrial servants, in the branch of house, sanitary, provident fund, etc., to which other classes of employees are admitted, Government considers that there is little justification for such discrimination. The criterion to be followed should be whether the posts in which such appointments are made are required permanently or not. If they are, then the appointments should be on a substantive capacity with the benefits allowed to permanent employees and the expedient of making temporary appointments in such posts to avoid legitimate expenditure should not be resorted to." (The italics are mine.)

The Government order has also asked for the views of devalued commissioners after one year mentioning what action is taken in the matter by municipalities in their districts.

Unless such prompt action are issued and also given effect to by municipalities, the question noted out to poor Harjans who are rendering one of the most important services to society will not be removed in the near future.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A great Muslim asked me what appeared to me strange questions the other day. Strange, because I should have thought that every Muslim who knows me, and that great Muslim knows me, could answer them for me. Here is the dialogue.

Q. Are you the same to Muslims now that you used to be in South Africa, — their friend, helper and guide?

A. I never claimed the privilege of being father to them or anyone in South Africa. You I certainly was their guide and friend. [I may state in passing that I was addressed as *Pir* (leader) by them and others.] I am absolutely the same as I was in South Africa, — anywhere years ago. I regard Muslims like other Indians as blood brothers united to the same rights and privileges as any other Indian.

Q. Then do you cherish their culture as you would cherish your own Hindu culture?

A. Of course I do. I cannot do otherwise, as I believe Islam and other great religions to be as true as my own. India is the mother for the cultures that Islam and Christianity brought with them. I regard the present arrangements as a passing phase.

Q. Let me be plain. I do not believe in Akbar's dream. He aimed at forcing all religions into one and producing a new faith. Do you have some such aim?

A. I do not know what Akbar dreamt. I do not aim at any fusion. Each religion has its own shortcomings to make its human exponent. I regard the great faiths of the world as so many branches of a tree, each distinct from the other though having the same source.

Q. I would like you to tell me what you mean by Hinduism. Do you favour a common dictionary?

A. I have anticipated you. I understood that Mahatma Abdul Hag Sahib has produced a dictionary which has taken all the Urdu words that are to be found in the Persian, Hindi, Persian and Hindi words from the *Qamus* Lurani. I have recommended to the Congress the adoption of the Mahatma Sahib's dictionary. And for new words have suggested a board composed of Mahatma Abdul Kalam Azad and Eminent Sahib.

Q. What about the Border Tribes? You know they are being crushed under the British hand. Will you favour their relations with India being regulated by the Frontier Province?

A. I would most decidedly. I have been moving in that direction. I have publicly stated more than once that India has to trust and befriend them and not regard them as her natural enemies. I have been trying to go on this matter myself and secure the same permission for Bachchanbhai.

There were other questions also asked, but they are not of such public interest as the ones

I have dealt with. And they are not matters of controversy so far as I know. I should like to add here that I have not lost my faith in communal unity. My life is still dedicated to it. Though a political party has to come, it will never satisfy me without a heart unity. And a heart unity is inseparable without non-violence as the basis of permanent friendship or brotherhood.

Baroda, 23-1-33

WHY THE WITHDRAWAL

Since Gandhiji wrote his article on *Non-violence in History*, some letters have been received questioning the propriety of his advice to the Transvaal State Congress to withdraw the personal elections against the Deans and to support the civil disobedience movement for the time being. It will be, therefore, of interest to know what he actually told the deputations that waited on him on 13-12-32 at Satpur. The following is the substance of the talk he gave them.

More Spadework Needed

I have received reports that there has been violence on a considerable scale in Transvaal. On the other hand I have received word from the State Congress deputation saying that there has been no violence whatever for which they can be held responsible, that whatever violence there has been was instigated by the authorities. It has been alleged too that there has been secret endorsement of violence by the State Congress people though they are not directly responsible for it. What I say is that if there has been such violence, by whatsoever brought, it shows that the State Congress has not acquired sufficient control over the masses. In that case civil disobedience has to be suspended even as was done by me more than once. I advise you to go behind the scenes here when most of the alleged cases of violence took place. I appreciate also the fact that you did not get a chance of educating the masses into discipline. I strongly endorse your view that the fight should not be merely to win a few concessions from the authorities but for establishing real responsible government. But all that, to my mind, makes out a case for doing more spadework among the masses. You must build from below.

"The Enemy's Game"

"You tell me that you asked the removal of the Deans would help your movement as he is the chief obstacle in your way. If you persist in the change, you must be prepared to prove that. But in my opinion it will have the inevitable result of making the question of responsible government now the background by bringing to the fore a purely personal issue. I call that playing the enemy's game. And you would give the wrong lead to the people. I do not want you to withdraw the elections because they are not true, if you believe in them. I want these allegations to be withdrawn.

because you have a far bigger mass to make. The greater includes the less. Removal of the Dewan by itself would not give you responsible government. A clever Dewan might choose to slip out and remain in the background till the storm has blown over and at the moment use a substance to crush the movement. Such things have happened before and will happen again. On the other hand responsible government includes the power of democratic masses according to the popular will. You can therefore say, without shying or cowering from your charges, you do not want to dissipate your energy by pursuing these charges. There are the two alternatives before you, both of them perfectly legitimate. You have to make your choice. You should know best the psychology of your people. It may be such that the fight can be best conducted through the agitation to remove the Dewan. Personally, when I weigh the pros and cons of the matter, I feel like saying you should swallow the bitter cup and concentrate on gaining the reins of power into your hands.

"Capturing Power" (77)

"But whatever the decision about the allegations I would advise you not to resort to civil disobedience just now. You should put your own house in order. If you keep unbridled non-violence as the basis of your make, you would not say, 'Let us take care by the backbit and now that there is all the anger bottled forth let us consolidate our gains. You would not capture power by madly driving away the anger possessed. That way has danger. You will, if you follow that, only pave the way for the political schemers who may exploit the masses for furthering their own designs. I would therefore ask you to go slow, steadily gathering all the threads into your hands. You should become a homogeneous and disciplined mass by undergoing training in constructive work and non-violence. You may not take another forward step without movement public opinion stands and stands Transvaal firm.

"Apparently there may be no connection between constructive work and non-violence, but there is an internal logic connecting the two when constructive work is taken up as a part of a non-violence programme. The National Flag, for instance, was conceived as a symbol of unity, purity and non-violence. It is the place that we have given it in our non-violence programme that gives it its significance and importance, by itself it has no virtue. In propagating your constructive programme, you must always keep the background of non-violence before your mind.

A Sign of Weakness

"Then, I should ask students to remain apart from the civil disobedience part of the struggle and should not carry on any propaganda in their midst. It is not proper to ask students of school-going age to do such work. It is a sign of weakness. It is like asking children to undergo suffering for their parents.

"But the students can and ought to take part in the struggle by becoming workers at charities and other work at the constructive programme, as the Chinese students are doing while the fight against Japan is going on. The Chinese students are working to preserve the essentials of Chinese culture through their propaganda of New Education. They are helping to create a national spirit which will ensure unshakable atmosphere of the fortress of the Chinese arms on the battlefield.

The Right Way

"The Satyagraha struggle in British India had two aspects, non-violent non-cooperation with the Government and co-operation among the people themselves. Both these aspects should necessarily be kept before the mind's eye. The constructive programme that I have set before you necessitates perfect co-operation among all the sections. You will therefore go among the Palays and the Pariahs, fraternise with them and appeal to them as fellow-countrymen and speak up once and take their due share in the moral fight along with the Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Christians and others. You must all become one. You dare not leave out or marginalise a single section or community without violating non-violence and damaging your fight.

"Then there is the prohibition work. You would not police your own, but you would visit the drunkards in their homes and streets with them. Even if you do not succeed in producing immediate complete results, it will put your struggle on a moral plane and add strength and momentum to it.

Link It with Liberty

"Transvaal people, both men and women, are so much in their habits. They wear white and need very little cloth to protect them against the elements. They can easily produce all the cloth they need. Transvaal need not import a single yard of cloth or wear cloth from outside. This means that there should be a spinning wheel in every home.

"And cloth should be linked with liberty. All the time you are spinning, you would not think in terms of your own requirements but in terms of the requirements of the nation. You will say, 'I want to clothe the whole nation that is naked and I want to do it non-violently.' Each time you draw a thread, say to yourselves, 'We are drawing the thread of Swaraj.' Multiply this pattern throughout and you have freedom knocking at your door."

Bombé's 23-1-39

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ECONOMIC SURVEYING AND PLANNING

(By J. C. KENNEDY)

It is the fashion of the day to talk about surveying and planning. The papers are full of such adjectives. Loosely though it may be, people are thankful of them, and writers are busy supplying all kinds of literature on the topic to cater for the demand. Let us pause for a moment and examine the subject in close quarters.

Different Types

Surveys and Plans are not all of one kind. They differ widely. For the sake of convenience we may divide them into four groups: (a) Academic, (b) Propaganda, (c) Clinical, and (d) Diagnostic.

Academic Surveys

Persons who enter upon an academic survey, however well they may be equipped otherwise, are supposed to approach it not with an open but with a blank mind. Everything has to be proved to the hilt, the evidence being based on statistics, authoritative statements and other well documented propositions. Passion and cost of the enquiry are no considerations. Brevity is the next best for perfection. Scientific accuracy is the sole aim. The outlook has to be described and disseminated, and no personal contact with the problem is needed. The results are left in the lap of the gods.

It will be suggestive to mental volumes of statistics to prove that the villages are poor. Laborious enquiries will have to be made to be convinced that the villages are starving. Uncertain of long forgotten historical documents will be needed to establish that the industries are languishing. Beautifully written volumes will record these findings.

Such have been the innumerable reports of various Royal Commissions and governmental enquiries, judged by their results they have been perfectly futile. They cannot be otherwise. Reports are brought from distant lands to ensure the first conclusion that they come with a blank mind. They have no contact with the people. They seek none. They move as an aerial atmosphere and finally help to fill the many paper-boles at the Secretariat with their pure propositions and highly irrelevant.

Propaganda Surveys

When certain desired ends have to be attained it is suggested that the public should be led towards the set goal by skillfully managed Kaddish operations. Just as diplomats are driven to the trap by closing all possible exits by cleverly planned baiting and manoeuvring, the unsuspecting person is told what he should think by means of slogans couched with manipulated statistics and half truths. Here the persons on the committee do not come to the work with a blank mind but with a packed mind or a

premise to hold a set purpose. Such are Propaganda surveys.

In this method as in the former, different procedure has to be done through to attract the vision much in the same way as the surgeon directs the attention of his audience to irrelevant matters before he performs his dissection and ticks.

Surveys of this type are undertaken by Imperial economists like J. M. Keynes or Government propagandists like M. L. Darling or E. L. Baynes. Their reports may not be as successful as the former but may result in actual injury as in the case of the exchange rates.

Clinical Surveys

In the clinical survey the purpose is to obtain knowledge or experience. When the surgeon is lecturing, his concern is not the recovery of the patient but the study of the anatomy. The patient is a mere detail and presents a convenient medium in order to focus attention. The persons engaged in such surveys are either doctors wishing to produce learned books or students in Universities waiting for the half-mark of degrees. A survey of this nature may be undertaken without any regard to safety.

There may be no field work, the library being the sole source of information with such other facts as a well drafted questionnaire may elicit.

No material results are expected or planned, for our libraries are stocked full of with tomes on clearly definitions and chalk ideas. These works are still-born and are of no inherent value.

Diagnostic Surveys

The Diagnostic Survey centres its attention not on the disease but on the patient. The doctor does not approach the sick-bed with a blank mind or with a prejudice, nor with the desire to extract his patient with a view to furthering his knowledge, but proceeds to apply his well stored and nicely stocked brain to the problem of restoring the sick man to health and strength. It is an application to the patient resources of previously obtained experience. All enquiries are directed towards that end. The mission of the enquirer is the immediate subject of the enquiry. Efforts are not directed towards writing a book on tuberculosis nor towards warning all and sundry against the ill disease, nor in acquiring further knowledge but to save the patient.

This attitude colours the whole procedure. It is presumed that the physician knows all about the disease. It is not necessary for him to prove that such a disease exists and that human beings are susceptible to it and so on. We assume he knows all that. His purpose is to find a quick remedy. Time and cost are primary considerations and the diagnosis and remedy have to be closely connected with the patient. The doctor will be misled by the results he produces. It is true that questions

have to be asked, the response has to be wise, but these are all directed towards one end.

The methods followed by Gandhiji are good examples of surveys of this type. Without much sophisticated trumpet-blowings and pedantic pronouncements he is able to place his finger on the spot and suggest remedies.

We shall now proceed to consider the requisites of this method of work as regards the personnel, finance, procedure and plan.

Personnel

Just as it would be absurd for a medical man to set out to diagnose a case without having had an adequate training and a period of preparation, no one has the right to start a survey or suggest a plan without having the requisite qualifications for it. We would laugh a doctor to scorn if after being called to attend on a sick man he proceeds to the medical college to learn the A, B, C of his science. For many committees are brought into being under such strictly ridiculous conditions—men who are total strangers to the issue and to the people are put on them. Unfortunately even many professors of economics have no living touch with the people. They may be able to quote from reports of royal commissions and discuss at great length the points of economic theory, but clear to no qualification so long as they live far from the real India. We do not need ornamental heads or a gallery of signatures of Finance, Science, Economics and other departments of life, but we must have men devoted to the cause. What is the cause? If they come with due preparation, there will be no need to prove the basic conditions in the country. If they know them, there can then be only one course, viz. the amelioration of the economic condition of the people. With this as the primary objective, the procedure will be aimed to serve the desired end.

If the work is entrusted to a committee, every member of the committee should sympathize with the cause. There is no room attached to membership of such a committee other than what service rendered will bring and no self-interest can be sought in it.

Finance

There is a poor country, and it will be an army of fate if those concerned with the preparation of a plan to relieve poverty start by mismanaging it. The human value of wealth is reduced when transferred from the poor to the rich man. Generally such welfare committees are drawn from the comparatively well-to-do or rich classes. And if the expenses of such a committee are met from sources which are drawn from the poor, there is a loss of national wealth. Therefore, such committees should not drive anything more than actuals, and even such actuals should be of the minimum. Such undertakings should not be money-making ventures. Even officials who may be detailed off for this work should realize the considerations

involved in drawing for salaries and allowances when engaged on such a duty. For the same reason, the period of work must be curtailed and made as short as possible.

Procedure

The same consideration will call for a simple procedure. All work not essential to the purpose should be avoided. There should be no need for an elaborate questionnaire unless the problem is approached with a blank mind. The questionnaire should be like the pointed question: a medical man asks his patient in order to know the immediate detaching causes and symptoms. Moreover there should be as few as possible, so as not to cause an undue strain on the patient.

The members of the committee must come into close contact with those whose condition the committee seeks to improve. For this they may have to visit villages and obtain first-hand information. If the committee takes its duties seriously, this contact will be fundamental to its work because it is the focus from which everything will radiate. Without such a working point there will be no meaning to its work. If, for instance, we talk of "lay industries," "what are lay industries?" is a question that naturally arises. To which creature-house is this a lay? If we are striving to uplift the masses, then the treasure-house is the masses of ill-fitting partial experience to the masses and lay industries are those which are relevant to the industries followed by the masses. It is the approach that gives content to the words commonly used. As we presume that members enter on their duties with due preparation, there will be no need to make an exhaustive survey of facts. A few well chosen areas or groups should be studied carefully in order to understand the real malaises of the masses. This working will also considerably curtail both time and expense. Many things are well done on the basis of information gathered from experience and not with the aid of an exhaustive enquiry. If a train has to be sent from Bombay to Calcutta, one does not first gather information about the exact number of 1st, 2nd and 3rd class passengers with luggage calculated in the cases at every station or even both of sleeping passengers and those who get to board the train. If one used as procedure the method, not a single train could be run. And yet some of the rural committees have adopted some such method as to go down these business and hence they have been futile. There is a wrong tendency amongst us to copy the seemingly scientific method.

Planning

Having cleared the necessary reactions, information and facts, we should proceed to plan. The whole scheme should be practicable and not ask for the moon. The few steps should be well defined, keeping in mind the immediate wants of the masses. If the committee has an idea, that idea will be reflected in its plan. For instance, the Congress has separately set before

itself the kind of working for the welfare of the masses. So any plan suggested from a Congress committee should be reconsidered, i. e. the approach will be to co-ordinate the economic plan so as to enable the masses to strengthen their economic position. As already stated our key industries will be organised to serve their needs. Public welfare and social services will not be allowed to be employed for private profit but must be run on a service basis. If India is to organise herself on the basis of non-violence, there can be no other way.

Working under a planned economy is like working in a laboratory—under an artificially made environment which can be readily altered to suit changing conditions. Therefore, a nationwide effective planning demands complete independence having control over Finance, the Ministry and the Railways. To plan without such powers is merely to play with the problem.

FAMINE IN HISSAR

Late Pictorialist of the A. I. S. A. has sent a long report which I condense below.

The city of distress from Hissar has already been noticed in the columns of *Nargues*, but I would like to draw the attention of readers to it once again.

Out of 15 lakhs of acres of land in Hissar district only 3 lakhs are irrigated by canal water. But as Hissar lies at one end of the canal, sufficient water is not available even for these 3 lakhs of acres, and for the rest the villagers have to depend entirely on rain from heaven. In some villages there is scarcity of drinking water when the poor villagers have to carry for long distances. During the lakhs of the seasons for four consecutive years the water in village tanks has dried and there have been no crops. Up till now the poor people have managed to eke out an existence by selling their movable property but nothing more remains for them to sell. In thousands of houses food is not cooked daily. Housewives do not get anything to eat for three days at a stretch. Many have become beggars. Those who are ashamed to beg are starving. Hissar has a total population of nine lakhs, and according to the Government estimate seven lakhs of persons are affected by human distress.

The A. I. S. A., Punjab, has started a spraying campaign in those areas where the distress is acute. During two months eleven thousand rupees have been disbursed in wages to 4,000 sprayers and 100 tractors and weavers. Rs. 1,200 have been spent on improving spraying wheels and distributing fine sprayers and carrying leaves. The Rajput and Bhilana young men have been taught scientific casting and are earning four annas a day. Sprayers are also earning from six pice to four annas daily whereas at the Government relief works only two annas for a full day's work are paid to men and six pice to women.

In the case of women I may mention that no machinery here is granted and no method what is available at the time of construction, the lack of which constitutes a real handicap.

The spraying campaign has proved a boon to the starving villagers, but owing to lack of funds the Government has not been able to spray more than 200. It is becoming increasingly hard to cope with the work now done and it is painful for the workers to refuse to give work to poor women who come with empty children in their arms from distant villages. Will those whose hearts are moved by this plea and who are asked to help do so? Rs. 1,500 are required for one spraying season, Rs. 1,000 to repair and Rs. 1,500 to be employed as labour. With this sum, Late Pictorialist wants to say, the A. I. S. A. will be able to give relief to at least 500 squarers and employ for six months. After that it is to be hoped that Government will come to the rescue and men will bring down the necessary relief. I do hope women, in particular, will take up the cause of those suffering women.

A. K.

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CONTENTS

	Page
THE STAFFS	— M. K. Gandhi 437
WEEKLY LETTER	— Pictorial 438
MINORITIES AGAIN	— Pictorial 439
A WORLD IN AGONY	— Pictorial 440
INTERNAL DEBATE	— M. K. Gandhi 441
CONGRESS AND STATES	— M. K. Gandhi 442
JERUSALEM AND THE PALESTINE	.. 443
OUR STRUGGLE	.. A. V. Thakkar 447
INDIAN CULTURE	.. M. K. Gandhi 448
WHY THE WITHDRAWAL	.. Pictorial 449
ECONOMIC SURVIVAL AND PLANNING	J. C. Karmacharya 450
FAMINE IN HISSAR	.. A. K. 452
NOTE	
'WHAT A MAN OF GOD!'	.. M. K. G. 455



"I Rejoice in This Defeat"

HARIJAN

Editor: MANMOHAN BHASKAR

Under the Auspices of The Harijan League, Bombay

Vol. No. 10332

16 Pages

194

VOL. VI, No. 52]

POONA — SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1939

[TWO ANNAS

NOTICE

We regret it has not been possible to give the Index of the current year along with the present issue as announced last week, as it became necessary to take matters paper this week in order to make space for other important matter. The Index will be given with the next issue.

Manager

BARIKHILI

I

Bariikhili in 1938

Bariikhili is weeping to say what it served in years for 18 years. The material has been full of sorrow for the whole country but much more so for Bariikhili. The Utkalians up the Vamsa, the prehistory of it within a week, then the plunge into the Slough of Despond, defiance, menacing death-looking (to them) toll in the conservative programme, then upon the slough of a small challenge to the power that be the more and oppressive hour of suffering followed by a rich harvest which was nearly reaped before a fierce and long-down-out spray came upon it again. A few villages and a few individual individuals stood the overwhelming test, but in the bulk of the Taluka there was an atmosphere of despair and darkness, meanwhile a few scattered sparks kept the dying embers alive. Today it is weeping in joy over all these years of agony it weeps a glad day apparently as though no storm and storm had preceded it. But then a Bariikhili accustomed to red and suffer, children stake in its feet and ferocity of suffering, resigned to say but.

It is, as I have said, weeping to say what it served in years. There are still in many parts of Bariikhili India police officials and managers of the same temper as in pre-Congress Government days. But Bariikhili has converted those who, until a little while ago, considered themselves as masters. They realise that they are the servants of the people, and the Manmohan and the Vamsa work check by just with the people, spoke in known in hand. Swamy is far off yet, but here there is evidence enough for the people that it is coming. That, to them, is something more than the recovery of their lost houses and their lands. For of that they were sure but not so of the recovery of the nation.

They have sent to the Legislative Assembly one almost as satisfied as any one of them.

but who is there by night of suffering and sorrow, and he goes about in the villages asking for voluntary work. He clings them, laughs at them and often at himself, even weeps at them. They laugh and respond to him. Bariikhili is under the scope of communal work in which the so-called upper caste are working side by side with the so-called lower caste for the common good. I have seen hundreds of them at night with their shovels and spades turning brick-rock concrete into level roads. But they have done something more. Ordinarily a person would not yield an inch of his land, come what may. In fact they have in their street gone on unceasing, steadily maintaining no roads with the result that roads have with the years become narrow lanes and blind alleys where at two cars came up against each other they could not pass well one was pushed back for farthings and sometimes even miles. At the bidding of the national call they have gladly relinquished all the quarrelled and even unquarrelled lands, with the result that these lanes and alleys are now made twenty to thirty feet wide. Thousands of hands and thousands of cars have gone to the bringing about of this commotion. And all this without a clean white money, as Manmohan Patel never tired of repeating in the Assembly he has picked up a few English words and phrases of which "without money" is one, "wherever all right" is another.

Manmohan knows that Gandhi's demand is not satisfied. There is no kind of pot in every house nor on the person of every man, woman and child, there is a good deal of unsatisfactory still. The liquor-shops have gone, not because the people have captured them but because the Congress Government have closed them. There is a lot amount of kind, but not enough to fill Gandhi's wish yet. Unsatiable is gone, so far as physical touch is concerned, but in other respects it still lingers large. We have the same old schools, but the Wadia experiment is going to be tried in this area. There is enough hope for the future. What happened on the 26th—the Independence Day—is a harbinger of the good things yet to come.

The Hall of the Sea

One of the conditions laid down by Gandhi for the coming of Swamy was communal unity. But there could be no communal unity so long

as there was serfdom, so long as the Dabla was not used to man's service. The 26th of January which the country observes as the Independence Day was observed by Harijans as the Shastri Emancipation Day. Before I explain what this emancipation means I must explain the condition of the Dabla or the Hali as he is called. Dabla means literally 'work' (Shast. Darbala) and he belongs to the lowest rung of the social ladder. Hali may be from hal (a plough), and as he engages almost exclusively in agricultural labour he is called a hali. He is and is not a slave or a serf. The slave in America before the Abolition was the legal property of his master. The Dabla or the Hali has never been that kind of property. He borrows money and in repayment of a work as his master's permanent agricultural labourer for a life-time, simply because he can never repay the loan. But though he is permanently attached to the master, he stays, when there is no work, work elsewhere and runs a wife. He was never bought or sold, nor separated from his wife and children, as slaves were in America. He lives in his own hut, often leaves his master when he practically no longer serves him. And yet even the so-called unattachable is often better off than the Dabla and more independent. The former has sometimes gone out in search of employment and found it, a very few of them are educated, and a few even hold land. But the Dabla has known no education, no employment outside, has never owned land. Though he is not bought and sold, his name has been more or less like slavery. In 1863 Captain Fawcett wrote about them—

"When they marry with slaves of a different master the house remains and produces labour for his master and the male for his master, and the property is equally divided between the master. In case of there being only one boy born to such a marriage, his yearly labour would be divided equally between the two masters. From close inquiries I have made, I can say with certainty that these poor people are treated with kindness and consideration and are looked upon as household dependents who have great claims on their masters and their families. Up till very recently they have not been dissatisfied with their condition, but I am informed that since the value of labour has risen so enormously, and now that it is in great request in Gujarat, members of 'Hala', both male and female, have run away from their masters, not because they were distressed or unhappy, but because they could do better for themselves. It is, necessary to state that only a portion of their time is taken up in their master's service, the remainder being their own."

In 1897 another survey officer, Macdonell, gave these interesting details about the Hali system:

"The connection with his master is either hereditary, or begins with his selling his services as labour for an advance of cash for the purchase of a wife. In the former case his family may have been servants of the same house for many generations. In the latter he obtains 40 or 50 rupees and in return

donates of that and his maintenance binds himself to work for an indefinite period. In some tribes the custom is to consider a year's work as equivalent to a payment on the debt of a certain sum, generally Rs. 5. — In some villages the Hali is fed in the master's house, but more often he is given a plot in the village and five acres (Rs.) of grain, either rice or wheat, per acre. In addition to this he is provided with a small allowance of salt, condiments and sometimes vegetables. He also gets tobacco and every year a bangle (3 annas), a jacket (10 or 12 annas), a coat (12 annas) and shoes (Rs. 1-4-6.) His wife, if she works for the master, gets a similar grain allowance, a new sari every year, and the old clothes of the household. When carrying and the various offices connected with wedding are the usual household employments of the Hali's wife, but she also works in the fields. Sometimes the arrangement is that in return for 'keeping' (managing) the slaves she is paid one rupee per month, has the rest of her time at her disposal, and gets no other allowance. Sometimes the Hali is given 5 to 10 acres of land to cultivate on his own account and send for the rest. On the whole the Halis are generally well treated, and their condition is comfortable enough. They are well fed, sufficiently clothed and have no masters. It is difficult to believe that the Hali system is economical, though those who still maintain Halis assert that it is so, and the advantages of having labour always ready to hand, and of being independent of the labour market are undoubted."

In 1899 Mr F. S. F. Lely, Commissioner of the Division reported, speaking about another tribe in Surat:

"The system has now broken down, not so much because the master cannot afford to keep the Halis as because they will not stay. Induced with the new sense of independence they run away to get higher wages, content to repay money that has been spent by their old master in rearing them and not for wages." Another officer wrote in 1895 that a "Dabla marriage costs within Rs. 40, and as the couple never dream of being able to repay the sum, they offer their life services in exchange for the money. From all inquiries I learn that they are always well treated, for they get food and clothing throughout the year, and are not subjected to taxes of slaves. At first sight, the arrangement scarcely appears an economical one to the master, but they have secured us that everything considered, it is financially better than keeping as farm servants, and employing labourers when they are wanted."

During the Land Revenue Assessment Inquiry by Messrs Beauchamp and Maxwell we found that though the Dabla was connected with his ancestral lot, he had become a worker and uneconomical proposition to his master, the price of agricultural produce having gone down, and the standard of living having risen. Many of the peasants did realise this, but the pride of owning a Dabla or two got the better of their economic sense, and there was no inclination to do without the Hali. The marriage which 40 years ago

used to cost Rs. 40 more cost very much more, and the borrowings of the Dabla which then did not exceed Rs. 50 nowadays exceed Rs. 300, often amount to Rs. 500, and often amount are a dead loss when the Dabla comes without making any return in the shape of labour.

History of the Agitation

Economically, therefore, the situation was ripe for emancipation of the Hils. A few farmers indeed had felt that it was more a question of their own emancipation from the domination of the Hils, than that of the emancipation of the Hils, but really the Dabla was a evil and, as I have said, worse than an uncontrollable. There were legends of peasants which had crept into the language, and it was so much that he used to be referred to in 1921 when Gandhiji asked someone about the condition of the Dabla, he said it was 12,000—the poor Dabla and the Chauras not content at all—whereas they were as few as one-third of them. If the "uncontrollable" bog may not be allowed to go with the "manageable" bog in the school, the Dabla may not go to school at all. What right had a perpetual, immemorial to learn to read and write? His accounts with the master were in the master's unimpaired memory, and he himself could not even write up in a hundred. It was on the same that the "Gardhwa", came like a storm. In 1924 Shri Munjan Puri opened a school for the dabs. It was resisted, as much as that Shri Munjan had to go to a jail against the uncontrollable law. Gardhwa had just then been released from jail and was in the hospital. He said the law was impossible, nonsense, as it was thrust upon a people whom sufficient work had now been done. After Sardar Vallabhbhai's considerable persistence, some of the agriculturists agreed to lift the law and Munjan-bhai took the first after eight days. But the law through outwardly lifted operated from the law. The poor Dablas were frightened out of their wits and dared not go to school. Our agitation proved a damp squib. Khat's work was next begun but we could not attract the poor Dabla to it. How could he have time to type?

The Barich Sanyogin of 1925 slightly opened the eyes of the Sanyogin to the fact that if they had not kept the Dabla crushed and ignorant, they would not have helped Government in finishing and removing the Sanyogin's belongings. The Inquiry following the Sanyogin proved to the fact that the Hils was not an economic proposition. His food and clothing and shoes cost about Rs. 150 a year. Who not pay him Rs. 20 a month, rather than lend him four dabs as work, go on maintaining him, and never expect the money back? In 1925-26 again the poor Dabla became the tool of the Sarkar against the Sanyogin. In 1928 night-schools began to be opened without any resistance from the

"Masters". In 1928 Government gave a small grant to the District, part of which the workers used for the adult education of the Dabla. Before the Harjan Congress the Sarkar publicly declared as a warning that if the Dabla gave up drink and attended the night-schools he would get done food, and simultaneously a statement for their emancipation was started among the "upper" classes. Hundreds joined the night-schools 40 to 70 visited a government volunteer at the time of the Harjan Congress. On emancipation there would not be enough agricultural labour for all of them, and unless they took to the spinning wheel they would have to starve. Thus came the spinning wheel. Seven villages took it up to right centre. Shri Jagaran Das, who is the soul of the movement, was discovered put on the Adult Education Committee. He has started two schools for these classes in Rajpur and Harjan. In August 1928 the Sarkar addressed a conference of the landed classes and appealed to them to end the sufferings of the Dabla immediately and to take concerted steps for it. A representative Committee with 20 agriculturists and 4 workers was appointed. Nearly 140 villages (of Barich and numerous Barich taluk) were represented, and the Committee submitted a memorandum making these among other recommendations: (1) Every Hils to be emancipated in the sense that from 15th January 1929 he must a wage of 0.4.0 (for male) and 0.3.0 (for female), (2) every Hils who has worked on his master's farm for twelve years or more is automatically free from all his debts to him, (3) each Hils as may have worked for less than twelve years to have credited to their account a twelfth of the debt for every year that they have worked, (4) an anna per day to be deducted from his wage until the debt is repaid nothing to be deducted from a woman's wage, (5) everyone to be declared free from debt on expiry of 12 years, whether the debt be paid or not, (6) every debt to expire with the debtor's life, (7) a Dabla may engage himself on an annual wage of Rs. 80, and Rs. 15, may be deducted from his wage for repayment of a debt day if any, (8) white ponds to be appointed to settle all questions regarding debts.

The Emancipation Day

It was for the acceptance of these resolutions by all villages that a joint meeting of the landed classes and the Hils, which is the new name given to the Dabla or Hils, was held in Barich on the 15th of January. The so often thousand people attended, the Hils sitting on the ground with their women. Their joy was unbounded and though the stress of emancipation from debt are some two thousand, a new consciousness and a new life seemed to have come to them. There was less enthusiasm on the part of the landed classes, but the best of them from the well-known villages supported the resolutions whole-heartedly. By one of the two resolutions a Sarvach for

the whole of the cabinet was appointed consisting of: (1) Shao Darshing Deen (as Deputy Collector); (2) Shao Mooshien Faid in L.A. (3) Shao Hsuey-shan Lashien Nicksa; (4) Shao Samshihl Shih.

The Shao in his speech appealed to every one not to divide the farmer and the laborer, for strife would run both the agricultural and national wealth. The moment the laborer realized that his true capital was his hands and feet, there was no chance for class-strife. He could devote his time

carefully appealed to them to carry out to the letter their resolutions wisely taken. The step was a unique one in history, and yet the sense of responsibility from debt, he said, which has so through the centuries had struck a firm, class harpoon. There seemed to be nothing liberal about ensuring a cash wage to people whom they used to exploit to their heart's content. The advice to them would be not to even consider and every man and woman was assured a daily wage of eight cents for eight hours work. While therefore he congratulated them, he could not help feeling that what they had done was just good business and nothing more.

"The meaning of emancipation," said Gaothai, "is that the Halpern is free to choose his own field of labor. You have entered into a sacred pact which should make your relations with the laborer more than before. The pact sets before the fact on which you worked and the target for whom you worked. Only you will work valiantly and cheerfully and he will work alongside of you. That you will be called Halpern does not mean that the owner of the land will give up the land (plough). The man you have freed is not man that the farmer will pay only 5-6-5 when there are a harrow, sump and sowing plow. The spirit of the resolution means that you will then give them a much higher wage."

What you have done today you ought to have done in 1911. But better late than never, and I am happy that you have at last done what ought to have been done. But the wage will not emancipate you really. Agriculture by itself cannot support you all. That is why I have placed the opening wheel before the country and we must tread it wisely in places. My faith is it grows with the year, and I may tell you that if you will take up the opening wheel in right earnest you will meet again."

Thus the Independence Day means for Harlik the coming to of a silent non-violent social revolution which will blow both the oppressor and the oppressed. It has been accomplished without a single clash or conflict, and the last square the agricultural have judged up their hand to carry out the resolutions in the letter and in spirit.

For the revolution will be completed only when the Halpern means not Halpern in name but becomes the owner of the plough and the

soil, becomes as educated as the rest of the population, reforms his ways, and becomes as good and pure and God-fearing and respected a citizen as any one of those who go by that name. Towards that resurrection every worker will have to bend his energies.

Harlik, 20-4-33

M D

Shaoen in China

It is not yet well enough known in India that Lao Tse who was very nearly the contemporary of Confucius, the Buddha, made universally recognized in China his own teaching of Tao (the path) which was for many centuries regarded as equal in importance to the teaching of Confucius. At the centre of Tao is non-violence, the opposite of stoicism and violence. The non-violence, that cannot even think against, has no remarkable parallel to the Mahatma Karma of the Gita.

Lao Tse gives us two striking texts, which are easily remembered. The former is: "The triumph of violence ends in a day of mourning. The second rule: "The more weapons of violence, the more misery to mankind."

All kinds of evildeeds and misdeeds are abandoned by the followers of Tao. Such a spirit of harmony with one's surroundings as Tao is the very opposite of that spirit of violence which only leads on to further violence and escalation.

There are two great countries in the world today, that have won the name of perpetual youth—India and China. They have kept their youth fresh in each generation, because they do not "burn themselves out" by violence.

C F A

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"Cold-Blooded Breach of a Solemn Covenant"

Barbar Valtchikoff Paul stated the following statement on January 29th:

It is with the deepest regret that I have to announce participation of the struggle in Rajkot which seemed to have ended so happily. Betrayal has become a duty in order to vindicate the honour of the State and the self-respect of the people of Rajkot.

The public will recall that the settlement (Appendix A) announced in the Rajkot State Gazette of 26th December was a result of discussion between the Thakore Sahib and his Council consisting of Sir Patrick Cadell, Rao Sahib Maniklal Patel and Shri J. Jaganpatra. The discussion which took place on the evening of December 26th lasted for nearly eight hours ending at 1-42 a. m. On the day of the settlement the Thakore Sahib gave me the following note:

Amratnath, Secretariat, Rajkot State
26th December, 1938

It is agreed that seven members of the Committee mentioned in Clause 2 of the State announcement of today's date are to be recommended by Mahar Valtchikoff Paul and they are to be recommended by us

(Sd) Bhamburathak
Thakore Sahib, Rajkot.

It should be remembered that I had gone to Rajkot in the Thakore Sahib's aeroplane, (Appendix B)

Soon after the settlement Sir Patrick Cadell returned for reasons to be found in Appendix C. I must state with the greatest reluctance that the Thakore Sahib has been ill served by those who have seen his side. Among the worst of these advisers has been Darbar Viravala who has misled the State and directed a conspiracy by his hapless mismanagement. He has cast a spell over the Thakore Sahib which the latter cannot break even if he would. It was he who brought Sir Patrick Cadell. When the latter realised that Darbar Viravala was the evil genius of the State, almost his first act was to have him banished from Rajkot with the help of the Agency. Sir Patrick Cadell might not have been obliged to leave if he had not trusted upon his promise as a member of the ruling race. Darbar Viravala would not break the promise of a Dykes who had brought about his banishment.

Though he was banished he pulled the wires from Rajputra. His son Bhagwan and his nephew Viravala are still with the Thakore Sahib. Realising that he could not successfully win the contemplated settlement, he played the role of a friend and seemed to want the settlement. Soon after the settlement, when Sir Patrick Cadell was about to go, Darbar Viravala found himself at Rajkot and began his operations

which have never ceased. The Resident's note and the District Agents note (Appendix D and E) will be read with interest.

I needed a few days to enable me to select, in consultation with those who were in charge of the movement, seven names of the committee that had to be given in terms of the settlement. I sent the following seven names on the 4th January:

1. Shri Popatlal Bharghavan Malavay
2. - Popatlal Parashottam Anand
3. - Madhav Vajay Abhichit
4. Dr. D. J. Gajjar
5. Shri Jankardev Kharatchand Gandhi
6. - Virajit Maheshwari Shukla
7. - Utkalnarayan Maheshwari Bhosle

Notification of the appointment of the committee should have followed at once. But nothing happened for some days.

On the 28th December there was a consultation between the Resident and the Thakore Sahib-in-Council. I have authentic notes of that interview taken by one of those present. The remarks made by the Resident about the Congress and me will be read with interest. He would not conceal his dislike of the settlement, the Congress or me. (Appendix F)

It seems clear the Resident and Darbar Viravala are responsible for the breach of the solemn undertaking the Thakore Sahib gave to his people. As evidence of Darbar Viravala's influence over the Thakore Sahib, the letter of thanks received by me from his father concerning reading, (Appendix G)

It is necessary to compare the present one-sided arbitrary notification (Appendix H) with the one which was issued in terms of the settlement. The second notification cancels that of my committee. It also cancels the terms of reference and is vague, whereas the first was precise. The former postpones publication of the report before the 31st instant and effect being given to it by the Thakore Sahib. The latter fixes no time limit for the report.

Before the last announcement I received a letter from Rao Sahib Maniklal Patel (Appendix I). It is noteworthy that whereas that letter had accepted four of my committee the notification has only three. To this I sent a reply to Captain of which the substance will be found in Appendix J.

I had heard so much of Darbar Viravala's influence on the Thakore Sahib and his misstatements that I had to say in my last letter that Darbar Viravala could not in any event be accepted on the committee. I wanted no further left.

The biggest breach of a solemn settlement leaves but one course open before the people of Rajkot. It now remains for me to leave the people of Rajkot to decide the self-

chosen course of suffering for vindicating their liberty and saving Rajkot and the Thakore Sahib from utter ruin. It is best to anticipate and provide for the worst. The worst that can happen is ingratitudes of the common type, including various not unknown in Kathiawar, and setting up of mutual quarrels. Of the latter we have evidence in inspired speeches from some Muslim leaders. We have no share then by our conduct than they have at least as much to gain as the rest of us by united government under their own control. Rajkot has been made bankrupt through hopeless mismanagement and corruption. These conditions, if they persist, can prolong the struggle, never defeat the end in view, if the people as large cohorts, show capacity for enduring suffering, no matter how great or protracted, and also show capacity, in spite of pecuniary losses, for going through the stages of non-violent non-cooperation. On no account must students take part in civil disobedience or strikes. They can and should do constructive work if they believe in it. They can be better to loose some otherwise suffering which is bound to be inevitable in the struggle process.

Non-violence has to be observed in thought, word and deed. It has to be observed as well among co-workers as with opponents and outsiders, as well as the job as outside it. The essence of our non-violence will be the measure of our success. We must have faith in the possibility of our non-violence turning the Thakore Sahib's love in the direction of his people. Today he is a Ruler in name only. It must hurt every one of his people to find the young Prince committing a deliberate breach of the solemn covenant he made with his people.

I have said seemingly better things about Dattar Vora, but truth has to be sometimes bitter and harsh. I have said nothing that I do not believe about him. We must love him in spite of his sharing himself and expect our love to convert him and those who are working under his influence and direction.

I am sorry the British prevents my intervention and the influence of the Congress in shaping the policy and programme of the people of Rajkot. The people of the States have always been guided by the Congress. Their was allegiance to it. Indeed in the early stages the Prince also looked to the Congress for its support. The Congress adopted the policy of non-intervention in the name of direct participation in the matters affecting questions arising between the people and the Prince. This was nothing but recognition of the limitations of the Congress. But when the people became conscious of their strength and were prepared to suffer, the Congress would be untrue to its mission if it failed to help them to the best of its ability. As for poor me I happen to have been a President of the Kathiawar Rajya Parishad and as such owe a duty to the people of Kathiawar as also to the Prince and dare not refuse help when they need it. In Rajkot the

people in the first instance and then the Ruler sought my assistance which I claim has been unconditionally given. I fail to see anything wrong in this so to be assumed by the Rajput or the Imperial Power. This is a question which it would incidentally be Rajkot's proved privilege to be the cause of having decided.

For the time being the civil resistance will be confined to Kathiawar only. The people of Kathiawar are so inter-mixed that for practical purposes it would be difficult to exclude any Kathiawar from participation on moral grounds.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Sanction between the Thakore Sahib and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel dated 26th December, 1938.

1. After having observed the growth of popular feeling and the responsible sufferings of our people during the last few months for the reasons of what they understood to be their grievances, and after having discussed the whole situation with the Council and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, we are convinced the present struggle and sufferings should end immediately.

2. We have decided to appoint a committee of ten gentlemen who should be subjects or servants of our Ruler, three of whom will be State officers and seven subjects* of our State whose names will be declared hereafter. The President of the committee will be a person appointed by His Highness.

3. This committee shall draw up by the end of January, after proper consultations, a report to us recommending a scheme of reforms so as to give the widest possible powers to our people consistently with our obligations to the Paramount Power and with our principles as a Ruling Chief.

4. It is our desire that our Pary Patti shall henceforth be registered in the names laid down in the order of the Chamber of Princes.

5. We desire furthermore to assure our people that we intend to consider and give effect to the scheme that may be reported to us by the said committee.

6. It being understood that all constitutional activities shall immediately cease, as a necessary period to restore peace and goodwill, we hereby grant full amnesty and release immediately all political prisoners and remit all fines and withdraw all repressive measures.

26-12-38

(Sd.) DHARMENDRASINH

*Note—The definition of "subject" for the purpose of para 2 shall be the same as that for a British Indian subject in British India.

APPENDIX B

Thakore Sahib's invitation to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Amarsingh, Secunderabad,
Rajkot State, December, 1938

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

Thanks for your note received just now.

I shall be delighted if you come and have tea with me at 5 p. m. today.

We shall then discuss the present question in presence of my Council Members.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) DHANMUNIRAM

APPENDIX C

Select Correspondence

(1) Letter from Sir Patrick Cadell to the Thakore Sahib, dated 1st October, 1936

Ambroship Secretariat,
Rajkot, 1st October, 1936

Your Highness,

I remember asking you to allow me to see you not later than 8 o'clock. I had affairs of great importance to talk about. I suggested this late hour though inconvenient to myself, in order to meet you. You sent your Private Secretary to tell me that you would see me at 8-30. I was present at that time and was told that you were in your bath. I waited till 9 o'clock, and was told that you might be another quarter or half an hour late. I then left.

I now write to inform Your Highness that I have no intention of allowing myself to be treated in this grossly discourteous manner. I had no idea when I left England to help you that you would be capable of such behaviour. I cannot allow it to be continued.

I had intended to tell you last night that in any case the present situation cannot go on. The confusion of affairs in the State is very serious. Many of the complaints against the State are based on your behaviour. It is believed that you spend too large a share of the State's revenue, that most of your expenditure is on unworthy objects, and that you take no part in the administration of the State. I do not wish to make any reference at present either to the amount of money you spend or the way you spend it. But it is certainly true that you take no part in the administration and share no interest in the welfare of your people. This is all the more noticed because it is so different from the system which your father followed. It is not fair to your officers to expect them to bear the burden of expensive methods while you do nothing. You must take some share. I therefore propose to you the following action.

(1) I understand that you are to take part in the "regal" ceremony at now, and perhaps two, of the temples that evening at 7-30. If there is time for you to attend to this, I suggest that after you have done this, you will drive through the city and that you will allow me to accompany you.

(2) The Shwar Office is closed today, as it is a holiday, but it is open on Monday. I suggest that you should promise on your word

of honour to come to the office on Monday, not later than 5 p. m. to hear petitioners for about an hour.

I am sure that these two actions will have a good effect in the city.

I must also make a third request.

(3) Whenever I have to see you on any day, you will promise to see me on that day not later than 7-30 p. m. and you will promise on your word of honour not to be more than a quarter of an hour late.

If you are unable to accede to these suggestions, I shall be obliged to inform the Hon. the Resident that I cannot carry on and that I propose to return to England as soon as possible.

If I have to do so, I fear that this may have unfortunate consequences both for your State and for yourself. I can assure you that the Government of India are not likely to look with favour on my conduct. I should be sorry if you were to suffer, but I cannot convince if Your Highness behaves like this.

I should be obliged if you would let me know before 5-30 this evening whether Your Highness agrees to drive through the city this evening and to allow me to accompany you.

I am, Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) PATRICK CADELL.

(2) Letter from the Thakore Sahib to Sir Patrick Cadell, dated 2nd October, 1936

Confidential
Rajkot Villa Palace,
Rajkot, 2nd October, 1936

Dear Sir Patrick,

I am exceedingly sorry to receive your letter of yesterday, and I must say that I do not like the tone of it. I cannot accept that the complaints against me are based on facts. The present agitation is only a wave spread by the Congress for the installation of responsible government in the States, and I believe that to be the reason why they have selected Rajkot as Kutchwaras, as they have done with Mirzapur, Tanjore, etc., in States in which people already enjoy greater share of public liberties.

It was with a view to put down the movement that I had requested your services. I have still a work to smother your task as much as possible and will come to the office any day at my convenience after Diwali.

I strongly dissent to your remarks that if you have to go it may have unfortunate consequences both for my State and myself, and that the Government of India are not likely to look with favour on my conduct. In this connection I must definitely let you understand that it is I who has appeared you as my Dewan, and that it as a result of my disagreement with you I have to ask you to be released, rather the Hon. the Resident not H.E. the Viceroy will have any cause to look upon me with disfavor. Whatever information you may be able to gather

(Continued on p. 467)

HARIJAN

Vol. 4

1938

RAJCOOT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The struggle in Rajkot has a personal touch about it for me. It was the place where I received all my education up to the matriculation examination and where my father was Dewan for many years. My wife feels so much about the sufferings of the people that through she is as old as I am and much less able than myself to bear such hardships as may be attendant upon jail life she feels she must go to Rajkot. And before this it is just she might have gone there.

But I want to take a detached view of the struggle. Sardar's statement, reproduced elsewhere, is a legal document in the sense that it has not a superfluous word in it and contains nothing that cannot be supported by unimpeachable evidence most of which is based on written records which are attached to it as appendices.

It furnishes evidence of a well-blooded breach of a solemn covenant entered into between the Rajkot Ruler and his people. And the breach has been consummated at the expense and holding of the British Resident who is directly linked with the Viceroy.

To the covenant a British Dewan was party. The house was that he represented British authority. He had accepted to rule the Ruler. He was therefore in fact to fall into the Ruler's trap. Therefore the covenant was not an evasion from an unlawful ruler. The British Resident demanded the Congress and the Ruler for the crime of saving the Thakore Sahib from bankruptcy and, probably, loss of his gadi. The Congress influence he could not brook. And so before the Thakore Sahib could possibly robbers his promise to his people he made him break it. If the news that the Ruler is returning from Rajkot is to be believed, the Resident is showing the red claws of the British lion and says in effect to the people: "Your ruler is my creature. I have put him on the gadi and I am depose him. He knew well enough that he had acted against my wishes. I have therefore undone his action on coming to terms with his people. For your dealings with the Congress and the Ruler I shall teach you a lesson that you will not forget for a generation."

Having made the Ruler a virtual prisoner, he has begun a reign of terrorism in Rajkot. Here is what the latest telegram received by the Sardar says: "Bachaykha, Jams and other volunteers arrested. Twenty-two volunteers taken at night to a distant place in the Agency town and brutally beaten. Volunteers in villages are secretly coerced. Agency police controlling State agency and searching private houses in civil towns."

The British Resident is repeating the performances of the British officials in 'British India' during the Civil Disobedience days.

I know that if the people of Rajkot can stand all this without themselves becoming mad, and meekly but resolutely and heroically suffer the innumerable heaped upon them they will come out victorious and, what is more, they will not free the Thakore Sahib. They will prove that they are the real rulers of Rajkot under the paramountcy of the Congress. If, however, they go mad and cloak of impotent resistance and evade to acts of violence, their case will be worse than before and the paramountcy of the Congress will be of no effect. The Congress paramountcy avails only those who except the banner of non-violence, even as the paramountcy of Britain avails only those who subscribe to the doctrine of 'might is right'.

What then is the duty of the Congress when the people of Rajkot have to face not the Ruler and his rap police but the disciplined hordes of the British Empire?

The first and second step is for the Congress ministry to make themselves responsible for the safety and honour of the people of Rajkot. It is a case that the Government of India Act gives the ministers no power over the Ruler. But they are Governors of a native province in which Rajkot is but a speck. As such they have rules and duties outside the Government of India Act. And these are much the more important. Supposing that Rajkot became the place of refuge for all the Gandhi that India could produce, supposing further that from these they carried on operations throughout India, the ministers would clearly have the right and it would be their duty to ask the Paramount Power through the British Representative in Bombay to set things right in Rajkot. And it will be the duty of the Paramount Power to do so or to lose the ministers. Every minister in his province is affected by everything that happens in resistance within his kingdom. Just though outside his legal jurisdiction, especially if that thing bears his name of decency. Responsible government in these parts may not be the ministers' concern, but if there is plague in these parts or hardship done on it is very much their concern, at least their rule is a sham and a delusion. Thus the ministers in Ghara may not be concerned in these cases, if they do not succeed in sending 25,000 refugees of Talpore to their home with an absolute assurance of safety and freedom of speech and moral and political movements. It is undeniable that the Congress, which is today in alliance with the British Government, should be treated as an enemy and an obstacle in the States which are vassals of the British.

This woman's breach, suggested by the British Resident to Rajkot, of the charter of the liberty of all people is a wrong which must be set right at the earliest possible moment. It is a sin

a person carrying the whole body. Will H. H. the Viceroy realize the significance of Rajkot and remove the person? *Bombay, 30-1-35*

"I REPINE IN THIS DEFEAT"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Subhas Bose has achieved a democratic victory over his opponent, Dr. Pannabhai Sarnavalla. I must confess that from the very beginning I was decidedly against his resolutions for reasons were which I need not go. I do not subscribe to his facts or the arguments in his manifesto. I think that his references to his colleagues were exaggerated and unworthy. Nevertheless, I am glad of his victory. And since I was instrumental in inducing Dr. Pannabhai not to withdraw his name as a candidate when Mahatma Sahib withdrew the defeat is more mine than his. I am nothing if I do not represent definite principles and policy. Therefore, it is plain to me that the delegates do not approve of the principles and policy for which I stand.

I reprove in this defeat. It gives me an opportunity of putting into practice what I preached in my article as the with-out of the majority at the late A. L. C. C. meeting in Delhi. Subhas Bose, instead of being President on the influence of those whom he calls rightists, is now Pannabhai placed in a contested election. This enables him to choose a homogeneous cabinet and pursue his programme without let or hindrance.

There is one thing common between majority and minority, viz., attitude on internal policy of the Congress organization. My writings in the Harpur have shown that the Congress is fast becoming a corrupt organization in the sense that its members contain a very large number of bogus members. I have been suggesting for the past many months the overhauling of these registers. I have no doubt that many of the delegates who have been elected on the strength of these bogus voters would be exposed on scrutiny. But I regret so much democratic way. It will be enough if the registers are purged of all bogus voters and are made fool-proof for the future.

The majority has no cause for being discontented. If they believe in the current programme of the Congress, they will find that it can be worked, whether they are in a minority or a majority and even whether they are in the Congress or outside it.

The only thing that may possibly be affected by the changes in the parliamentary programme. The majority have been chosen and the programme shaped by the anti-state majority. But parliamentary work is but a minor aim of the Congress programme. Congress members have after all to live from day to day. It matters little to them whether they are notified as an issue in which they are in agreement with the Congress policy or whether they resign because

they are in disagreement with the Congress.

After all Subhas Bose is not an enemy of his country. He has suffered for it. In his opinion he is the most forward and bold policy and programme. The majority can only wish it all success. If they cannot keep pace with it, they must come out of the Congress. If they can, they will add strength to the majority.

The majority may not obstruct in any event. They must show when they cannot co-operate. I must remind all Congressmen that those who bring Congress-minded voters outside it by design, represent it more. Those, therefore, who feel uncomfortable in being in the Congress may come out, not as a spirit of ill-will, but with the deliberate purpose of rendering more efficient service.

Bombay, 30-1-35

RAJKOT AND JAIPUR

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Appeals are being made to me not to postpone matters in the States. These appeals are unnecessary. After three months of non-violent struggle by the people of Rajkot in honourable understanding was arrived at between the Thakore Sahib-in-Council and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel representing the people, and the struggle was closed with mutual respect. But the noble work done by the Thakore Sahib and the people has been undone by the British Resident.

He has demanded that the people should fight unto death for the restoration of the agreement between the Thakore Sahib and his people. The struggle now is not between the Ruler and his people but is really it is between the Congress and the British Government represented by the Resident, who is reported to be seeking to suppress 'pandemonium'. He is trying thereby to break the spirit of modern men and women, who rightly resent the breach of faith.

It is a misrepresentation to suggest that Rajkot has been made a war zone. There is no planned action with reference to Kachhad Fort. What is happening is that those, who feel that they are ready for suffering, came to the Ruler for advice and he pushed them. Rajkot seemed ready and the fight commenced there.

Jaipur's case is incredibly simple and different from that of Rajkot. If my information is correct, the British Prime Minister there is determined to prevent even the movement for popularising elected for responsible government. Civil disobedience is in order in hand, therefore, offered not for responsible government but for the removal of the hand on the Prag Mandal and its president Seth Jasmal Das.

In my opinion it is the duty of the Viceroy to ask the Resident in Rajkot to restore the pact and to ask the British Prime Minister of Jaipur to let the hand. Such action by the Viceroy can in no sense be interpreted as mean unwarranted interference in the affairs of States.

Bombay, 31-1-35

"COLD-BLOODED BREACH OF A SOLEMN COVENANT"

(Continued from page 459)

with regard to my State and myself is made available to you because you enjoy my confidence, and I need hardly say that you cannot utilize any of my State records without my permission and need less acquaint myself any information which the Hon. the President has thought it necessary to receive about anything relating to my State has been sought for through my Dewan, only if I am accessible to give it. I might also tell you that I have been refused to lose any share of the confidence which I enjoy both with the Hon. the President and H. E. the Viceroy to an extent. I would therefore wish you to reconsider your decision and express your agreement to act in a manner consistent with my dignity and policy.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) DEBAMCHANDRAN

* * *

(3) Letter from Thakur Sahib to Sir Patrick Gifford dated 16th October, 1938

Rajkot, 16th October 1938

Dear Sir Patrick,

You are, I am sure, fully aware of the present situation. It has not been improved in any way and so far as I can see it is getting worse every day and has reached a climax by now. The other day when we called a meeting we agreed to give the people certain concessions, but it failed to ease the situation and bring about any desired result. I am myself getting convinced that we failed to take proper steps at the proper time, which should have removed my worry. The situation, in short, is dreadfully getting out of control and adding immensely to my troubles. The situation is getting more and more serious with little hope of its being brought under control in the near future. My people feel and are led to believe that you have been won by the Government and that I have lost the position which I had hitherto enjoyed. They give reason to stand so me the same love and loyalty which they used to extend before your arrival. Now they even seem to think and carry the impression that now I too you are the Ruler.

I should say that though the feeling is not created by you but I must say that anyway it is there which they are not in a mood to shake off obviously. Dandi holidays are drawing nearer and I have many to stand by the people have boycotted them. They are further determined to boycott sales of grain also, and it is possible that no sale of grain could be made this year due to their non-cooperation. This would mean a financial reduction of the State and a crisis which had better be mentioned than stated. This state of things, I feel, I, as the Ruler, am bound to prevent in any way or sacrifice in the interests of the State and its subjects.

The people, as you know, have now adopted a definite attitude and are suffering. I think,

therefore, whether this unfortunate situation must be thoroughly eased and some sort of definite settlement should be arrived at between them and me at the earliest possible opportunity. I feel I am unable to do anything in this matter so long as my people do not recognise me as their de facto Ruler. As a well-wisher of the State you would also wish and agree that such state of things should not be permitted to continue any more. It is therefore my bounden duty to see that I must have my position as the real and benevolent Ruler re-established in the eyes of my people, in order that I may be able to carry conviction and work with them and win their love and confidence.

I had asked D. S. Vardola to know your view in this matter. He tells me that he saw you on the 12th instant and you told him that in your view the fight should be continued as long as the State's finances would permit and we should see whether they or we would ultimately win.

Besides, your letter dated 1st October 1938 gives me to understand that as far as you are concerned you are definitely of the view that I am myself, more or less, the cause of these troubles. I have denied the charges by my reply. Considering the allegations made in your letter and your attitude, I have little doubt in my mind that we would not be able to pull on together in the interests of my State and its subjects and also my rights, dignity and position of the Ruler, as nobody realises the extremely disastrous situation more than I do.

It is my definite desire to, myself, settle the domestic dispute between my State and its subjects as early as possible and before the Dandi holidays. This would not, in my view, be possible unless we part at the earliest. This is a very unfortunate position and no one would be more sorry than myself, but it could not be helped at the interests of myself and my State are at stake. I need hardly assure you that it is not my desire to make your position awkward in any way, and hence I leave it to you to decide how you should arrange to leave and return, as I am anxious to see that just as you came as a friend you should also part as a friend. I had engaged your services for six months' reason and hence I am instructing the State Treasurer to pay your salary accordingly. I am also instructing Mr. Bhat, the Revenue Secretary, to relieve you at your convenience.

Yours sincerely,

(Sd) DEBAMCHANDRAN

* * *

(4) Letter from Mr. E. C. Gibson to the Thakur Sahib dated 16th October, 1938.

Confidential The Ranching, Rajkot
D.O No. C/194-38 16th October, 1938

My Dear Thakur Sahib,

You will remember that on the evening of October 16th you wrote to inform me

that you desired to discuss with Sir Patrick Cadell's services and you enclosed a copy of the letter which you already sent to him. On the following morning we had a discussion. I then strongly advised you to reconsider the matter and to refrain from taking a step which from every point of view must inevitably be very prejudicial to the interests of your State and yourself. I also pointed out that when, on August 25th, you wrote to me asking me to effect the necessary sanction to Sir Patrick Cadell's appointment, you stated very definitely that the appointment was to be for a maximum period of six months in the first instance. On this understanding I referred your request to the Political Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative's approval of the proposal.

I need not repeat here that the views which I explained fully when we discussed the matter on October 17th and again on October 22nd.

After our discussion on October 17th as you were unwilling to accept the advice which I offered, I forwarded to the Political Secretary a copy of your letter of October 16th.

When we met on October 22nd I told that I had been instructed to inform you that His Excellency the Crown Representative trusts that in the interests of your State and yourself you will lose no time in reversing the action taken by you. Since then I have been hoping to hear that you have accepted and acted upon this advice. As however I have received no intimation from you to this effect, I write to ask you kindly to let me know as soon as possible the action you have taken in the matter since I saw you on October 22nd.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) E. C. GILSON

(5) Letter from the Thakur Sahib to Mr. Gibson dated 26th October, 1938

Confidential 26th October, 1938
My dear Mr. Gibson,

I am very thankful for your confidential D. Q. C/134-38 dated 15th instant.

In view of the desire of His Excellency the Crown Representative and your earnest advice and recommendation, I have decided to remove Sir Patrick Cadell in my service, although I maintain that the conventional aspect of the question is in my favour.

I am very anxious that proper steps should be taken as soon as possible and have decided to form a strong council consisting of Sir Patrick Cadell and two of my officers to carry on the State, to that point and tranquillity and respect for law is properly maintained.

At the time of my interview with you on the 17th instant you approved of my suggestion of forming a council. Accordingly I have decided to have one of the following members in charge of the departments shown against their names:

In member and Vice-president, Sir Patrick Cadell; 1. Law and Police, 2. Political, 3.

Finance, 4. Police, and 5. Price Controller, Sabhar and Manipalpur.

2nd member, Rao Sahab Mandohar C. Pradi; 1. Finance, 2. Industries, 3. Revenue, 4. P. W. D. and 5. Railways.

3rd Member Mr. Jeyarajal I. Jeyarajal; 1. Medical, 2. Jail, 3. Education and 4. Railways and other unsanctioned departments.

As regards the future steps to be taken to remove the present situation, they will be decided by the council with my approval and in all other important questions the above procedure is to be adopted.

I will soon decide instructions hereafter. I think the formation of such a strong council will remove my anxiety about the present situation, which is increasing day by day.

On leaving from you, I shall inform Sir Patrick Cadell accordingly.

I am so sorry for the trouble I gave you in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Dharmadachuk

APPENDIX D

Letter from Mr. Gibson to Durbah Vairavda:
The Residency, Rajkot,
26th November, 1938.

My dear Vairavda,

Thanks for your letter. I did hear when I returned to Rajkot this morning that you were here, and I must say that I was very much surprised to hear it. I should have thought that if Mr. Anantaram Pariani wanted to see you he could have asked you to go to Bhavnagar or could himself have gone to Bhavnagar which is, I believe, much nearer to Bhavnagar than Rajkot is. I cannot understand why he felt it incumbent on him to make this extraordinary request, and I certainly think that it is a pity that you complied with it after the advice I gave you. I am understood that you were collecting to come here. These long journeys must be very bad for your health at a time when you require rest and quiet for recuperation after your long illness. I am glad that you are feeling better today, and I strongly advise you to take more care of your health at home.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) E. C. GILSON

Vaid Sahi Vaid Mada,
Tahsildar of Bhavnagar, Rajkot

APPENDIX E

Letter from the Political Agent to Durbah Vairavda:

Personal Rajkot, 26.11.38

Dear Vaid Sahi,

Your personal letter of yesterday I am sorry Col. Agnew thought the journey had been trying to you, particularly as you told me you were feeling so well after it.

I was naturally extremely surprised, after your assurance that you would see nobody in Rajkot pending a reply to my reference to the Hon. the President, to learn that you had been to the Palace.

I can only assume that you will realize that, on your own account, that was hardly wise, and that you will, pending your return to Marwarra, not again depart from the attitude you had offered to adopt, i.e., complete abstinence from local affairs and not to meet anybody.

I trust that you have now completely rested and will not suffer from your recent journey to Marwarra tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) C. K. DALY

APPENDIX F Raidway Talks

Extracts from notes of the talks at the Residence on 25th December 1938.

Present The Hon. Mr. Gokhale.

The Thakore Sahib.

Sir Patrick R. Collier, Rao Sahib M. C. Patel, Mr. Jayramlal L. Jobanputra	} Members of the State Council
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The Hon. Mr. Gokhale started by saying to the Thakore Sahib to the effect that the agreement made by him had stirred up all the Province. He would like to know how Vallabhbhai Patel had come to Rajkot and whether he was treated by him.

Thakore Sahib. He had some of his own scores and asked for meeting me, and I had invited him to tea.

Mr. Gokhale. Well, he is a very remarkable man. You know that the Government of India's wishes were that no outside interference should be allowed by dealing with him, you have lost sympathy of your brother Princes and the Government. Although the Government of India do not mind what you do, you have erred in dealing through Patel. Even amongst the Congress workers, Mr. Patel is the most untrustworthy. However, as it appears from the Memorandum, the words of the sentence are not so bad but for the words "where possible powers" which are capable of any interpretation. It may mean that you will be reduced to a figurehead. On the strength of these words, they would demand full responsible government at the very start and you will find yourself in a very awkward position.

Thakore Sahib. No, I have only appointed a committee.

Mr. Gokhale. Yes, but who will appoint the members of the committee? And the report is received has to be given effect to.

Thakore Sahib. Well, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel will suggest names.

Mr. Gokhale. That is a. That means Congress workers, who will demand full responsible government in view of the words "where possible powers".

Sir Patrick. How is Mr. Patel to suggest names? Ask me to write to him?

Thakore Sahib. No, he will send names.

Mr. Gokhale. In one of the clauses, you have agreed to give full effect to the report. That is very bad. You have given up your cards.

As regards the appointment of the President of the Rajwade Committee, Mr. Gokhale asked the Thakore Sahib as to what will be the President of the Committee.

Thakore Sahib. Desaiji Yashwanth.

Mr. Gokhale. No, he cannot come.

Thakore Sahib. Why? He will come after his leave period is over.

Mr. Gokhale. No, He is a scholar. He cannot come. I would not let him come now.

Thakore Sahib. No. He can come after Sir Patrick has gone.

Mr. Gokhale. They will be seen after Sir Patrick is gone.

APPENDIX G

Letter from Thakore Sahib to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Anandji Desaiji,
Rajkot State,
27th December, 1938.

My dear Vallabhbhai Patel,

I am very thankful to you for coming to Rajkot.

I appreciate very much the way in which you helped me in making the request.

I think you are fully aware by now that Devdas Sahib Virbhadr has been most loyal to me and my State. All along his career he has done his best for the good of my people.

In safeguarding the interests of myself and my State he had to suffer also.

Now I request you to do your best to remove any misunderstanding existing in the minds of my people against him.

I shall feel very thankful for the same.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) DHARMENDRASINH
Thakore Sahib, Rajkot

APPENDIX H

Rajkot Gazette Notification, dated 11th January, 1939.

Rajkot District Gazette Extraordinary
Saturday 11th January, 1939,
NOTIFICATION
No. 61 of 1939-39.

As observed in the Memorandum No. 56, dated the 25th December '38, we are hereby pleased to appoint the following three gentlemen, representing all important sections in the State, to work along with the three officers of the State, whose names will be announced hereafter, to work as a committee to draw up, after proper investigations, a report recommending to us a scheme of reforms with a view to associating the people more closely with the administration of the State.

- 1 Mr. Popatlal Parashorram Asada, President, F. P. Sabha,
- 2 Indraj Jananikshy Dharwad,
- 3 Shree Dada Bap. Valmichand,
- 4 Mr. Popatlal Dhanubhai Mahaveya,
- 5 Mr. Maheshlal M. Tark, President, Municipal Corporation,
- 6 Dr D. I. Gajjar, and
- 7 Shree Kharshiba Abhalal.

The Committee is expected to submit its report after full and thorough enquiry.

Rajkot, 25th January, 1933.

SHAMJIBHAIJI
Tilakram Sahib, Rajkot State

APPENDIX I

Letter from Shri Maheshlal Patel to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, dated 12th Jan '33

Confidential

Rajkot Vijn.

Rajkot, 12th January 1933.

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I am distressed by H. M. Tilakram Sahib to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, recommending the seven names to be nominated by him to the proposed Reform Committee.

You must have learnt from the newspapers that the names suggested by you were already set by the time your letter was received by His Highness. He requires that it should have been so, because such an expense places you and His Highness in somewhat awkward position.

While H. M. would very much wish to select all the names suggested by you, you would also appreciate that he cannot ignore the requests made by important classes of his subjects, and should see that the committee consists of such persons as would command the confidence of all important groups of his subjects. In fact, His Highness has received representations from the Shrotras and Madras Council and a petition from the Depressed Class, and has therefore desired me to write to you as under.

While here, you were kindly told to H. M. that you did not know who the real leaders were and therefore proposed suggesting names after you had consulted others.

His Highness approves of the gentlemen numbered 1, 2, 4 and 5.

While number three owns immovable property and resides here since about 40 years and is a respectable citizen, he could hardly be expected to be useful with independent opinion to work on a committee of this nature.

You would agree that the Mahomedians form a very important unit and are one you will be expected to be ignored so lightly. In these representations submitted as a result of the unanimous resolution of the Madras Council, they have requested that three out of seven should be Mahomedians. This demand of class is of course unreasonable, but excluding the Hindus they should be given two seats and the President of their Council should be one of them.

In view of your own experience in British India, you will appreciate that if their legitimate request were not met, they may make a row and may create unhealthy atmosphere, which we all wish to avoid. There is no doubt that we all want a committee which would represent all sections of the people, be impartial and work harmoniously and with vigour.

As regards members on and abroad, it appears that they would not come readily within the scope of the definition of the "subject" as referred to in the notification.

Mr. V. M. Shukla was another born in the State nor has he been staying within the jurisdiction of the State since his birth for as much as about four years. Possession by him of certain of some property in Sardar Pat does not exclude him, according to the definition, to be considered as a Rajkot State subject. He is neither born, nor domiciled, nor naturalized in the State.

As regards Mr. U. N. Dhar, His Highness feels that the same objection would come in the way. As is understood, he originally belongs to the Jamnagar State and his father spent the major portion of his life in Bombay. He himself is said to have received his schooling in Rajkot and was residing in the Civil Station when he started practice as a pleader. He has been living within the State limits since about two years. He has also purchased land in the State last year. His Highness feels that he should remain his nomination to the Commission, so as not to create any ill-feeling amongst other leading gentlemen, who have always been recommended by the State, since the time of the late Tilakram Sahib, to leaders of the public.

It may also be brought to your notice that the Shrotras have also approached His Highness, and very rightly, with a request that at least one of them should be on the committee, as they represent a very important and considerable unit in the State. His Highness therefore considers it essential that one of them should be on the committee.

It is His Highness' wish, as you will readily understand, that the committee should consist of the best brains who would also be representative of all important classes of his subjects.

If any suggestions are to be made in the light of what has been said above, His Highness will then declare the personnel of the committee, inclusive of these officials besides the President of the committee.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) M. C. Patel

APPENDIX II

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's letter to Shri Maheshlal Patel, dated 15-1-33

Camp Baroda, 15-1-33.

Dear Shri Maheshlal Patel,

I have your letter of the 12th instant. It has passed me. It is indeed regrettable that the names I proposed were published, but it is not always possible to keep anything private in

which a number of persons are concerned. And then in spite of publications, discussion can certainly be made thereof if there are valid reasons.

I am afraid I cannot accept your recommendation regarding the names of Harjans and Musaharans on the committee. There was a definite intelligible object behind the resolutions inviting me to suggest the names. That object would be frustrated if I were to accept your recommendation. The names have been suggested to achieve the object which can be fulfilled only by having on the committee men of unquibbling holding particular views. The seven members whose names I have suggested will surely bear in mind the interests of Harjans and others. More than this may not be expected.

I regret you have seen fit to object to certain names on the ground of their not being Hari subjects. But you have a right to do so. If on further consideration you should adhere to the view that Sri Chakrabarti does not come within the definition, rather than agree with you I am prepared to withdraw his name and to suggest instead the name of Sri Gagan Jethi Vakil. I mention that Sri Vajirbhai Shinde comes within the definition.

H. H. (the Theodore Sahab's) nomination can only mean that the chairman of the committee has to be from the committee of men, and I must say that Darbar Virodhi may not be appointed chairman. He has not the word that he does not intend to hold any office, but in order to avoid any possible accident I have thought it proper to mention this.

I cannot help saying that the appointment of the committee has been greatly delayed. Their report has not to be published by the 31st January. I therefore hope that the committee will be appointed immediately on receipt of the letter. If unfortunately the appointment continues to be delayed, there is every fear of the struggle being resumed by the people. I must also add that I have in my possession copies of correspondence that has taken place between H. H. the Theodore Sahab and Sri Patrick Cahill, and of the summary of an interview with the Resident. If the settlement breaks down, I am afraid it will be my duty to publish, in public meeting, those and other documents in my possession. But I hope I may have to do nothing of the kind, and the committee will be appointed and begin work immediately.

May I expect a word from you in reply?

Yours sincerely,

(Sd.) VALLABHJI PATIL

Corrections

In the last issue, on p. 411, col. 1, line 42, instead of 'can' read 'cannot'. On the same page, col. 2, line 6 from bottom, instead of 'a non-violence' read 'a non-violence'.

"KICKS AND KISSES"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The reader will read with painful interest the following account, sent to me by students, of the meeting recently held at Bombay of the Chamber of Princes.

"H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner opened the discussion by narrating the events at Rajkot where, he said, the trouble was due to the absence of colonial subjects, the want of discrimination between the Harijans and the Harijaputras, and the weakness of the Kathiawar States. It was regarded as a test case by the Congress, and they had selected Rajkot for various reasons, the principal one being that Rajkot, small and with limited resources, would not be able to withstand for long the onslaught of the Congress, that the ground was ready for the delivery of such an attack, that the Congress was well and active in Kathiawar, and Sarda Vallabhbhai Patel was near at hand to direct operations and conduct the campaign. H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner then placed the suggestion of a common Police Force for a group of States, as the outcome of individual action, particularly of small ones, are not extensive and, therefore, usually inadequate to face the common danger. Such also was the substance of the Paramount Power and of its representatives. No great reliance, he said, could now be placed on co-operation and help from adjoining Hindu territories as Congress was supreme there and they, severely would not like to help Indian States. On the other hand there sympathies under partly or wholly are on the side of Indian State subjects in foreign agencies. This was equally evidenced by the attitude of the Union Government when help was demanded by the Storm in Orissa, which led to face the trouble.

Continuing, he stated that the Congress would develop increasingly greater influence on Indian States. Up to now no policy, as indicated in the instance of the Maratha States and before, was of non-interference, and the Indian States people were directed to be self-reliant. The reason is simple. The Congress was severely busy with British Indian problems, and it wanted to preserve strength in Indian State subjects and have self-help in them. Now the Congress had practically established its sway in British India and would rapidly make it master and influence towards Indian States.

There was another point, in order to distance attention from the difference that are cropping up Congress feels it is necessary to withhold the plan of a campaign. This is a subtle but most delicate of manoeuvre. This is one of the reasons of the Indian campaign of *Non-cooperation* and the *Assam* and *Benares* campaigns of *Non-cooperation*. It enables the powers to draw attention away from themselves in the party and creates other issues amongst its followers. We have also to bear in mind the attitude of the Paramount Power. In this connection reference must be made to the recent utterances of Mr. Gandhi on this subject. In my opinion greater reliance should be placed on our own strength than on any outside agency which support is, at best precarious and inadequate.

After a survey of Rajkot affairs, His Highness discussed the problems of the Rajputana States and method for the benefit of the Princes the policy he pursued with regard to his own State, Bhavnagar. He stated that he entered the State Assembly in 1923, and it discussed the State's expenditure. Bhavnagar had a Rajputana—State Council. He distinguished between the advisers from outside and from amongst his own subjects. Then, he said, was important and the distinction must ever be borne in mind. Foreign advisers, who have no stake in the State and who assume that role merely to be dabbled in and go in to the public eye, deserve their share. No consideration should be shown to them. Their continued activities are a menace to the State, their presence constitutes a danger. The remedy is determined from the State and their stay should be limited. The advisers in the State, though equally dangerous to the State and to ordered peace and progress, however, stand as a slightly different being. They have an interest in the land, they probably sometimes advocate policies which are to a certain extent justifiable, and such should be reduced as far as possible so that the wind may be taken away from the sails of these agencies which they advocate and foster. Legitimate grievances as far as possible should be redressed and agencies should be reduced. If the agencies are genuine and come from the ranks of the educated unemployed, an effort should be made to give them suitable State employment and to show them suitable working on the side. "It is better to see the moon with a sword."

The question of Praga Mandals was then discussed. In this connection H. H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar, the Kathiawar States, K. H. Poonji, Asst. Secy. of Govt. of India, P. H. Maharaja of Udaipur and Major Murray of Alwar made valuable contributions to the discussion. Mr. Robinson of Delhi and Mr. McGrath of Delhi also asked a few questions. Mr. Asst. Secretary at Delhi brought the origin and growth of the Praga Mandals in India. It was evident that the founders and promoters of these Praga Mandals were disgraced persons and damaged party officials of the State. A loss of honour and warning was sounded. It was agreed that they should be watched very carefully and their activities, however slight or extensive, should be fully reported. It was agreed that these Praga Mandals should be crushed immediately and that they should not be allowed to gather strength or go across the region of an influential body. If they had passed any, an effort should be made to detect already their activities was social channels such as the Sarda Act, etc. On the other hand it was urged that the formation of genuine and healthy advisory bodies of the State people should be encouraged, which should form the working for the raising of the people for so-called responsible government in the States. The Praga Mandals located outside the States should be allowed.

As regards responsible government in the States advocated by Congress leaders like Motilal Ghosh and Pandit, it was felt that the States people are not at all ready for it, and to concede it, therefore, would be detrimental to the States and the people and lead to ordered progress and

and peace. The position was summed up in the domain, "Be responsible, but no responsible government." H. H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar was emphatic on his policy towards the Congress, and his words can be crystallized in the following motto: Be just, but be firm, follow the policy of 'oppression and accommodation' as stated in the famous letter of Lord Minto in 1905, 'the policy of justice and leniency'. It will remove all the fear and discretion possible to adjust when to be gentle and when to be firm and how to mix the two. The decision must depend on the situation which confronts the State and the nature of the individual problem. It was, however, very clear in their discussions that the Praga Mandals, as such and as political bodies should never be allowed to be formed in the States, and if so arranged should be crushed and banned and their activities very carefully and closely watched. No hard and fast rules could be laid down as to how they should be repressed. Individual States will devise and evolve their own plans and lay down the modes of approach.

The tentative conclusions arrived at were: 1. Group Policy for States, 2. Praga Mandals to be crushed immediately, 3. Legitimate grievances to be redressed, 4. Foreign activities to be severely dealt with and stopped, 5. Encourage social activities but not political, 6. Encourage genuine State People's Advisory Bodies, 7. Policy of 'Reconciliation and repression'. "Be just, but be firm."

If the report is an accurate summary of the speeches delivered at the Conference, it shows that there is a scheme plot to crush the movement for Unity which at long last has commenced in some of the States. Kings are to go hand in hand with India. This extends one of the latest powers which means "I fear the Greeks especially when they bring gifts." Henceforth rulers' dreams are to be suspected. Reformers when they are made are to be made use of for the sake of making the people happy, but in order to see the moon with a sword. But man's proposals are often contradicted even though he may be a crowned head. God has been found often to have disposed of his proposals in a way contrary to his expectations. If the people have shed fear and learnt the art of self-assertion, they need no leaders. Kings can never save them. They will take what they need and surrender it.

Baroda, 26-1-39

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THE MODERN GIRL.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

A letter received from a sister-writer on behalf of the *South African* comes and addresses have been sent to me. I give a below with changes that make it more readable without in any way altering the meaning.

"Your comments on the letter of a lady student captioned 'Idealistic' please" and published in *Hakujian* of the 21st December, 1935 deserve special attention. The modern girl, it seems, has provoked you to the extent that you have dropped of her faculty as one please John to hold a *South African*. This remark which brings your idea about women in general in not very welcome.

In these days when women are coming out of closed doors to help men and take an equal share of the burden of life, it is indeed strange that they are still treated even when they are motivated by men. It cannot be denied that instances can be cited where the least is equally denied. There may be a few girls playing John to hold a *South African*. But such cases presuppose the existence of half a dozen *South African*, never about the world in quest of a John. And it cannot be should never be taken that modern girls are categorically all John or modern girls all *South African*. You yourself have come in contact with various number of modern girls and may have been struck by their resolution, morality and other sterling womanly virtues.

As for having public opinion against such modernism as pointed out by your correspondent, it is not for girls to do it, nor to make out of her share as from its reflection.

But a statement like this from me reveals all over the world seems to hold a brief case case for that was not and unbecoming saying 'women in the state of Hell.'

From the foregoing remarks, however, please do not conclude that modern girls have no respect for you. They hold you as an much respect as every young man does. To be hated or loved is what they must want. They are ready to stand their legs if they are really guilty. Their guilt, if any, must be conclusively proved before they are condemned. In this respect they would rather choose to take shelter under the covering of 'John' please, nor would they clearly stand and allow the public to condemn them in the same way. Truth must be faced, the modern girl or 'John', as you have called her, has courage enough to face it."

My correspondents do not perhaps know that I began service of India's women in South Africa more than forty years ago when perhaps none of them was born. I told myself to be scrupulous of writing anything derogatory to womanhood. My regard for the fair sex is too great

to permit me to think ill of them. She is, what she has been described to be in English, the lesser half of mankind. And my attitude was written to expose modern's shame, not to advantage the frailties of girls. But in giving the daughters of the damns, I was forced, if I was to prescribe the right remedy, to mention all the forces which induced the damns.

The modern girl has a special meaning. There was there was no question of my restricting the scope of my remark to some. But all the girls who receive English education are not modern girls. I know many who are not at all touched by the modern girl's spirit. But there are some who have become modern girls. My remark was meant to warn India's girl students against copying the modern girl and complicating a problem that has become a serious menace. For, at the time I received the letter referred to, I received also a letter from an Indian girl student bitterly complaining of the behaviour of Indian students which from the disappointment given is worse than what was described by the Lahore girl. This daughter of India tells me, the simple dress of her girl friends gives them no protection, but they lack the courage to expose the barbarism of the boys who are a disgrace to the institution they belong to. I considered also complaints to the authorities of the Indian University.

The clever girls I want to initiate a crusade against the male behaviour of students. God helps only those who help themselves. The girls must learn the art of protecting themselves against the raffish behaviour of men.

Darid: 30-1-35

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	CONTENTS	Price
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THE MODERN GIRL	M. K. Gandhi	468
MOON:		
ARABIA IN CHINA	C. F. A.	468

Printed and Published by Anant Vajghatkar at the Aryabhat Press.

House No. 311/2 Pimpri College Road, Poona 4

Index for Volume 6



Author Index

Aarti, Kanti, Rajkumar	
Kathmandu News	.. 399
The Late Kanti Am. Turk	.. 399
Pamphlet in Honor	.. 402
Andrews, C. F.	
Problem of Representation	.. 158
The Dignity of Profession	.. 202
Drama Critique	.. 204
Heavy Food and Handicrafts	.. 254
The Archbishop's Delinquency	.. 300
Indian Language in the Classroom	.. 325
Admission in China	.. 406
Anonymous and Unsigned	
The Working Committee's Resolutions	.. 6
Principal Harjans Congress Resolutions	.. 22
A Joint Statement	.. 31
Edison of Profession	.. 39
A Step Forward	.. 44
Working Committee's Resolutions	.. 71
Gandhi's Legacy with the Victory	.. 90
Hindustani Talim Sangh	.. 102
Congress Committee Letter	.. 108
The Mysore Settlement	.. 122
Prohibition and Sweet Taddy	.. 124
Working Committee's Resolutions	.. 130
Economic Effect of Prohibition	.. 142
Harpans and Schools	.. 146
Hindustani in Madras Schools	.. 150
Working of Prohibition in Salem	.. 154
Hindu Management Bill	.. 174
Dr. Deshmukh's Hindu Women's Right	.. 174
of Divorce Bill	.. 174
More Temples Opened	.. 180
Shrihari Sahasrabai's Revised Bill	.. 182
The C. P. Cross	.. 201
Working Committee's Resolutions	.. 225
Bill Trade and Reduced Carbohydrates	.. 302
More Temples Opened	.. 312
No Discrimination against Harjans	.. 323
Congress Exposed	.. 325
How Khadi Has Progressed	.. 325
The Modern Removal of Civil Disabilities	.. 378
Am. 378	.. 378
The Mahatma Temple Entry Bill	.. 381
Foreign Congress (India) Ltd. 1-II	.. 384
Speech Delivered by A. J. V. I. A.	.. 385
Working Committee's Resolutions on	.. 375
Constitution	.. 375
A. J. C. C. Resolutions	.. 377
Working Committee's Resolutions	.. 383
The Khadi, Khadiwari's Floor	.. 391
More Temples Opened	.. 391
The Madras Sweet Taddy Sales, 1935	.. 394
A Congress	.. 395
Prohibition in Salem District	.. 394
Khadi Sales	.. 394
Working Committee's Resolutions on Status	.. 395
Working Committee's Resolutions	.. 397
The Japur State Authorities' Notification	.. 400
Japur and Non-violence	.. 446
Arpanapatham, E. W.	
Education Supplement (12-12-35)	.. 1-4
Ashta Devi	
Progress of Wardha Scheme	.. 140
A Detailed Study	.. 164
Asad, Akbar Khatun, and Fata, Validdikhal	
The C. P. Ministry	.. 159
Bajaj, Jemabhai	
Rajawadi's Letter	.. 429

Baker, S. G.	
Gandhi System	.. 257
Barth, T. R.	
A. I. V. I. A. Training School	.. 38
Training School for Village Workers	.. 324
Chaudhary, A.	
Hand-loom Industry 1-III	.. 260, 270, 282
Duggan, S. C.	
Managing Other Administration	.. 399
Our Opportunity	.. 425
Employment of Rural Revival	.. 426
Datta, Mahadev (M. D.)	
Gandhi's Health	.. 1
Improvement of the Wardha Education	.. 1
Scheme	.. 1
Small But Necessary Reform	.. 2
Operation of Political Process	.. 4
Harpans News [V]	.. 10, 22, 40, 41, 96
"Study and Mass"	.. 12
The Olive Branch	.. 20
Peace Education	.. 26
The Arrested Cross	.. 30
Gandhi's Health	.. 31
The Status Resolutions	.. 31
Harpans Assailed by Tharpas	.. 32
A Demand	.. 33
"Take a Stand for Jang"	.. 33
"Make the Great 19 Party"	.. 34
Working Committee's Resolutions on Khadi	.. 34
Gandhi's Health	.. 35
The Indian Revolution	.. 36
A Gandhi Bill	.. 36
Training for Non-violence	.. 36
If This Be Civilization?	.. 37
Five Sols for the Poor	.. 37
Advance Prohibition	.. 38
The Door to School?	.. 40
Character and Prohibition	.. 41
Are We Serious?	.. 42
"The Power of Non-violence"	.. 42
Arrested Industries and Discrimination	.. 43
Gandhi's Health	.. 43
Weekly Letter	.. 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55
Need for Self-reliance	.. 44
A Correction	.. 44
The Power of Khadi	.. 46
Experiment in All India	.. 47
Appointment of Acting Governor	.. 48
A Treaty	.. 49
Khadi—A Year's Progress 1-II	.. 50, 51
The Lesson of the Room	.. 50
Call to Harjans Service	.. 51
"Cleanse the Congress" Campaign	.. 54
Kings and Congress	.. 55
What Kanti National Means	.. 56
Vatavadiya Naganawara	.. 58
Printer News [V]	.. 93, 105, 109, 117
Teachers' Training School under	.. 95
Wardha Scheme	.. 95
Away with Child Marriage	.. 96
Casting Out Scurfing	.. 104
"Even in Progress"	.. 107
How Long It Keeps	.. 109
Hindu Muslim Unity in Action—I	.. 112
Abolish Poverty	.. 112
"Other Days and Other Ways"	.. 113
The Chanchung Spirit	.. 126
The Story of a Conference	.. 126
An Unusual Cross	.. 126
"Credit Not All Mine"	.. 141

Feeling and Action	142	Armed Must Be Made	247
The Movement	142	Future Steps	241
Armed End Taps	142	Hacks Madam Ury in Action	246
Scholarship through Violence—a Synthesis	143	A Trampled Victor	247
The Conflagration	144	Whom to Believe?	247
San's Good Work	150	An Important Publication	248
A Typical Case	156	The Attack on Machinery and Confessions	249
Break of Faith	154	Lessons of the Doctrine	249
The Anti-Humanism Agitation	155	An English Pacific on Non-violence	250
For Material Consumption	155	A Correction	250
An Analogy	155	A Refutation	250
Hacks Madam Ury in Action—II	155	The New Life Movement	251
Non-violence is the Only Language	161	A Product of the New Life Movement	251
They Have No Mouth Open	162	The Romance of Chang's Lamp	252
The Re-discovery of God	163	The Illusion	252
"Violence Must Be Revolutionary"	164	The Mirror	253
Dr. Ma's Satirized	164	Oh For a Little More Truth!	253
The Right to Read	165	A Passionate Refutation	255
An Impossible Ideal?	165	A Soldier after Truth	256
A Unique Scholarly Inspiration	166	"The Message of Buddhism!"	256
A Early Decision	170	About, Myself	271
How He Presented a Riot	170	The Day	271
An Opposite Move	171	Dr. McGowan Makes Appeals	271
The Drive against Illiteracy	172	A Correction	272
A Post	172	War?	272
Drugs and Monks among Hacks	173	A Word of Goodwill	273
A Moment on Khash	173	Telling Future	280
Refactor Ray on Khash	175	How They Celebrated the Day	280
Refactor on Students	177	An Ideal Union	280
Class of a Real Chapter	180	The Hacks' Revolution	281
The Two Methods	181	Occasional Notes	282
Uryon Jack a Jew of Nations	182	18-uniformed Citizens	283
Learned Writings	182	Occasional Notes	283
Only Chinese Khash	182	Teachers?	283
Working Sun for Khash	183	Dynamic Non-violence	285
Wanted a Clear Conscience	183	Dr. Ma's Second Visit	285
Government Recognition of Vidyapath	183	Contents of the Edition	285
Deplains	183	A Japanese Victor	285
Make Them Really Living	183	The 1st Number	285
A "Worthy Scheme" Experiment	183	The Last 1st Number	285
An Expansion	183	Dr. Taguchi's Visit	285
Drugs and Monks among Hacks	183	Parish	285
Problems in Abolished	183		
The Sufferers	183		
Why He Supports the Warlike Scheme	183		
Dr. Ma's Khash	183		
Compulsion	183		
A Real National School	183		
A Non-violent Army!	183		
Learning Problems	183		
Abolition and Longevity	183		
A Different, Human!	183		
Parish's Farm Schools	183		
The Anti-Humanism Agitation	183		
Hacks Madam Ury in Action—III	183		
It Is Inevitable and Non-violence	183		
The Legacy of Science	183		
Scissors Teaching to Madam	183		
Is Cause, Cause to Good	183		
"A Good Refutation"	183		
For the Village Class	183		
Two Damages	183		
At Summer Days	183		
The Right Way	183		
Democracy on Khash	183		
How Uryon Spreads	183		
Non-violence Movement	183		
The Problem of Poverty	183		
For Your Visit	183		
The Warlike Scheme and Education	183		
Class	183		
Moving to China	183		
As a Soldier a Mahatma Hacks	183		
Good Lessons	183		
The Madam College	183		
The True Chapter	183		
Japan in the West	183		
True Service	183		
		Armed Must Be Made	247
		Future Steps	241
		Hacks Madam Ury in Action	246
		A Trampled Victor	247
		Whom to Believe?	247
		An Important Publication	248
		The Attack on Machinery and Confessions	249
		Lessons of the Doctrine	249
		An English Pacific on Non-violence	250
		A Correction	250
		A Refutation	250
		The New Life Movement	251
		A Product of the New Life Movement	251
		The Romance of Chang's Lamp	252
		The Illusion	252
		The Mirror	253
		Oh For a Little More Truth!	253
		A Passionate Refutation	255
		A Soldier after Truth	256
		"The Message of Buddhism!"	256
		About, Myself	271
		The Day	271
		Dr. McGowan Makes Appeals	271
		A Correction	272
		War?	272
		A Word of Goodwill	273
		Telling Future	280
		How They Celebrated the Day	280
		An Ideal Union	280
		The Hacks' Revolution	281
		Occasional Notes	282
		18-uniformed Citizens	283
		Occasional Notes	283
		Teachers?	283
		Dynamic Non-violence	285
		Dr. Ma's Second Visit	285
		Contents of the Edition	285
		A Japanese Victor	285
		The 1st Number	285
		The Last 1st Number	285
		Dr. Taguchi's Visit	285
		Parish	285
		Madam, M.	
		The Problem of Village Indigence	276
		The Rubber Tree, Rubber Cuts	
		Customary	400
		Madam, M. K.	
		Government Must Undo Madam	0
		How Can We Be Avoided	21
		Our Future	24
		An Appeal for Self-education	25
		The Church	25
		Dr. McGowan Given	25
		"Negotiations Not Concluded"	25
		Married v. Moral	25
		Madam's Statement	25
		"Price for Gaining Liberty"	25
		Active Government of China	25
		A Yellow Paper	25
		Madam and Uryon	25
		A Correction	25
		Qualifications of a Peace Brigade	25
		The Issue	25
		Higher Education	25
		Speakers and Policies	25
		Some Questions	25
		A Refutation	25
		How Non-violence Works	25
		Days of Khash-mans	25
		A Clarification	25
		Summary of the Working Committee	25
		Madam's Statement	25
		Is Violence Compensated?	25
		Training or Non-training?	25
		How to Save Madam's Women	25
		Recent Rites in China	25
		My So-called Inconsistency	25

Chase before Congressmen	242	Rajeev	409
Congressmen Beware!	250	"I Report to The Doctor"	401
Castings on Travancore Separation	252	Rajeev and Jagann	401
Castles's Reply to Dr. Chaz	253	Rakes and Kames	402
The States and Responsibility	258	The Modern Girl	402
Assamite Evidence	259		
Corruption in the Congress	261	Chack, P. C.	
To the Readers	264	Manchandra Khamboke	296
Education	274		
Non-violence	274	Craig, Richard	
Travancore Situation	277	Non-violence the Only Way	289
Logical Consequence	282		
"I Will Keep My Faith"	285	Iyer, A. V.	
That Uncommon Walk Out	287	In Holy Travancore	139
Fifth in Literature	287		
To All Well-wishers	288	Jairamdas	
Unsettled Mind	289	Harjeev Jeev in Manual	412
If I were a Clerk	290		
Seven Complaints	294	Krishnapan, G. S.	
Minor Fancies and Rhyme	295	Relating Education to Life I-II	413, 412
Mahadev Deas	298		
A Correction	299	Kumarappa, Bhamban	
Madical Mission to Chaz	300	Gadik Jayant	261
To Travancore Students	301		
What Are Basic Assumptions	303	Kumarappa, J. C.	
Congress Corruption	309	Alms and Industrialism	5
The Confused Land	309	Unemployment	14
Mr. & George v. Mrs. Madras	309	The Budget	49
Madras, Madras and the Life	309	Enlighten for the A. I. V. I. A. Mission	187
From Far-off New Zealand	309	A. I. V. I. A. Board	186
Madras, Madras and Urdu	309	The Journal of the Congress	187
The Travancore Answer	312	Violence in Economic Activity I-II	184, 210
Speech at Kottam	313	Economic Surveying and Planning	430
The National Flag	314		
Monstrous If True	315	Leiser, Manal	
Women's Special Mission	317	The Parliament and Boundary of Is	137
A Day's	319		
Why Not Great Powers?	320	Mahis, G. L.	
Amal's Return	320	Economic Conquest of India I-II	271, 283
Arts, Sansi and Fifth Legislature	320		
To Correspondence	320	Mahis, J. K.	
The Congress and Khadi	323	Appeal to Travancore Teachers	549
Khadi, Khadi and Kadiakidias	326		
The Jews	327	Madhavan, K.	
States and the People	328	For West of India	233
Non-cooperation	334	The Working of Khadi	409
How to Popularize Khadi	335		
A Caste	339	Mahis, V. L.	
Harjeev's Welfare in Travancore	344	Towards a Rural Community	145
From America	344	Protest in a Cotton Industry	233
A. I. V. I. A. Training School	346	Khadi among the Namparas	288
Kalyan's German Cause	351	Relative Value of Khadi	334
Hindu-Muslim Unity	351	Welfare from Waste	280
Advice to Travancore State Congress	352	The Namparas of Jangam	289
Some Questions Answered	354		
Red Tape	355	Mahis, W.	
Complaint against Congressmen	355	Self-sustained College	355
"Hinduism Only"	356		
Prohibition	356	Maj, Kishan	
James Naydar	356	Rakes Chandra and Bengal Peasantry	233
Wanted a Good Book	357		
Students' States	358	Mah, Gopalan	
Rajeev	358	Technique of Tagore - II	29
Is Non-violence Ineffective?	358	Trickery and Palm Oil	115
Amal's Correspondence	359	Swiss Industry and Problems	246
Sankar's Fifth-year	359	From Caste to Caste	287
Unsettled Dealers	359	Not "Tad-pad" but "Tad-pad"	254
Travancore	359	Polymers and Law	313
The May on Jernally	359	Toward in Palm Jaggery	348
"Most Unsettled"	359	Six - a Nonsense Beverage	415
Nipon	359	Jaggery Kishan	412
Drying Methylated Spirit	359		
Violence v. Non-violence	359	Narayan Prasad, P. S.	
The States	359	Correspondence	238
Internal Decay	359		
Congress and States	359	Pand, Vallabhdas	
"What a Man of God"	359	"Childhood's Bread of a Science"	437
Madras College	359		
		Pand, Vallabhdas, and Arad, A. K.	
		The C. P. Green	133
		Parthasarathi Tripathi	
		An Idea from Germany	264
		Pyanid	
		A Remarkable Travancore	238
		A Letter from Delhi	291

In the Frontier Provinces I-X	325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000	
At Mandal	314	
A Sporting Offer	315	
Provisional Khadi Exhibition	316	
Non-violence and World Peace	317	
Weekly Letter	318	
To Push Khadi Sales	319	
From Far Off Hawaii	320	
A Dream Fulfilled	321	
'Narrow Talents'	322	
Masses are Awake	323	
A World in Agony	324	
Why the Withdrawal	325	
Republics Passed and Others	326	
An Appeal	327	
Satyagrah, 5	328	
The Doctor of the Spoken	329	
Shinde, Chandrabhanu (C. S.)	330	
A Timely Publication	331	
Gandhi Jyoti Singh Report	332	
Against Bombing and Brutal	333	
'Towards Dry India'	334	
Get Awake for Day	335	
The Lesson in the Field—the Postmaster	336	
Letter	337	
A Village Temple Opened	338	
Constitutional	339	
Magazine and Public Schools	340	
Charges and Discharge	341	
An Uplift Task	342	
A. I. V. I. A. Report	343	
Shreegan Pitham	344	
The Message of "(India) Ltd" I-II	345	
Khadi Sales Against Khadi Work	346	
How They Celebrated the Week	347	
A Correction	348	
Khadi Sales of Bombay	349	
Khadi Sales in Bombay	350	
Sahani, P. G.	351	
Persons in Report	352	
Syed Mahmud, Dr.	353	
Mass Literary Campaign in Bihar	354	
Tao, H.	355	
The People's Education Movement I-III	356	
Thakkar, A. V.	357	
Harjan Singh Singh	358	
Gandhi Sahasrabhoj	359	
Harjan Singh	360	
Our Sweepers	361	
Zakir Husain and Others	362	
Wardha Scheme of Education	363	

Subject Index

CLASSIFICATION OF SUBJECTS

1. Congress	14. Civil-disobedience
2. Congress Government '79	15. Education of the Sexes
3. Indian Sores	16. Non-violence
4. Foreign Affairs	17. Social Reform
5. Education	18. Prohibition
6. Removal of Unconstitutionality and Service of	19. Hindutva
Harjans	20. Labour
7. Temple Entry	21. Obstacles
8. Conversion Problem	22. Personal—by and about Gandhi
9. Commercial Unity	23. Economics—General
10. Political Principles	24. Indian Abroad
11. Village Industries and Rural Economics	25. The North West Frontier
12. Village Reconstruction—General	26. Miscellaneous
13. Khadi	
1. Congress	
The Working Committee's	Qualifications of a Peace Engage
Resolutions	364
Harjans More I-VI	365
M. D. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100	
The Olive Branch	366
Principal Harjans Congress	367
Resolutions	368
The Young Revolution	369
M. D. 31	370
Working Committee's Resolutions on Khadi	371
Our Future	372
Need for Self-education	373
An Appeal for Self-education	374
Working Committee's Resolutions	375
The Cause	376
The Lesson of the Race	377
'Change the Congress' Campaign	378
Khadi and Gandhism	379
Marital v. Moral	380
The Marriage Settlement	381
The Constitution	382
Qualifications of a Peace Engage	383
Branch of Peace	384
For National Consumption	385
An Analysis	386
An Incomplete Ideal	387
The Issue	388
Internal Weakness	389
An Expansion	390
How Non-violence Works	391
The C. P. Case	392
Working Committee's Resolutions	393
A Non-violent Army?	394
Functions of the Working Committee	395
In Violence—Compromise?	396
Democracy or Mob Rule?	397
My so-called (non-violence)	398
Change before Congressmen	399
Compromise—Beware!	400
Approximate Evidence	401
Corruption in the Congress	402
Working Committee's	403
Resolutions on Constitution	404

Violence ..	M. K. Gandhi	374
Non-cooperation ..	"	375
A. I. C. C. Resolutions ..	"	377
Working Committee's Resolutions ..	"	387
Then Uniformity With Our ..	M. K. Gandhi	388
What Are Basic Assumptions ..	"	389
Corrupt Corruption ..	"	394
The National Flag ..	"	395
The Congress and Khadi ..	"	398
State and the People ..	"	399
Toussaint? ..	M. D.	399
A Sporting Offer ..	Pyarelal	405
How to Popularise Khadi ..	M. K. Gandhi	406
Working Committee's Resolu- tion on State ..	"	407
District Boards ..	M. K. Gandhi	408
Working Committee's Resolutions ..	"	409
Our Community ..	S. C. Banerjee	411
Wanted a Guide Book ..	M. K. Gandhi	412
Weekly Letter ..	Pyarelal	416
Violence v. Non-violence ..	M. K. Gandhi	418
Internal Decay ..	"	419
"I Repeat in This Defect" ..	"	422

2. Congress Governments

Small But Significant Experiments ..	M. D.	3
Questioning of Political Principles ..	"	4
The Working Committee's Resolutions ..	"	5
"Governments Must Undo Misdeeds" ..	M. K. Gandhi	9
The Silver Branch ..	M. D.	20
How Crisis Can Be Averted ..	M. K. Gandhi	21
Peaceful Harpoon Congress Resolutions ..	"	30
The Averted Crisis ..	M. D.	30
A Joint Statement ..	"	31
The Backers ..	L. C. Easwaran	33
Our System ..	M. K. Gandhi	34
Need for Self-examination ..	M. D.	34
Appointments of Acting Governors ..	"	38
Working Committee's Resolutions ..	"	71
The Choice ..	M. K. Gandhi	75
Martial v. Moral ..	"	86
Changing Post Secretary ..	M. D.	104
Acting Governorship of Orissa ..	M. K. Gandhi	106
Governor General's Letter ..	"	106
The Position of the Speaker ..	S. Sanyal	107
The C. P. Ministry ..	A. K. Anand & V. J. Patel	110
An Internal Crisis ..	M. D.	116
The Ministry's Crisis ..	"	141
Avoid Red Tape ..	"	142
A Criticism ..	M. K. Gandhi	143
Speakers and Politics ..	"	144
Post Secretary ..	M. D.	150
The C. P. Crisis ..	"	201
Parity of the Working Committee ..	M. K. Gandhi	206
Gandhi's Statement ..	"	212
Twisting or Incorporating? ..	M. K. Gandhi	216
My So-called Incarcerations ..	"	219
Congressmen Beware! ..	"	220
Gandhi's Reply to Dr. Khare ..	"	222
A. I. C. C. Resolutions ..	"	227
Working Committee's Resolutions ..	"	230
Seven Complaints ..	M. K. Gandhi	234
The Confiscated Lands ..	"	240
A Demand ..	"	242
State and the People ..	"	243
Non-cooperation ..	"	244
How to Popularise Khadi ..	"	246
Red Tape ..	"	247
Prohibitions ..	"	248

3. Indian States

The Working Committee's Resolutions ..	"	6
Principal Harpoon Congress Resolutions ..	"	22
The States Resolutions ..	M. D.	31
"Peace for Ongoing Liberty" ..	M. K. Gandhi	104
The Money Settlement ..	"	108
Working Committee's Resolutions ..	"	116
State of Madras Sanyasaka! ..	M. D.	164
The States ..	M. K. Gandhi	173
Working Committee's Resolutions Regarding on Travancore ..	"	201
Regarding ..	"	202
The States and Responsibility ..	M. K. Gandhi	208
Non-intervention ..	"	214
A. I. C. C. Resolutions ..	"	277
The Travancore Situation ..	M. K. Gandhi	278
A Question ..	"	284
To Travancore Students ..	"	287
The Travancore Assembly ..	"	312
Amul's Refusal ..	"	329
Mathematical Notes ..	Arjun Kumar	330
State and the People ..	M. K. Gandhi	340
A Question ..	"	349
Working Committee's Resolu- tion on State ..	"	382
Address to Travancore State Congress ..	M. K. Gandhi	383
Radio ..	"	416
Amul's Controversy ..	"	421
Travancore ..	"	426
The Run on Jewellery ..	"	428
'Miser, Unhappyman' ..	"	437
The Japur Boys' Asoka- vrat! Nondemon ..	"	439
Jewellery's Letter ..	"	439
Japur ..	M. K. Gandhi	442
Violence v. Non-violence ..	"	446
The States ..	"	447
Congress and States ..	"	448
Why the Withdrawal ..	Pyarelal	448
"Cold-blooded Branch of a Solent Congress ..	V. J. Patel	457
Refect ..	M. K. Gandhi	460
Refuge and Japur ..	"	461
"Kale and Khare" ..	"	465

4. Foreign Affairs

The Working Committee's Resolutions ..	"	6
Principal Harpoon Congress Resolutions ..	"	22
Former Notes—III ..	M. D.	109
Weekly Letter ..	"	110
The Serbians and Bosnia of ..	"	117
United Just a Lot of Nations ..	M. D.	121
Prod. Ties Vast ..	"	123
Managers in China ..	"	126
Foreign Change ..	"	131
Whom to Advertise? ..	"	132
The New Life Movement ..	"	135
A Product of the New Life Movement ..	"	139
The Movement of China's Love The Effect ..	"	146
An Idea from Germany ..	Pyarelal	154
A. I. C. C. Resolutions ..	"	177
Logical Consequences ..	M. K. Gandhi	180
Future Chronicle ..	C. F. Andrews	186
If I Were a Coach ..	M. K. Gandhi	240
A Letter from Delhi ..	Pyarelal	251
Medical Mission to China ..	M. K. Gandhi	256
The Archbishop's Delusion ..	C. F. Andrews	260
Why Not Open Powers? ..	M. K. Gandhi	268
Occasional Notes ..	M. D.	269

The Jew	M. K. Gandhi	302	A Step Forward		308
Templeton?	M. D.	303	A Call to Nonagenarians	M. D.	31
Dynamic Non-violence	"	304	The Christchurch Spirit	"	120
Dr. Mott's Second Visit	"	305	Harjans and Schools	"	142
Reply to German Critics	M. K. Gandhi	306	Harjan Strife Songs	A. V. Thakkar	147
Some Questions Answered	"	307	God's Good Work	M. D.	150
Non-violence the Only Way	F. Gregg	308	Drum of Truth	"	154
Non-violence and World Peace	Prasadi	309	Commendable	C. S.	154
Working Committee's Resolutions	"	309	A Power	M. D.	172
A Japanese Visitor	M. D.	404	Harjans and Public Schools	C. S.	175
Is Non-violence Ineffective?	M. K. Gandhi	417	Close of a Sad Chapter	M. D.	180
Weekly Letter	Prasadi	418	Working Day for Nonagenarians	"	205
From Far Off Harjans	"	421	Wanted a Copy Committee	"	207
Dr. Karpura's Visit	M. D.	424	Harjans and Interdenominational	C. S.	186
A World in Action	Prasadi	425	No Discrimination against Harjans	"	203
Advance in China	C. F. Andrews	426	Gandhi Scholarships	A. V. Thakkar	205

5 Education

Interpretation of the Wardha Education Scheme	M. D.	1	Two Donations	M. D.	251
Principal Harjans Congress Resolutions	"	30	An E. S. S. and a Mahatma	"	252
Peace Education	M. D.	30	Harjans	"	258
Wardha Scheme of Education	Zakia Hassan	51	Good Lessons	"	257
A Temple Publication	C. S.	59	The Mahatma Journal of Civil Disobedience Act, 1930	"	259
Weekly Letter	M. D.	81, 100	Section in the News	M. D.	259
Teachers' Training School under Wardha Scheme	"	95	True Services	"	260
Henderson's Talk on Songs	"	98, 102	Harjan Union	A. V. Thakkar	260
Education through Vocational a Synthesis	M. D.	140	A Personal Reflection	M. D.	268
Self-supporting College	W. Mitchell	145	Harjan Workers of Bombay	C. S.	305
A College Educational Initiative	"	149	Enlightened Views	Amrita Kaur	305
The Drive against Illiteracy	"	171	Harjan Writings in Tamasgar	M. K. Gandhi	374
Higher Education	M. K. Gandhi	176	From America	"	374
Some Observations	"	193	The Harjans of Japan	V. L. Mishra	380
Government Recognition of Vaidya's Diploma	M. D.	199	Harjan News in Montreal	Amrita Kaur	402
Make Them Really Living	"	199	Our Swaraj	A. V. Thakkar	407
A "Wardha Scheme" Experiment	"	199			
Why He Supports the Wardha Scheme	"	197			
Complaints	"	199			
A Real National School	"	199			
A Clarification	M. K. Gandhi	200			
Fortnightly Party Schools	M. D.	207			
The Wardha Scheme and Education in China	"	208			
The Madras College	"	207			
High in Lucknow	M. K. Gandhi	207			
The People's Education Movement I-III	M. D.	208, 209, 210			
Arja, Sanyas and Pithy Literature	M. K. Gandhi	209			
Mass Literary Campaign in Bihar	Spad Mahomed	209			
Progress of Wardha Scheme	Asha Devi	209			
A Detailed Study	"	209			
Unfinished Campaign	M. D.	209			
Education Supplement	E. W.	209			
Students' Strains	Aryaswamyam (17-12-36)	1, 4			
Weekly Letter (Prasadi)	M. K. Gandhi	428			
Relating Education to Life I-II	G. S. Krishnamoorti	428, 429			
"Navy Taking"	Prasadi	428			
The Modern Girl	M. K. Gandhi	428			

6 Removal of Unacceptability and Service of Harjans

A Devotion	M. D.	13	Our Failure	M. K. Gandhi	34
The Indian Declaration	"	13	Need for Self-examination	"	41
A Bards' Bill	"	13	A Correction	M. D.	44
Harjans' Note-VI	"	13	An Appeal for Self-examination	M. K. Gandhi	45
			The Chapter	"	47
			The Lesson of the Race	M. D.	49

7. Temple Entry

Send the Necessary Returns ..	M. D.	3
Changes Announced by Them ..	"	3
The Indian Declaration ..	"	3
A Bards' Bill ..	"	3
Weekly Letter (M. D.) ..	41, 42, 101, 102	
Need for Self-examination ..	M. D.	4
A Temple ..	"	4
In Holy Temples ..	A. V. Thakkar	150
A Private Temple Opened ..	C. S.	154
Appeal to Temple Trustees ..	J. K. Mishra	155
More Temples Opened ..	"	155
The Mahatma Temple Entry ..	"	155
More Temples Opened ..	"	155
Closing of the Returns ..	M. D.	155

8 Conversion Problem

"Take a Stand for Jesus"	M. D.	36
"Make the Good Fit Facts"	"	36
A Different Mission	"	36
"A Good Education"	"	37
How Unchristian Speeches	"	38
The "True Christian"	"	38
Answers Must be Made	"	38
Oh for a Little More Truth!	"	38
A Personal Reflection	"	38
A Letter after Truth	"	38
"The Mission of Mahatma"	"	38
Dr. McGovern's Mission Account	"	37
Dr. Mott's Second Visit	"	37
Weekly Letter	Prasadi	428
Dr. Karpura's Visit	M. D.	424
Memorandum Again	Prasadi	429

9 General Unity

Principal Harjans Congress Resolutions	"	21
Our Failure	M. K. Gandhi	34
Need for Self-examination	"	41
A Correction	M. D.	44
An Appeal for Self-examination	M. K. Gandhi	45
The Chapter	"	47
The Lesson of the Race	M. D.	49

Condon's Statement	96	The Madras Sweet Tolly	328
Florida Madras County in		Rota, 1827	G. Nish 346
Access I-II	M. D. 112, 113, 115	Trained in Pithi Jajpur	G. Nish 346
Practical Notes-IV	M. D. 115	A. I. V. I. A. Training School	M. K. Gandhi 326
Weekly Letter		The Robert Tynd Bullock	
Qualifications of a Peace Brigades	M. K. Gandhi 152	Gari Conception	M. Friedman 400
An Impossible Mind?	M. D. 148	Implications of Rural Revival	S. C. Dasgupta 405
A Right Decision		Nis—A Nominous Beverage	G. Nish 475
How He Performed a Race		A Dream Fulfilled	Pyralid 426
An Opposite Move		Ignorance Exposed	G. Nish 432
Signer in Seclusion		Weekly Letter	Pyralid 436
Rural Race in Burma	M. K. Gandhi 328		
Inter-religious Harmony	M. D. 359		
Florida-Madras County in Access			
A. I. C. C. Resolutions			
Neaps Complaints	M. K. Gandhi 394		
A. Ghani			
In the Frontier Province-VII	Pyralid 357		
Madras-Madras County	M. K. Gandhi 397		
Weekly Letter			
Islamic Culture	M. K. Gandhi 408		

10. Political Progress

Questions of Political Progress	M. D. 4
The Working Committee's Resolutions	6
'Government Must Undo Mischief'	M. K. Gandhi 9
The Chose Speech	M. D. 20
How Can It Be Avoided	M. K. Gandhi 21
Practical Harpans Congress Resolutions	20
The Averted Crisis	M. D. 30
A Rural Struggle	
No Assurance Given	M. K. Gandhi 39
'No Assurance Not Concluded'	
Weekly Letter	M. D. 35, 129
A. Ghani's View	M. K. Gandhi 130
'I Will Keep My Faith'	
Editorial Previews	61

11. Village Industries & Rural Economy

Interpretation of the 'Wardha Economic Scheme'	M. D. 1
Small But Necessary Reforms	3
Harpans Notes—I, IV	11, 40
Unemployment	S. C. Dasgupta 14
Technique of Tapping-II	G. Nish 24
Weekly Letter	M. D. 61, 73, 81, 125
Working Committee's Resolutions	71
What Rural Revival Means	M. D. 84
A. I. V. I. A. Training School	T. B. Bhattacharya 96
How Long It Keeps	M. D. 107
Exhibit for the A. I. V. I. A. Museum	L. C. Karmacharya 107
'Ode to Dars and Other Writ'	M. D. 113
Production and Policy Law	G. Nish 115
A. I. V. I. A. Board	L. C. Karmacharya 116
Production and Sweet Tolly	
The Latest in the Field—the Primary Type	C. S. Dasgupta 127
Sweet Tolly and Production	G. Nish 140
Primary as a Cottage Industry	V. L. Mahesh 150
The Significance of the Consumer	J. C. Karmacharya 157
From Cowing to Cultivation	G. Nish 157
An Uplift Task	C. S. 159
A. I. V. I. A. Board	
For the Village Union	M. D. 213
Training School for Village Workers	T. B. Bhattacharya 214
Nis 'Tol-god' But 'Tol-god'	C. Nish 214
Gandhi's Jajpur	B. Karmacharya 214
Steps Carried by A. I. V. I. A.	
The Problem of Village Industries	M. Friedman 275
A Remarkable Testimony	Pyralid 286
Heavy Ford and Hyderabad	J. C. Karmacharya 287
Ministry of Agriculture	S. C. Dasgupta 288
Policy Law and Law	G. Nish 288

The Madras Sweet Tolly	328
Rota, 1827	G. Nish 346
Trained in Pithi Jajpur	G. Nish 346
A. I. V. I. A. Training School	M. K. Gandhi 326
The Robert Tynd Bullock	
Gari Conception	M. Friedman 400
Implications of Rural Revival	S. C. Dasgupta 405
Nis—A Nominous Beverage	G. Nish 475
A Dream Fulfilled	Pyralid 426
Ignorance Exposed	G. Nish 432
Weekly Letter	Pyralid 436

12. Village Reconstruction—General

Practical Harpans, Central Resolutions	20
Gandhi's New South Report	C. S. 43
Weekly Letter	M. D. 73
A. I. V. I. A. Training School	T. B. Bhattacharya 96
A. I. V. I. A. Board	S. C. Dasgupta 116
'Gandhi's Not All Nis'	M. D. 140
Training & Rural Construction	V. L. Mahesh 145
A. I. V. I. A. Report	C. S. 214
Training School for Village Workers	T. B. Bhattacharya 214
The Problem of Poverty	M. D. 220
Weekly Letter	V. L. Mahesh 220
A. Ghani's View	M. D. 220
A. I. V. I. A. Training School	M. K. Gandhi 326
The Working of Pithi	K. G. Karmacharya 426
In. Karmacharya's View	M. D. 434
Finance in Pithi	A. K. 432
Barth	M. D. 430

13. Khadi

Harpans Notes—I, II, IV	M. D. 11, 17, 49
Working Committee's Resolutions on Khadi	
Weekly Letter	
Gandhi's New South Report	C. S. 43
The Power of Khadi	M. D. 44
Khadi—A Year's Progress I-II	
No Assure per Day	C. S. 45
A. Ghani's View	M. D. 178
Acharya Day on Khadi	
Internal Weakness	
Only Genuine Khadi	
A. Ghani's View	M. K. Gandhi 178
Khadi among the Sangh	V. L. Mahesh 188
An Impression	M. D. 190
Days of Khadi—women	M. K. Gandhi 196
Khadi Khadi	M. D. 196
Khadi's Progress	C. S. 214
How to Grow Handloom Weavers	M. K. Gandhi 225
How Khadi Has Progressed	
60 Spinning Days	M. D. 227
Gandhi's View	S. C. Dasgupta 228
Handloom Industry LII A. Ghani's View	227, 228
An Appeal	B. Karmacharya 227
The Day	M. D. 231
Telling Figures	
How They Celebrated the Day	
Unofficial Khadi	M. K. Gandhi 280
Home Spun and Khadi	
Khadi Sales during Khadi Week	C. S. 286
How They Celebrated the Week	
Khadi Sales in Sunday	
Khadi's Progress	Amrit Kaur 190
Khadi Sales	M. D. 196
How to Popularize Khadi	M. K. Gandhi 286
Khadi's Progress	Pyralid 286
Complaints against Congressmen	M. K. Gandhi 288
To Push Khadi Sales	Pyralid 426
Unofficial Orders	M. K. Gandhi 426
A. Ghani's View	Pyralid 426

14. Conventions

Harpans Notes—I, IV	M. D. 11, 17, 49
Khadi's Progress	

13. Relations of the Sexes

Weekly Letter	M. D.	86
How Non-violence Works	M. K. Gandhi	121
Students' Shape	"	128
The Modern Girl	"	133

14. Non-violence

Admon and Information	J. C. Kumarappa	5
The Working Committee's Resolutions	"	6
"Ends and Means"	M. D.	12
Trouble for Non-violence	"	36
The Day to Rebel?	"	46
"The Power of Non-violence"	"	46
Our Future	M. K. Gandhi	54
Need for Self-examination	M. D.	54
A Conclusion	"	54
An Appeal for Self-examination	M. K. Gandhi	55
Experiments in Ahimsa	M. D.	57
The Cause	M. K. Gandhi	72
The Lesson of the Race	M. D.	80
Moral v. Moral	M. K. Gandhi	88
Weekly Letter	M. D. 88, 123, 173	128
Pravara Notes—III, IV	M. D. 88	127
The Chauri-Chaura Spont	"	130
Running and Hiding	"	141
The Constitution	"	144
Qualifications of a Peace	"	"
Shops	M. K. Gandhi	152
Non-violence the Only	"	"
Insistence	M. D.	161
The Rejuvenation of God	"	163
"Passion Must Be Revolution"	"	163
An Impossible Ideal?	"	168
An Opposite Move	"	170
The Two Methods	"	181
Union, Jack's Jew of Violence	"	181
How Non-violence Works	M. K. Gandhi	192
Violence in Economic Activity I-II	J. C. Kumarappa	194
Is Violence Compromising Int	M. K. Gandhi	212
Subsidiary and Non-violence	M. D.	212
The Divine Personality	C. F. Andrews	222
Compromise Explored	"	223
The Right Way	M. D.	227
Democracy or Mob Rule?	"	228
My So-called Inconsistency	M. K. Gandhi	234
Means to Ends	M. D.	232
Chaste before Congressmen	M. K. Gandhi	246
Limitations of the Doctrine	M. D.	248
Congressmen Beware!	M. K. Gandhi	254
An English Parable on Non-violence	M. D.	258
Accumulating Evils	M. K. Gandhi	259
Why?	M. D.	273
A. I. C. C. Resolutions	"	277
Logical Consequence	M. K. Gandhi	282
E. I. Were a Coach	"	280
The Ekhda Khudmat's Plan	"	281
A Letter from Delhi	Pravara	281
What Are Basic Assumptions	M. K. Gandhi	288
The Archbishop's Dismissal	C. F. Andrews	300
Is the Frontier Province	Pravara 301	325
III—X	311, 325, 342, 348, 353, 377	377
Speech at Banu	M. K. Gandhi	313
At Marjha	Pravara	314
Women's Special Mission	M. K. Gandhi	317
Why Non-Gentle Powers?	"	325
Ekhda Khudmat and	"	"
Bedchamber	"	326
Quintessential News	M. D.	326
The Jews	M. K. Gandhi	332
A Sporting Offer	Pravara	336
Danger: Non-violence	M. D.	340
Reply to Congress Critics	M. K. Gandhi	341
Some Questions Answered	"	344
Non-violence the Only Way	E. Gings	367

Non-violence and World Crisis	Pravara	367
Our Opportunity	"	368
Students' Shape	M. K. Gandhi	428
Weekly Letter	Pravara	428
Is Non-violence Ineffective?	M. K. Gandhi	437
Violence v. Non-violence	"	437
Dr. Kishore's Visit	M. D.	439
A World in Agony	Pravara	440
Judism and Non-violence	"	446

17 Social Reform

Away with Child Marriage	M. D.	56
Ignorance and Order	M. K. Gandhi	110
Divorce and Marriage among Hindus	M. D.	173
Hindu Marriage—III	"	174
Dr. Deshmukh's Hindu Women's Rights of Divorce Bill	"	174
Divorce and Marriage	"	"
Leislature	M. D.	181
Shriani Sahasrayan's Revised Bill	"	182

18 Prohibition

Advance Prohibition	M. D.	38
Effects of Prohibition	"	39
Churchmen and Prohibition	M. D.	47
Are We Serious?	"	48
"Towards Dry India"	C. F.	87
Prohibition and Palm Oil	G. Nair	115
Weekly Letter	M. D.	123
Prohibition and Sweet Trade	"	124
Economic Effect of Prohibition	"	142
Swiss Tolly and Prohibition	G. Nair	148
Working of Prohibition in Salem	"	159
Prohibition in Ahmedabad	M. D.	165
Increasing Prohibition	"	207
Abstinence and Longevity	"	226
Minimum of Time	M. K. Gandhi	241
Prohibition in Salem District	"	244
Prohibition	M. K. Gandhi	261
Drinking Mutilated Spirits	"	432

19 Hindustani

Hampden, Notes—III, IV	M. D.	27, 40
Weekly Letter	"	121
Feeling and Thinking	"	142
Hindustani in Madras Schools	"	171
Anti-Hindustani Activities	M. D.	183
The Anti-Hindustani Activities	"	207
For Want of a Nail	K. G. Madhwaraj	213
Congressmen Beware!	M. K. Gandhi	246
The Hindustani Resolutions	M. D.	281
Working Committee's Resolutions	"	283
Hindustani Hindi and Urdu	M. K. Gandhi	328
Indian Languages in the Colonies	C. F. Andrews	375
"Hindustani" Only	M. K. Gandhi	382

20 Labour

Non-violence the Only	"	"
Insistence	M. D.	161
An Ideal Union	"	284

21 Miscellaneous

Hampden Notes—I	M. D.	13
Vandana's Nigamant	"	92
Dependent Khawana	P. C. Ghosh	208
The Last Great Ann Turk	Amir, Kay	203
Hindu-Muslim Unity	M. K. Gandhi	261
The Dr. Brooker	M. D.	413
The Last Dr. Brooker	"	428

22 Personal—by and about Gandhi

Gandhi's Health	M. D. 1, 2, 33, 60	60
Hampden Notes I-II	M. D.	13, 17
Weekly Letter	M. D. 61, 71, 81	81
A. Thangay	M. D.	69
Gandhi's Interview with the	"	90
Visitors	"	90

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